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Gender Aware Approaches in Agricultural Programmes – Zambia Country Report

A special study of the Agricultural Support Programme (ASP)

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Sida

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Foreword by Sida

In the *UTV Working Paper Series*, Sida publishes background material and annexes to Sida Evaluations and Sida Studies in Evaluation, and other forms of working material which we believe to be of interest for a wider audience. Working Papers have not always been proof read or quality assured by the Secretariat for Evaluation.

This working paper belongs to the evaluation project on Gender Aware Approaches in Agricultural Programmes jointly commissioned by the Sida Secretariat for Evaluation and Team Agriculture, Forestry and Food Security. Findings from the project are synthesised and analysed in the main report, *Gender aware approaches in agricultural programmes: a study of Sida-supported agricultural programmes (Sida Evaluation 2010:3)*. For information on other publications belonging to this project see the bibliography at the end of this report. All reports can be downloaded from www.sida.se/publications.

Team Agriculture, Forestry and Food Security and Secretariat for Evaluation

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The team of consultants would like to express sincere gratitude to *Vincent Akamandisa*, who assisted the team and actively participated in his capacity as JUDAI Associate. He provided invaluable technical input/support during interviews both within and outside Lusaka, as well as during preparation of the Zambia Country Report.

The people pictured in this study consented to having their photographs taken and were supplied with personal copies.

Thank you

Cathy Farnworth and Monica Munachonga



Farmers in Chimntanda Village, Petauke District, February 2010

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Acronyms

ABCD	Asset Based Community Development
ASP	Agriculture Support Programme
ASIP	Agricultural Sector Investment Programme
CEO	Camp Extension Officer
DACO	District Agricultural Coordinator
EEOA	Economic Expansion in Outlying Areas
FHH	Female-headed Household
GAD	Gender and Development
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GIDD	Gender in Development Division
GoZ	Government of Zambia
HH	Household
MACO	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MHH	Male-headed Household
WID	Women in Development
ZNFU	Zambia National Farmers' Union

1. Foreword

In response to the persistent inequalities of women in farming despite decades of development assistance, Team Agriculture, Forestry and Food Security at Sida Headquarters has initiated a thematic evaluation of how gender issues are tackled in Sida-supported agricultural programmes: *Gender aware approaches in agricultural programmes: a comparative study of Sida-supported agricultural programmes*. The purpose is to increase understanding of how Sida's development assistance in agriculture should be designed, implemented and funded to ensure that female farmers are reached, that their needs as producers are met, and that they are able to benefit from the support to achieve a positive impact on their livelihoods. The *Zambia Country Study*, which focuses on the Agriculture Support Programme (ASP) forms part of a five country study. The other programmes examined are SARDP III (Sida-Amhara Rural Development Programme; *UTV Working Paper 2010:4*), ProAgri II (National Agricultural Development Programme, Mozambique; *UTV Working Paper 2010:6*), FondeAgro (Agricultural Development Fund, Nicaragua; *UTV Working Paper 2010:7*), and NALEP III (National Agriculture and Livestock Extension Programme, Kenya; *UTV Working Paper 2010:5*).

There are two mutually supportive documents to the thematic evaluation: an *Evaluation Report (Sida Evaluation 2010:3)* to be published in the Sida Evaluation Series and an *International Literature Review (UTV Working Paper 2010:3)* which looks at the experience of other agencies in involving women in agricultural programmes.

1.1. Zambia Country Report

The *Zambia Country Report* is designed to both offer specific feedback on ASP to the Embassy of Sweden in Zambia and to provide significant input into the Evaluation Report. Preparatory research work on ASP was conducted in Sweden. The fieldwork phase (February 13th to 27th, 2010) was conducted in Lusaka, in Kabwe and in Petauke.

The current study provides an analysis of *ASP's work on promoting gender equity in its extension programme*. At the same time it should be noted that this study was not able to examine all aspects of ASP's work due to time constraints. Depth rather than breadth was sought. Research themes were prioritised following discussions with various stakeholders in Stockholm during December. Discussions with the Embassy of Sweden and with ex-ASP staff in Lusaka enabled us to refine the focus further. ASP is particularly well documented and so the research team was able to conduct enquiries at a high level. The country research officer, Monica Munachonga, ably assisted by Vincent Akamandisa, have decades of experience in promoting understanding of gender issues in development in Zambia as well as substantial analytical skills.

The aim of the research conducted in Zambia was to establish whether (i) women farmers were effectively involved in the agricultural extension work of ASP; and (ii) whether the inclusion of women through the methodology of the 'household approach' had led to improved agricultural production and productivity and food security.

1.2. Fieldwork Methodology

The research team conducted interviews with several former ASP stakeholders in Lusaka including the ex-Managing Director, and key ex-facilitators now employed elsewhere. Interviews were solicited with MACO staff including the Deputy Director and a MACO gender focal point. Further discussions were held with NORaid (who funded part of the second phase) and independent observers.

At the District Level, the research team conducted discussions in Kabwe and in Petauke with Provincial Agricultural Coordinators (PACO, Kabwe in Central Province), Senior Agricultural Coordinators (SAOs in Kabwe and Petauke) and extension workers who had been employed in the ASP. Fieldwork was conducted with one group of ASP-coded farmers in Mukobeko Resettlement near Kabwe, and two groups of ASP-coded farmers in different villages, Nyamphande and Chimntanda, near Petauke. At each research site, the research team split up to talk to women and men farmers separately. All in all, well over 50 farmers were consulted, each representing a different household.

The research sites were selected in order to test the hypothesis that the application of ASP's methodology would be hampered or enabled by prevailing cultural norms (see Chapter 5). These norms vary widely between the two areas. The research team also balanced the research sites by requesting a site that was hard to reach (Chimntanda Village, Petauke District) due to poor infrastructure. The aim here was to see whether "Farming as a Business" could take off in an area far from key markets. A gender perspective was maintained in all areas of enquiry.

The study team recognises that there are important issues centring on the reliability of ASP's monitoring and evaluation system. These have been expressed in detail in a consultancy study prepared by Moore Stephens (2008) "*Report to Sida: Review of the Results of the Agriculture Support Programme, Zambia*". It was not our intention to examine this issue yet again, particularly since Sida will engage in a further impact evaluation of Sida in the autumn of 2010. Our focus was entirely qualitative and sought to capture the views of farmers, extension workers and former ASP staff in their own words. Whilst not statistically rigorous, this participant-centred approach enabled significant and valuable insights to emerge. A good degree of triangulation was ensured due to the number of farmers consulted in different locations, comparison of the views of key stakeholders, and through the employment of two national experts in the research team who have extensive experience of gender analysis and development programmes in agrarian societies in Zambia. After a while, it became clear that particular views were repeated consistently.

2. Executive Summary

With respect to women's empowerment, the findings of this report substantiate the findings of the gender study conducted in 2008 into ASP: *The Household Approach as an Effective Tool for Gender Empowerment: A review of the policy, processes and impact of gender mainstreaming in the Agriculture Support Programme in Zambia*¹. There is no doubt that the methodology of ASP contributed significantly to the involvement of women farmers in the overall programme. This has directly improved farming outcomes. According to both men and women farmers, agricultural output has increased and food security has been greatly improved as a direct consequence of the household approach, and in particular, recognizing and developing women and children as decision-makers.

The attitudinal changes that have been wrought with respect to the cultural norms governing "male" and "female" roles and responsibilities are astonishing, particularly given that the time period has been so short. Our research showed that these changes are appreciated by both women and men. The main reason is simply that the gains to intra-household cooperation are seen so quickly. Maximizing everyone's involvement in the household economy makes economic sense. Critically, empowering women has not been seen to disempower men. Rather, both men and women have felt empowered because intra-household relationships are less tense and more productive. Men not only appear to have better

¹ Bishop-Sambook, C. & Wonani, C., 2009.

relationships with their wives; they appear to have forged closer relationships with their children and can speak to them more freely.

Changes in Gendered Patterns of Household Decision-Making

All farmer respondents, both male and female, recorded that men had changed their behaviour as a direct consequence of ASP. Men are more willing to share decision-making with their wives though they generally still consider themselves household heads.

Shared decision-making has resulted in *more rational livelihood planning*. Prior to ASP, men were generally responsible for governing the access of each family member to household and farm resources. They were able to command female labour, decide upon the use of the fields, and decide upon the spending of income. Very little discussion with other household members, including children, was conducted. Women could not take any decisions in the absence of their male partners. This would not be an issue of itself if men were seen to be managing the farm well, but in fact in many cases men are perceived as poor farm managers, even by men themselves.

The emphasis of ASP on working with the farming household, including the wife and the children, has decisively increased the *resilience* and *coping strategies* of many households. This is because all family members understand their farming system and have been actively involved in shaping it. *Farming activities now continue in the absence or death of the male head*. Investment decisions are made collectively and, provided food security had been assured, are directed at achieving a family vision.

As a consequence of the involvement of children in the household approach, there are likely to be significant *intergenerational* benefits. This may in the long term encourage children to stay in farming and thus reduce urban drift, rural underemployment etc. Moreover, one of the most tangible gains that both men and women respondents repeatedly mentioned is that joint planning over expenditure has enabled more children to go to school – a significant intergenerational benefit.

Changes in Gendered Roles and Responsibilities

ASP has undoubtedly catalysed wider societal changes that have made farming men more willing to take on a wide range of reproductive tasks, particularly when these are aided through technology (for example, collecting water on bicycles). Men are also starting to cook, tend the sick, take children to school and the clinic, and to sweep. This said, their responsibilities appear to remain quite light. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the informants the changes have been remarkable.

Women are moving into domains that were once explicitly male, for example ploughing, beekeeping and gardening. Informants ascribe these effects entirely to ASP. It is important to note that these changes have occurred over a period as short as two or three years.

These empowerment benefits have been underpinned by *a variety of extension messages that aim to increase production and productivity*. Respondents to this study have internalised the importance of crop rotation and diversification, particularly mixed farming systems, to developing resilience. The message, “Farming as a business”, was frequently mentioned, but it would seem that farmers did not only associate this with becoming entrepreneurial/entering the cash crop economy. Rather, they took it to mean a *more rational, planned approach to farming, with careful calculations of food security needs, income and expenditure*.

Access to and Control over Assets

In male-headed households, the household approach has started to create a shift in decision-making over assets since, according to the approach, the farm enterprise is understood to belong to the whole household rather than any one individual. Some farmers indicated that both women and children were starting to build up their own assets in their own name, including animals.

A fascinating finding is that division between “male” and “female” crops is, according to respondents, starting to disappear. *Critically, there are indications that men are not asserting sole ownership over “female” crops that have become lucrative*, as has been the pattern across Sub-Saharan Africa. Women are able to market these in important quantities in their own right in many cases, or if men market them, everyone in the household is seen to benefit. If this is really a widespread phenomenon, and has arisen as a direct consequence of the household approach, it has the potential to revolutionise attempts to involve women in cash cropping and to resist their marginalization in agriculture.

Many female-headed households have benefited from the ASP programme. In the absence of men, they have been free to join training meetings organised by extension workers, and to decide themselves how to use their land and to form their vision. Some female-headed households have graduated to high levels in the programme.

Despite these gains for women farmers, there remain several outstanding issues. In the majority of cases women’s increased access to resources still relies on their ability to maintain their relationship to the male head of household and to wider kinship networks. There is no evidence to date that the ASP approach has had any impact upon these wider cultural practices, or that it has protected women in the case of separation or death of the male partner. Rather, already prevailing practices appear to determine the fate of the women in these circumstances.

Furthermore, since ASP focused on creating a knowledge economy, it *significantly failed to address structural gender inequalities in relation to access to, and control over, key productive resources*. Important opportunities to level the playing field for women, including women in female-headed households who face sharp inequalities in accessing particular resources due to their lack of male kin, were missed. Both women and men respondents confirmed that the ability of female headed households to graduate through the five phases of ASP programme was critically limited by their lack of resources and by still prevailing gender roles and responsibilities in some areas.

Household Food Security

Both female-headed households and male-headed households reported that they had achieved household food security as a result of training received under ASP. ASP-coded households also received training in coping strategies (e.g. labour saving technologies) to minimize the negative impact of HIV/AIDS on food security.

HIV/AIDS

ASP recognized the challenge of HIV/AIDS and integrated it as a cross cutting issue. During the implementation of ASP, the focus of HIV/AIDS mainstreaming activities shifted from awareness raising to coping mechanisms in order to increase household self-reliance. Education on HIV/AIDS was complemented by training on the preparation of nutritional foodstuffs, and conservation farming was promoted to reduce the labour intensity of farm work.

The overall gains to women of ASP’s work on mainstreaming HIV/AIDS are not entirely clear. This reflects the study team’s lack of deep investigation into ASP’s work on HIV/AIDS as a whole, and in particular aspects of the strategies to mitigate its effects, such as the impact of labour saving devices and so on. However, women respondents linked ASP’s awareness raising work to improved male commitment to their wives and children. This strengthened the overall methodology and outcomes of the household approach.

Marketing

It was generally agreed by respondents that the *business environment was not targeted and developed properly by ASP*. Rural farmers remain price-takers and fail to receive maximum returns to their investments. ASP-

coded farmers that live far from good roads and markets find it harder to realize their vision than those close to markets. At the same time, it has to be recognized that ASP operated within a weak overall business environment, both in terms in policy and in terms of physical infrastructure. Failures in ensuring effective market linkages cannot be ascribed to the programme alone. Furthermore, the study team did not visit any of the “stars” of the programme, the outgrowers, among whom are women. This said, a reasonable snapshot was obtained of the average opportunities and constraints facing farmers in various parts of Zambia.

With respect to gender, sellers and buyers tend to be men and boys. *Women are thought to have poor marketing skills* due to their lower levels of numeracy and literacy. The distance to markets, poor road infrastructure and traditional/cultural norms and values also prevent women from travelling in search of better markets for their crops and livestock outside their communities. Although one of the consultants to the study team was informed prior to her visit by Ramboll Natura AB (an implementing agency) that both men and women signed contracts with buyers, no farmers agreed that this happened.

The refrain, “Farming as a Business”, has become the guiding principle of farmer activities, but it would seem that farmers do not only associate this with becoming entrepreneurial. Rather, they take it to mean *a more rational, planned approach to farming*, with careful calculations of income and expenditure. All respondents ensured household food security before selling any products and they were particularly proud of this achievement.

Extension Services

The provision of logistical support to the MACO extension workers – including means of transport especially motorbikes, fuel and daily allowances – on a timely basis during ASP resulted in improved services provision to farmers. This, coupled with the capacity development efforts of ASP and the monthly meetings at which lessons were shared, resulted in a *highly motivated and developed cadre of extension workers who felt that they were making a real difference to the lives of farmers*.

One of the most unexpected outcomes of the research is that all the *extension workers* we met, bar one, had set up their own farming enterprises using the “Farming as a Business” methodology they had learnt through ASP.

The *posting of female staff to remote rural areas remains a challenge for MACO* as women prefer to work closer to urban areas where better social services are accessible, particularly for their children. Clearly, there are a limited number of such postings available. Overall, MACO seeks to ensure that 30 % of its workforce is female and this goal appears to be achieved in the extension services. Women farmers indicated that they found it easier to work with female extension workers.

With regard to *gender mainstreaming*, *the levels of knowledge and skills among extension workers need to be improved*. Excellent gender sensitive facilitation manuals were provided but in essence, the word “gender” has become a synonym for “women”. An understanding of the shifting and interactive nature of gender relations is lacking. This reflects an overall lack of gender expertise at the higher levels in ASP management, meaning that opportunities were missed to identify, and respond to, structural gender disadvantages.

Group Approach to Extension

The findings show that the *group approach alone does not empower women sufficiently because the whole household is not involved*. Women who attend group meetings can find it very difficult to persuade the whole family to adopt extension messages. As noted earlier, the household approach enables the whole family to participate in the formulation of the household vision and the action plan to realize this. The involvement of children is particularly prized. Indeed, all the gains of the household approach outlined in the previous section would appear to be jeopardized if extension is, in the future, to be

managed through groups alone. Women farmers were desperate to convince us that the household approach should continue.

With respect to community level groups *per se*, it was widely acknowledged by extension workers and female farmers that *women-only groups empower women in the eyes of the community*. They form a good entry point for external services to engage with a community. The *ASP approach to involving women in mixed gender groups has undoubtedly strengthened women's voice and status at household and community level*.

ASP Overall Gender Strategy

ASP's objectives and vision for gender mainstreaming are set out in the gender policy and are reflected in the programme principles and pillars and the logical framework. Gender considerations have been mainstreamed into the facilitation cycle, staff induction training, and the management information and learning system. However, data on gender has not been properly analysed nor has the capacity building of staff been consistent, thus reducing the effectiveness of these elements of the programme.

District extension staff interviewed by the research team revealed varying degrees of understanding of gender issues. Overwhelming, the word "gender" has come to mean the participation of women. "Let's have gender" at a meeting means that women should speak.

2.1. Recommendations

Overall, the study team whole-heartedly endorses all aspects of the household approach and its complementary extension activities. The Recommendations aim to complement and strengthen the ASP approach within its existing framework. The household approach itself does not need to be modified, though a number of enabling conditions must be put in place to make it work more effectively and equitably. The Recommendations highlight the enabling conditions required.

No remarks are made on funding and management as these themes lie outside the remit of the consultancy team.

Access to and Control over Assets

A number of measures are needed to tackle structural gendered inequalities to productive resources.

- At the highest staff levels, and through to the cadre of extension workers, better understanding of core gender concepts such as (i) access to, and control over, assets; (ii) the gender division of labour; and (iii) gendered decision-making is essential if these issues are to be recognized as constraints upon farming effectiveness.
- This awareness needs to be accompanied by an ability to apply these concepts analytically in training and in the field.
- Situation-specific understandings needed to be backed by targeted measures to strengthen women in areas where they suffer gender disadvantage.
- Interventions are needed that focus on building an asset base for female headed households, and also for poor women and men in general. Such people need improved access to service providers such micro-credit and insurance providers. These providers need to be tailored to the needs of the most poor.
- Further research is required into other culturally appropriate methods of strengthening female access to, and control over, productive and household resources to enable them to live securely in the case of separation or death of the male partner. This will require close work with the communities concerned as well as with legal bodies.

- The reproductive and productive roles of women need to be carefully distinguished. Resources such as women-friendly agricultural tools, water sources located close to homes, and improved cookstoves need to be promoted to ensure that the benefits of the extension methodologies being taught can be fully utilized. Meeting women's practical needs should be accompanied by the process already set in chain of encouraging men to share reproductive tasks. Sometimes, improved labour saving technology can help.

Marketing

It is not possible for the study team to comment on the changes that are desirable to the wider business environment (see Chapter 6.5. for a short overview). Recommendations that would be simple to adopt within an ASP-type programme include.

- Design and implement gender-friendly versions of “farming as a business” that facilitate linkages between women farmers and good markets. This must include brokering links between women and traders.
- Affirmative action activities are needed to target women friendly products including traditionally female crops such as groundnuts, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and small livestock such as goats, sheep, and local chickens
- To prevent men from taking over female crops when they become cash crops women should consider belonging to female marketing cooperatives. In cases where male partners try to seize their crops individual members can appeal to the group's decision-making processes.
- The evidence of this study that men are not automatically taking over women's crops when they become valuable on the marketplace must be followed up urgently with further study. This will enable strategies that underpin this behaviour to be devised and implemented.
- Gender-sensitive value chain analyses need to be conducted for important commodities. This will enable the extension services and the farmers themselves (who are integral to performing the analysis) to identify the key actors in any one value chain, identify constraints and new opportunities along the chain, and to identify how to maximize the value of their segment (shift distributional gains in their favour). Such an analysis needs to locate women and men in each segment, to consider opportunities for upgrading their roles/ move them into new segments, and to examine the interface between each segment to see how mutual understanding of each other's needs can be enhanced.
- It is important not to dismiss “briefcase buyers” per se, but to explore constructive ways of working with them in the more remote locations, as has happened very constructively in countries like Burkina Faso (Guijt, I., & van Walsum, E., 2008). Sellers, particularly women, should be empowered in their negotiations at the farm gate through the provision of information communication technologies such as mobile phones that provide up-to-date market prices (Farnworth, C.R., 2008b).

Extension Services

- To improve the provision of extension services, local contact farmers/lead farmers should be trained to enable them train other farmers within their communities. During recruitment local women should be deliberately targeted to improve gender equality and to ensure that women farmers have a cadre of extension workers that specifically address their practical and strategic gender needs.
- The commercialization of the public extension service system should be considered. Business people should be attracted to provide inputs and purchase agricultural products by government's provision of enabling environment such as good infrastructure and tax rebates.

- There is a need to promote local ownership of all projects through the active involvement of policy makers and management in MACO. Funds need to be remitted on time and in agreed amounts for agreed purposes to the Districts.
- In order to more effectively reach targeted farmers, extension staff should be motivated through the timely provision of necessary working tools (transport, protective clothing, fuel etc.) and allowances.

Gender Mainstreaming in MACO²

At the national level an Act of Parliament needs to establish a Gender Commission. This would have an overarching role for gender mainstreaming. All public and private sector institutions would be accountable for gender mainstreaming in their respective sectors. Gender mainstreaming would be mandatory with this legal backing.

At the *institutional level*, persons appointed as Gender Focal Points should be at the level of Director. This will ensure that gender mainstreaming is taken seriously at all levels and is built into planning. To achieve results, it is necessary to focus on building commitment, accountability (including an M&E system), political will (which will involve setting aside sufficient human and financial resources, gender responsive budgeting) and the development of an enabling organizational culture.

Top management require short, focused, evidence-based courses on gender issues. The aim should be on making a case for gender, rather than on building skills on gender. The focus should on illustrating the *costs of not mainstreaming gender* in national development. It is necessary to provide the highest levels with gender-disaggregated data to show inadequate attention to gender results in a loss of agricultural productivity. All this requires the provision of adequate resources (financial, human, expertise, material).

At the *programme level*, it is necessary to clarify the gender issues: who is affected and why. Programme design needs to develop objectives that are gender focused. Accountability is critical. Monitoring and Evaluation systems (M&E) need gender sensitive indicators on activities, outputs and outcomes. They need to be able to tell stories rather than provide just figures. What difference did we make? How did we change people's lives?

At this level gender mainstreaming must be attached to tangible activities. Isolated gender units writing indicators will not work. They will be too complex and may not be relevant to a programme. It is necessary to start by identifying the gaps and then deciding which gaps to address, and how. From there, targets can be set to enhance the livelihoods of women and men, and to close the gender gaps.

² With thanks to Charity Kabutha, pers. Comm. February 1st, 2010 (Nairobi, Kenya) whose ideas have been incorporated into this section along with more Zambia specific material.



Female head of household, centre, with her brick house, built as part of her ASP vision. Chimntanda Village, Petauke District

3. Overview of the Agriculture Support Programme (ASP)

The Agricultural Support Programme (ASP) grew out of earlier Sida-funded projects that handled different aspects of the agriculture sector in Zambia: Land Management and Conservation Farming, Multiplication & Distribution of Improved Seed & Planting Materials Programme, Small Holder Agriculture Processing, Extension & Storage and, of particular importance, the Economic Expansion of Outlying Areas (EEOA) programme. Like ASP, this programme was managed outside the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MACO) or MAFF (Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries) as it was then known. EEOA was introduced after 1991, when the economy was liberalized, and it sought to engender entrepreneurial thinking at the village level. This approach, plus the facilitation methodologies that developed over the course of the EEOA programme, coalesced in the “Farming as a Business” approach of the ASP.

ASP operated in four provinces and, within each, covered five or six districts. The principal target group for phase I (2003–05) comprised 20,000 poor households interested in taking up 'farming as a business' and an additional 24,000 households were targeted in phase II (2005–08). A secondary target group included government, NGOs and the private sector capable of providing services and activities to encourage and enable small-scale farmers to participate in the market economy³.

ASP was implemented by MACO staff at local level (district and camp) but was managed by a Programme Management Unit located outside MACO. The implementing agency was comprised of a consortium of consultancy companies with Ramboll Natura AB as the lead consultant. ASP had a steering committee, chaired by MACO, with members representing agricultural sector stakeholders. Operational funding for the programme was by means of grants provided by Sida and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) – a small grant in phase 2. ASP channelled funds, and added supervisory and backstopping staff together with resources to contribute towards effective and efficient implementation of the programme.

³ This paragraph was excerpted from Bishop-Sambrook, C. & Wonani, C., 2008.

Table 1: Summary of ASP⁴

Goal	Poverty reduction through improving the livelihoods of small-scale farmer households via 1) improved food and nutritional security, and 2) increased income through the sale of mainly agricultural and agricultural related products and services.
Aid Modality	Support to the Government of Zambia under a Specific Agreement
Financing Modality	Project Funding
Time frame	2003–2008
Sida Contribution	The total programme budget for the period 2003 to 2008 was SEK 346,510,334. About SEK 330,263,149 was the total expenditure for the 6 years. Out of this amount the Norwegian Embassy contributed about SEK 49.5 million over the period 2006–2008.
Beneficiaries and target groups	ASP operated in 4 provinces – Eastern, Central, Southern and Northern, 22 districts and 242 camps. The target group was 44,000 small-scale farming households in selected agricultural camps, and the local service providers needed for the development of these households.
Areas of Intervention/ Objectives	Component 1: Entrepreneurship and Business Development Component 2: Land, Crop, Seed and Livestock Development Component 3: Infrastructure Fund Component 4: Improved Service Delivery of Support Entities Component 5: Management, Information & Learning Systems
Implementing Agency	Outsourcing arrangement. Management handled by a consortium of consultancy companies: the Rural Economic Expansion Services Ltd. (REES), Gibcoll Associates Ltd., HJP International Ltd., RuralNet Associates Ltd., with Ramboll Natura AB as the lead consultant. MACO involved in implementation.

3.1. ASP Components

ASP was centrally about creating a knowledge economy in five defined components as explained in Box 1. It worked as a catalyst, an agent of change, an enabler, as well as a provider of targeted agronomic and livestock expertise. It sought to help create an enabling environment for farmers through involving service providers in the programme. Its goal was to stimulate farmers to help themselves and thus to empower them as their own agents of development. ASP did not provide any inputs, or loans (at least, not beyond 2005). For this reason many farmers refused to join ASP, seeing it as a talking shop. Our findings (see Chapter 6) show that the farmers who persisted have, in the main, been well rewarded, particularly with respect to establishing household food security and increasing farm productivity. The achievements with respect to “Farming as a Business” are less secure.

The components outlined in Box 1 were communicated in specially convened groups at the community level, and the messages reinforced through intensive work by extension workers at the household level. This “household approach” enabled the extension workers to ensure that each farming household had properly internalized the relevant components, and that they were able to adapt them to suit their own situation.

⁴ Sources: Agricultural Support Programme Zambia (<http://www.rambollnatura.se/projects/viewproject.aspx?projectid=B951D6DB-A7FB-44F...> 09/12/2009); Zambia ASP M-E ReportMainText 7.11.2007 (Powerpoint Presentation by Chris Wang).

Box 1: Components of ASP⁶

Entrepreneurship and business development: this forms the core of ASP, aiming to develop a critical mass of entrepreneurs who are able to recognize and exploit economic opportunities, and to adapt to new opportunities when they arise. In turn, they are expected to spearhead economic and livelihoods diversification, thereby creating a dynamic and sustainable local economy. The main programme activities build entrepreneurship and business development skills through workshops and action planning, including special courses targeting women, youth and families and the formation of savings groups.

Land, seed, crop and livestock development: this component builds on sound traditional practices and techniques to increase production and enhance productivity through promoting and enhancing the adoption of new production techniques, improved land management and conservation farming practices, the use of improved seed, crop diversification and the integration of crop and livestock enterprises in farming systems by the target households. This is achieved through extension, micro-trainings, demonstrations and exposure visits.

Infrastructure fund: this component aims to overcome some of the rural infrastructure constraints that inhibit economic development by investing in a limited number of small-scale infrastructure projects that enhance economic expansion and marketing opportunities in the ASP areas. A total of 11 projects have been supported (six market sheds, one goat marketing centre and four small bridges); no new proposals have been accepted since 2005.

Improved service delivery of support entities: this component facilitates development and builds the capacity of support entities to increase and improve their service provision and delivery to the target group. Support entities are defined as any individual, group, institution or organization that provides a service that is beneficial to farmers including extension agents, trainers, information providers, input suppliers, buyers of agricultural produce (individuals, outgrower managers, cooperatives), middlemen, transporters, storage providers, agro-processors, insurers, banks, loan and credit providers, and providers of infrastructure.

Management information and learning system (MILS): the MILS, based in the MU, supports the whole programme by measuring, monitoring, documenting and disseminating the impact of ASP activities on the target households, and capturing and sharing the lessons learnt.

3.2. Methodology of ASP: The Facilitation Cycle

The facilitation cycle is the heart of the ASP approach to promote demand-driven, participatory development with a business focus. Facilitation activities progress through area selection, awareness raising and community mobilization, to opportunity identification, needs assessment, action planning, resource mobilization, implementation and evaluation. A Facilitation Handbook (ASP, 2003), and draft guidelines (ASP, no date) for gender mainstreaming, indicate how to incorporate a gender perspective into each stage of the facilitation process. The Facilitation Handbook notes that areas of gender disparity to be addressed at household, group and community level include: participation, workloads, income, training, access to and control over resources, access to knowledge, and decision-making⁶.

Although ASP closed two years ago, all the farmers spoken to in the course of this research shared their household vision with us and explained how they were still working towards it. They commented frequently on the importance of the “action-reflection-action” component of the facilitation cycle. Many farmers showed us evidence of how they had already realized key elements of their vision, such as constructing a brick building with iron sheets as roofing, and they uniformly stated that they had achieved household food security – in contrast to many of their neighbours. Several farmers explained that they were teaching their neighbours particular methodological elements of the ASP approach since non-ASP households wanted to learn: *‘Some people had no interest in joining. Others felt they were wasting time attending meetings. Now they envy us.’*

⁵ Source: Bishop-Sambrook, C. & Wonani, C., 2009.

⁶ This paragraph is abridged from several paragraphs taken from Bishop-Sambrook, C. & Wonani, C., 2009.

With respect to the extension messages outlined in Box 1, respondents have particularly internalized the importance of crop rotation and diversification, especially mixed livestock/crop farming systems. The refrain, “Farming as a Business”, has become the guiding principle of their farming activities, but it would seem that farmers do not only associate this with becoming entrepreneurial. Rather, they take it to mean a more rational, planned approach to farming, with careful calculations of income and expenditure. All respondents ensured household food security before selling any products and they were particularly proud of this achievement. Box 2 expresses the views of male farmers from Kabwe and Petauke on the benefits of the overall programme.

Box 2: A Planned Approach to Farming: The Overall Benefits of the ASP

- I have been a farmer for many years but never planned my activities. It was just a matter of, “Oh, the rains have started. Let me take seeds and plant”. Now we sit as a household and discuss our vision and then we make an action plan to address our specific agreed needs as a family.
- Through ASP I have learnt how to plan, budget, grow crops and market to get cash. We plan for our household food security and we don't experience hunger these days. Our food lasts up to the next harvest.
- We used to practice traditional agriculture but now we do market research, mixed farming – and we have even learnt how to treat and manage livestock.
- ASP was a very good project. We learnt a lot, especially farming as a business. It taught us that a person should have household food security, good planning and budgeting. We appreciate the differences between traditional ways of farming and the new methods, and we have got immediate benefits.
- Mixed farming was promoted and now we are members of a Livestock Cooperative that manages and sells goats. We had a study tour to Mochipapa.

One of the most unexpected outcomes of the research is that all the *extension workers* we met, bar one, had set up their own farming enterprises using the “Farming as a Business” methodology they had learnt through ASP.

3.3. ASP Gender Strategy⁷

The policy of ASP was to mainstream gender considerations into the facilitation and implementation of all programme activities in order to attain gender equality and equity. The objectives of the ASP's gender policy of integrating gender in its activities were *'to ensure more equitable access to, and control of, resources and benefits, and participation in decision-making at household, group and community levels'*. The vision was *'to achieve gender equity and equality within ASP i.e., meeting the needs, priorities of women, men and youth, in order to attain sustainable empowerment through “Farming as a Business”*. Key ASP gender strategies included:

- Adopting a household approach in all interventions at household level in order to cater for the needs and priorities of all active adults and youth in the household.
- Training and promoting activities in a manner that do not discriminate against women, men and youth.
- Adopting affirmative action on selected training and interventions that target women only.
- Striving to achieve a minimum of 30 % women's participation in all programme interventions, and ensuring that, as a strategy, activities with less than 30 % of women do not take place.
- Promoting gender equity in resource allocation.

According to the review of ASP by Bishop-Sambrook and Wonani (2008) ASP's objectives and vision for gender mainstreaming are set out in the gender policy and are reflected in the programme principles and pillars and the logical framework, though improvements need to be made. Gender

⁷ Summarized from Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Sida, Ramboll AB, 2008 and from Bishop-Sambrook, C. & Wonani, C., 2009.

considerations have been mainstreamed into the facilitation cycle, staff induction training, and the management information and learning system. However, data on gender has not been properly analysed nor has the capacity building of staff been consistent, thus reducing the effectiveness of these elements of the programme. The study team confirmed these findings, particularly with regard to quite low staff capacity on gender (which is generally taken to mean involving women).

The research team focused upon the methodologies of the household approach, and community level meetings, for their effectiveness in involving women in decision-making processes with respect to the use of household-managed farming resources. The team sought to establish whether inclusion at one level resulted in strategic gender gains at another level. Potential barriers to behavioural change were discussed with respondents, as were ways of overcoming these barriers. The research team was particularly keen to establish whether implementation of the household approach resulted in improved agricultural outcomes.

The ability of ASP to draw women farmers into marketing networks formed another focus of the study, as did food security.

4. Overview of Gender Mainstreaming in Zambia and in the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives

4.1. Thematic Overview

The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (Paris Declaration, 2005) sets out five principles for operationalizing aid modalities. The principles are ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing for development results, and mutual accountability. The Paris Declaration mentions gender only in passing in the 'Harmonization' chapter (paragraph 42: '*Similar harmonization efforts are also needed on other cross cutting issues, such as gender equality*'), thus providing no guidance on how to work with gender.

However, as a consequence of the sharpened focus upon gender in the Accra Agenda for Action (2008), a comprehensive review of the Paris Declaration commitments, the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ, 2009) considers that "*the interplay between national macro programmes and sector programmes offers great potential for the promotion of gender equality, women's empowerment and national development processes overall*".

The key is, of course, to realize that potential for change. Whilst women *should* benefit from the aims of the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action just as much as men, structural inequalities facing women in particular mean that it is difficult for them to do so. The political, administrative, financial and sector-specific (economy, health, agriculture etc.) reform processes resulting from the operationalization of the Paris Declaration impact directly, and differentially, upon the living conditions of women and men. It is essential, therefore, to develop principles and processes that explicitly focus on promoting gender equality and facilitate equal sharing of the benefits of development assistance. In other words, development assistance needs to continue its work in levelling the playing field. In the view of the GTZ (ibid.) technical cooperation programmes can assist through:

1. Promoting good governance by mainstreaming gender as a key issue.
2. Promoting equality in political reform processes.
3. Promoting equality on a sectoral basis by dismantling structural inequalities (e.g. in access to resources and services).

4. Promoting gender responsive budgeting and procedures.
5. Contributing to capacity development (e.g. via gender responsive analysis, statistics, monitoring and evaluation).

4.2. Mainstreaming Gender in Zambia

The national context for gender mainstreaming in Zambia has been influenced by global initiatives. For example, the UN Economic and Social Council (1946) set out measures for promoting women's economic, social and political rights. This was followed by the declaration of a Women's Decade (1975–1985); and the adoption by the United Nations of the *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW, 1979), the first international instrument to define discrimination against women. In 1985 the UN World Conference, held in Nairobi, Kenya, articulated Forward-Looking Strategies which reaffirmed the promotion of equality of opportunity between men and women. At the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 gender mainstreaming was agreed upon as a strategy for achievement of gender equality, and the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (1995) stressed safe motherhood, and the sexual and reproductive rights of women.

Zambia responded to these global initiatives by creating a Women in Development (WID) Policy (1983–1999). This was followed by a National Gender Policy (NGP) in 2000, which is still in force. Structural measures to implement these policies include:

For implementing WID Policy

- Women's Desk at National Commission for Development Planning (1983).
- Women in Development Department at National Commission for Development Planning (1992).

For implementing the NGP

- Gender in Development Division (GIDD) in the Cabinet Office, Office of the President (1996), which includes: Parliamentary Committee on Legal Affairs, Governance, Human Rights and Gender Matters; Gender Focal Points in line ministries and specialized agencies.
- The creation of a Ministry of Women, Gender and Development (2006).

Specific strategies to enable implementation include the following:

- The 3rd National Development Plan (1989–1993) contained a whole chapter on Women In Development. However, the entire Plan was discontinued in 1991 with the change of government.
- The Strategic Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women in 1996 focused on 5 priority areas: education, decision-making, training, poverty, and the girl child.
- Guidelines for Mainstreaming Gender in the Public Service (2001).
- Strategic Plan of Action for the National Gender Policy for all sectors (2004–2010).
- Strategy and Implementation Plan for Engendering the Public Services (prepared by Jule Development Associates International (JUDAI) Consultants (September 2008), which the Government of Zambia has indicated through the Times of Zambia (Thursday January 7th, 2010) will be implemented.

Despite these efforts, the pace of change has generally been slow and the responses of various institutions variable. To date only 14 out of 27 sectoral Public Sector institutions have policies and plans

that incorporate gender or have instituted affirmative action in favour of women. The Ministry of Education has been the most effective in mainstreaming gender.

4.3. Mainstreaming Gender in the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives⁸

MACO applies a WID approach is implementing a strategy for the economic empowerment of women in the agricultural sector. UNDP funded MACO to enable it to work with all sectors of agriculture. These are in: a) Programme Management and Coordination; b) Monitoring Food, Nutrition and Health; c) Smallholder Seed Production; d) Food Crop Diversification; e) Small Ruminant Development; f) Animal Draft Power; g) Post-Harvest Technologies and On-Farm Storage; h) Local Market Development and Access; (i) Small Scale Irrigation Development; j) Conservation Farming Technologies; k) Smallholder Aquaculture Development; and l) Improved Smallholder Access to Credit and Financial Services. Activities implemented by JUDAI Consultants (1998–2000) included: (i) Conducting Gender Training Needs Assessments covering all provinces; (ii) Designing gender training programmes based on the findings of the gender training needs assessment; (iii) Preparing a toolkit, a Gender Mainstreaming Manual, covering all the components above; (iv) Preparing a Gender Training Kit for MACO; and (v) conducting the training.

Discussions with respondents – including Dr Richard Kamona, Deputy Director, Field Services; Mr Lameck Kaluba, Chief Agricultural Extension Officer; Mr Musonda Kunda, Senior Sociologist and Gender/HIV and Aids Focal Point Person at MACO; and Dr Chris Coulter, external consultant, showed that MACO generally recognizes the importance of women in farming and that it takes its responsibility to introduce women-friendly technologies seriously, for example groundnut harvesters and treadle pumps that require less strength or bending, and thus lighten the workload. MACO also recognizes that women face serious constraints in retaining control over the marketing of crops and the income generated. To better address gender issues across departments, the Ministry has appointed Gender Focal Points in each Department, who are members of a Gender Committee at MACO.

4.4. Constraints to Gender Mainstreaming in MACO⁹

The mainstreaming of gender at MACO suffers from many of the same constraints as other line ministries. These constraints include significant understaffing at the Gender in Development Division (GIDD), weak linkages between GIDD and the Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in line ministries, and weak links between GIDD and civil society organizations focusing on gender. Respondents to this study criticized GIDD for not supporting GFPs and for not developing a strategy for MACO.

Other points include:

1. *Staffing Policy.* MACO is working towards increasing the number of women staff. Its policy is to ensure that 30 % of its staff are female. There remains an imbalance in higher positions, but the middle level is better since more women are moving up through the system. At the lower level, women and men conduct traditional “gender-specific” tasks. Some men feel that they are discriminated against when staffing procedures appear to favour women.
2. *Gender Machinery.* The Gender Macro Committee has no budget and so does not conduct any gender activities. It is housed in the Policy and Planning Unit and has zero visibility.

⁸ Additional material for this section was provided by Chris Coulter (interview 15.02.2010), Dr Richard Kamona, MACO (interview 16.02.2010) and Dr Kunda, MACO (interview 16.02.1020).

⁹ Additional material for this section was provided by Dr. Chris Coulter (Interview 15.02.2010), Dr. Richard Kamona at MACO (interview 16.02.2010) and Mr Kunda at MACO (interview 16.02.2010).

There is a national gender structure which is comprised of the Gender in Development Division (GIDD) at Cabinet Office, Parliament, sectoral ministries, specialized government agencies, Provincial Development Coordinating Committees and District Development Coordinating Committees, and a Gender Consultative Forum. The Ministry of Gender and Women Empowerment was introduced in 2006, but it has neither support structures nor staff; it relies on GIDD for secretarial support. However, GIDD (which has the mandate of coordinating gender mainstreaming in national development) does not give support on capacity building, nor does it drive gender mainstreaming. Although MACO is supposed to report to them twice a year, they do not have a Monitoring and Evaluation Officer there who ensures accountability on gender mainstreaming. As a result, MACO has not reported to them for four years.

3. *Budgeting.* Efforts to budget for gender activities in MACO fail, with departmental directors requesting that any gender initiatives are sliced from the budget. The situation is compounded by the fact that the Ministry of Finance does not advocate on gender issues. Indeed, the Ministry of Finance cut all gender budgeting in 2007 with the statement that gender has to be mainstreamed!

Previously, Sida was able to ringfence some funding and it asked for reports on progress. The Deputy Director of MACO, Dr Richard Kamona, remarked, *'The gender budget for activities has been cut. There are ceilings for each programme. Once you have budgeted for meetings with farmers, there is no money for gender. We have a budget line for cross cutting issues/gender and HIV/AIDS. But there is no money for training on gender analysis and training. We are saying it is incorporated but there is nothing.'*

4. *Capacity on Gender.* Decision makers and implementers exhibit low levels of gender knowledge/skills. Due to high staff turnover almost all the expertise created through the application of the Gender Training Kit and Gender Training Manual, mentioned above, in 2001/2002 has leaked from the Ministry¹⁰, leaving a significant gap in expertise.
5. *Gender Focal Points.* Although a cabinet circular was issued to all Ministries that they had to create a GFP, responsibility for gender mainstreaming is not incorporated into job descriptions (apart from one exception). There is therefore no staff appraisal on gender mainstreaming. GFPs in MACO are supposed to be integrated into a committee and to meet twice a year. However, they have not met for several years. Box 3 expresses the views of Mr Kunda, Gender Focal Point in MACO. Mr Kunda is the highest level GFP in the Ministry, with four levels between him and the Cabinet. Other GFPs are placed much lower in the hierarchy.

¹⁰ This was funded by Sida.

Box 3: Gender Focal Point in MACO

As senior sociologist to MACO my key accountability is social policy analysis. I am also part of a unit that aims to coordinate cross cutting issues including Gender, HIV/AIDS and the Environment. MACO does not provide anyone with the specific role of Gender Focal Point. I have my own job description and my own responsibilities. Sometimes I can attend to gender issues, for example next week I will be going to join a EC delegation to view a programme in one of the provinces. I will be asking whether gender issues are being taken into consideration.

I am the only gender focal point whose work is appraised since my TORs include gender. Other GFPs are not appraised. For example, the TORs of Gender Focal Points at the provincial level (i.e. provincial agricultural officers) do not include gender. They are just told to be Gender Focal Points and usually receive no training. It is the same with departmental Gender Focal Points.

I have three recommendations to strengthen gender mainstreaming in MACO: (i) knowledge on gender mainstreaming must be enhanced and capacity developed; (ii) there must be a budget line to conduct gender activities; and (iii) the national gender machinery must be developed and made accountable. The proposal during this current gender audit is that we need a stand-alone unit for gender mainstreaming, with the same status as the Procurement and Supply Unit. This cuts across all the departments. All plans will have to go through the Gender Unit. It will be seconded with specialists from the UN, who are experts in gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting, for a transitional period.

6. *Lack of Professional Recognition.* Gender and development (GAD) is not perceived as a technical and professional field that requires similar rigorous training and analysis as other technical/professional fields.
7. *Lack of Data.* MACO does not have the requisite data to make a case for gender mainstreaming. Though it collects sex-disaggregated data this is poorly analysed, if at all, and is not used for planning. The extension workers, who are the front line staff with respect to data collation, lack the basic ingredient, computers, paper, and petrol, to get out to meet the farmers.

Overall, gender mainstreaming suffers from a lack of domestication of international instruments and legal backing. There is no Act of Parliament to make gender mainstreaming mandatory. As a consequence, there is low political will and commitment, which is graphically represented by the lack of budgets for gender mainstreaming.

5. Cultural Context for ASP Interventions

5.1. Thematic Overview

The concept of *agency*, defined as the ability to define one's goals and act upon them, is critical to the ability of women and men to take rational decisions in farming, as well as to wider empowerment agendas. Effective agency is closely linked to *resources*, for without resources it is often impossible to realize a goal. In Zambia, as in many countries of the world, women generally have much less access to, or control over, critical productive resources such as land, machinery, or money, than do men. Women's access to land in particular is almost always mediated through male kin and can be withdrawn in the event of marital breakdown or death of the male partner.

Furthermore, the presence of particular items in a household does not mean that everyone in the household benefits equally from them. The "functionings and capabilities" framework set out by Amartya Sen (1998) challenges the view that possession of commodities alone translates into well-being, as traditionally posited by economists. He argues that the possession of goods does not translate automatically into well-being since possession is different from the ability to benefit from the characteristics

of these goods. That is, it is not the possession of the commodity or the utility it provides that proxies for well-being, but rather *what the person actually succeeds in doing with that commodity and its characteristics*.

Finally, in his essay “*Co-operative Conflicts*” (1990) Sen shows that households are often sites of ‘cooperative conflicts’. Women and men cooperate to bring goods into the household, but there is conflict over the intra-household division of those goods. Due to unequal power relations in the household, Sen argues, the benefits women secure are not commensurate with their input. Thus, it is necessary to ‘unpack’ the black box of the household.

The research team hypothesized that the high variability between culturally distinct groups in Zambia in the way they mediate resources would affect the outcomes of the ASP programme. This chapter briefly sets out key cultural arrangements in mediating access to land and labour. It shows that these arrangements are highly gendered. Women and men experience access to resources differently in each culture. The relative ability of women and men to determine the use of those resources varies.

5.2. Cultural Issues in Relation to Decision-making and Access to/ Control Over Resources and Benefits in Zambia

Culture is increasingly recognized as having a central influence on the rate of development by many scholars and researchers. It is useful to understand how a particular society or community is culturally constructed if meaningful development impacts are to be scored. The ASP project in Zambia was implemented in areas with diverse ethnic cultural differences or practices that to some extent influenced the rate of programme implementation.

Decision making for husband and wife at household level is clearly influenced by a society’s culture. Three main types of inheritance are prevalent in Zambia. These are matrilineal (inheritance traced through female line), patrilineal (inheritance traced through male line) and bilateral (inheritance traced through both male and female line). Furthermore, there are mainly three types of post-marriage rules of residence that are followed in rural communities of Zambia.

The most common arrangement is patrilineal and patrilocal (virilocal) postmarital residence, where a man pays bride wealth to the family of the woman and brings her to live with him at his paternal natal home. In this kind of society sons will inherit joint ancestral property from their father: “*Land is a joint family property that is inherited from the father, paternal grandfather or great grandfather*” (Agarwal, 1994). Sons at birth become “coparceners” (joint heirs or co owners). However, women do not own immovable assets in patrilineal society. This is the most common type of inheritance and promotes the headship of males in all household and community matters.

The second arrangement involves matrilineal and matrilocal post marital residence where the married man shifts to go and live at his wife’s village. This traces inheritance through the maternal female line (maternal relatives). Bride price may not be paid and the wife is the holder of the land while the husband is a manager. He has no power to gift, sale or partition land without the consent of the wife’s maternal relatives. All decisions regarding any land transfer or granting of user rights are made communally by members of the founding lineage. The children will inherit property through their mother, and the mother’s maternal brothers have more decision making power in the house of their maternal sister than their brother in law. This kind of inheritance is common in Petauke district, one of the research team’s study sites. Male respondents confirmed that the shifting of men to the wife’s village is still practiced at 100 %. But the period that men stay at the wife’s maternal residence has been reduced to as low as three days in the situation where a man works in urban areas.

The third type of arrangement is bilateral, whereby the married man can stay with either his maternal or paternal relatives. Children can claim inheritance from both sides and unmarried sisters and

brothers have relatively equal rights to property in the home. Decision-making is commonly based on age, with older people having more power.

Annex 3 provides some more information on land tenure arrangements in Zambia.

6. Findings

6.1. The Household Approach

The Household Approach aims to reinforce extension messages initially communicated at the community level. It describes a process whereby individual meetings between ASP-coded households and camp facilitators take place over a period of three years. All adult household members (husband, wife and older children) participate in setting the household vision and preparing an action plan, work together during implementation, and share the benefits together. Children are important because they are sometimes the only literate people in the household and thus are important to proper accounting.

Our findings substantiate the findings of the gender study conducted in 2008 into ASP: *The Household Approach as an Effective Tool for Gender Empowerment: A review of the policy, processes and impact of gender mainstreaming in the Agricultural Support Programme in Zambia* (Bishop-Sambook, C. & Wonani, C., 2009). There is no doubt that the household approach, in combination with training in the five technical components of the programme, has contributed decisively to the involvement of women farmers in the programme. As a consequence of mainstreaming women, farmers firmly believe that agricultural output has increased and food security at the household level has been greatly improved.

Furthermore, the attitudinal changes that have been wrought with respect to the cultural norms governing “male” and “female” roles and responsibilities are astonishing, particularly given that the time period has been so short. Our research showed that these changes are appreciated by both women and men. The main reason is simply that the gains to intra-household cooperation are seen so quickly. Maximizing everyone’s involvement in the household economy makes economic sense. Critically, empowering women has not been seen to disempower men. Rather, both men and women have felt empowered because intra household relationships are less tense and more productive. Men not only appear to have better relationships with their wives; they appear to have forged closer relationships with their children.

The research team acknowledge that it was only able to engage in a small scoping study and that it relied entirely on interviews with farmers, extension workers and other stakeholders in the programme for its data. However, the unanimity of opinion between all the farmers and the extension workers consulted in two cultural and geographically distinct areas was striking. When asked whether the benefits they had noted were in fact due to wider societal processes of change, farmers were very firm on ascribing various indicators of development specifically to ASP’s intervention and in particular, to the household approach. That is to say, ASP through the household approach has managed to speed up and coalesce processes of change in gender norms that otherwise take decades.

Please note that the boxes which follow combine quotes from farmers in Petauke and Kabwe Districts unless otherwise indicated. The gender of the respondents is always provided.

6.1.1. Household Resilience

The emphasis of ASP on working with the farming household, including both the wife and the children, has increased the *resilience* of many households. This is because all family members understand

their farming system and have been actively involved in shaping it. Farming activities have been enabled to continue in the absence or death of the male head. Men at all research sites were very conscious of these benefits to their families (Box 4).

Box 4: Improved Farm Resilience through ASP: men's views

- You see when we started working with ASP there were men who have since died and left their spouse and children. Their farms are still functioning and are even better after their death. This is because the women were involved in planning and decision-making.
- I want to give an example of my case. Last season I spent five months away from home on national duties, but my wife organized all the inputs. She grew the crops with our children, took care of our animals and even treated those that fell sick. Now as I speak I am eating the food that I never participated in growing. Our food will take us to the next harvest.
- The non ASP-coded families feel bad because we have left them behind. We feel good because even when I die my wife and children will not suffer. They will continue planning and budgeting for the family farming business.

Furthermore, there are likely to be significant *intergenerational* benefits to the household approach, since farmer children are closely involved in the formulation of an action plan, and the vision of the household. One male respondent described the benefits for children thus, *“Because of the consultations that we make with women and children, we make joint decisions, we budget together and now wives and children own animals”*. This may in the long term encourage children to stay in farming and thus reduce urban drift, rural underemployment etc.

Moreover, one of the most tangible gains that both men and women respondents repeatedly mentioned is that joint planning over expenditure has enabled children to go to school – a significant intergenerational benefit.

All these gains are, of course, critically underpinned by the extension components discussed in Chapter 3.

6.1.2. Change in Gender Roles and Responsibilities in Male-Headed Households

All farmer respondents, both male and female, recorded that men had changed their behaviour as a direct consequence of ASP. Men are more willing to share decision-making with their wives though they generally still consider themselves household heads. Shared decision-making has resulted in a more rational use of resources. Extension workers and the farmers themselves explained that previous to the programme, male heads of households generally took all the decisions regarding what to plant and how to allocate household labour. Very little discussion with other household members was conducted, though women could usually offer advice. Women could not take any decisions in the absence of their partner. This meant that farms often failed when men were absent. Critically, women had no say in investment decisions. Male respondents to this survey themselves acknowledged that they have been poor managers of household finances, often spending money to their own benefit – particularly on alcohol. Household tensions regarding the monies needed for the schooling of children, and the assurance of food security, were extremely high.

Furthermore, reproductive work was entirely assigned to women, resulting in a very long working day devoid of leisure or the chance to devote more time to income generation.

The household approach has undoubtedly resulted in significant change in gender roles and responsibilities. One woman farmer said: *Due to the facilitation of trainers on gender, we have learnt that the rules were not created by God. An extension worker commented: Most men have accepted the change. They now know that women can perform wonders and make things move. See Box 5.*

Box 5: Changes in Gendered Roles and Responsibilities at Household Level: ‘There is no chance of going back’

Women Farmers

- Before ASP, we used to go to the fields together, but when we were coming back the wife would carry the baby and the firewood. At home the man would sit around while the wife prepared the food. The man was just waiting. Now the man is helping the ladies with cooking and carrying firewood, and drawing water.
- Before, the husband and wife went to the fields. When they came back the woman would start pounding maize to make mealie meal. The wife would prepare the food and then they would go back to the fields in the afternoon. After the fields the woman would draw water and prepare food and wash the children. The husband would be seated just like that. Now the husband can help.
- It is better with ASP. Men used to hide the money. Now women know how much money there is.
- The man cooks if the wife is sick or away. They used to expect the near neighbour to do this.
- Men used to steal maize and exchange it for beer. They don't do this now.
- There is no chance of going back. Doing things together makes people happy.

Men Farmers

- Before ASP we lived in conflict as households since we always forced our views as men onto all family members.
- Men are not ashamed to do the female roles. The women who are not in ASP-coded households admire us, while the men are envious.
- The roles that men have started doing include cooking, drawing water using bicycles and 20 Lt containers, taking maize for grinding and feeding pigs and goats.
- The change of chores includes men taking up cooking, drawing water, taking children to the clinics, grinding maize, and collecting firewood.
- Women have started ploughing.
- Men are still household heads even with the household approach, but we now consult and agree with other family members.
- The sharing of roles is not at 50:50 as men only help women in desperate situations or just occasionally.
- The household approach has removed the practice of having a separate man's field where the wife works.

Despite these gains, it is clear that there is still quite some way to go if women's reproductive burden is to be lessened, since men are not fully sharing this burden. Interventions to target particular reproductive tasks are vital if women's time is to be freed up for productive tasks and for leisure. For example, men are clearly much more willing to collect water if they have a container and a bicycle. Other tried and tested interventions that help to meet women's practical gender needs include locating water sources close to homes and introducing improved cookstoves that require little fuel.

Change in male behaviour cannot be ascribed to the household approach alone. ASP activities to mainstream awareness of HIV/AIDS have undoubtedly played a very significant role in reinforcing male behavioural change.

This said, all respondents agreed that it had been difficult for men to change their behaviour in the short term. Neighbours and parents have frequently accused wives of employing witchcraft to control their men. Over time, though, it appears that male behavioural change has been accepted largely because the households experience less arguments, and because the benefits of working together have become self-evident.

Furthermore, ASP farmers have often acted together to reduce jealousy among non-participating farmers in the village. Fear of jealousy and witchcraft can act as a real brake on development. Farmers explained that they were tactical about implementing their vision. Rather than acting alone, they realized their vision in parallel through devising carefully managed and coordinated stages. For example, they all bought iron roofing sheets across a two year period and moulded bricks in the third year. In this way they created the "critical mass" they needed to realize their aims, thus disarming villagers who may have been overtly hostile to individual success.

Finally, it is interesting to observe that since ASP was open to all, older people regarded as “witches” by villagers, and thus feared, often enrolled themselves. On one level, this served to co-opt them into the programme and thus to enable other villagers to participate without fear of witchcraft. At the same time it should be noted that these older people do not necessarily regard themselves as witches! One may conjecture that they drew some personal comfort from being better integrated into village society: an interesting topic for further research.

6.1.3. Change in Access to, and Control over, Assets

Through changing gendered norms in household decision-making, the household approach has started to create shifts in gendered access to, and control over, important assets. This is because the farm enterprise is now understood to belong to the whole household rather than any one individual. Particular benefits include:

- In some areas women have gained independent access to land, though this remains small scale at present.
- Women are purchasing particular assets in their own right, for example all the women respondents in Chintanda, Petauke, had purchased their own bicycles. Extension workers in Kabwe said that women had started to buy their own hammer mills and animals.
- Women are starting to move into new commodities (and potentially, value chains). For example, as a consequence of ASP women in Petauke have started beekeeping, fish farming and gardening – all areas previously seen as male.

Despite these gains, there remain several outstanding issues. In the majority of cases women’s increased access to resources still relies on their ability to maintain their relationship to the male head of household and to wider kinship networks. As noted in Chapter 5, the issue of access to, and control over, land is particularly acute for women in customary land tenure systems in the case of separation or death of the husband. Even on resettlement schemes, which are theoretically “gender-neutral”, women find it harder than men to obtain “Letters of Offer”. Usually these are allocated to men who are considered *de facto* heads of household by the state. Furthermore, it is very hard for both women and men to turn these into title deeds due to the complexity and costs of the procedures involved.

Moreover, very few Zambians in rural areas prepare written wills. In the case of a house, for example, built through the joint efforts of a family, there is no guarantee that a woman will be able to retain the house if their partner dies. An obvious solution to this is to encourage both women and men to prepare written wills.

Further research is required into other methods of strengthening female access to, and control over, productive and household resources to enable them to live securely in the case of separation or death of the male partner.

6.1.4. Female Headed Households

Many female-headed households (FHH) have benefited from the ASP programme. In the absence of men, they have been free to join training meetings organized by extension workers, and to decide themselves how to use their land and to form their vision. As one extension worker said: *Female headed households have nothing to lose.* Some FHH have graduated to high levels in the programme. For example, one woman has graduated to Level 4. She explained, *“I am assisted by my children on the farm. I have a drugstore. I use the money earned to pay the chief each year to use the fields. He then gives me a letter that entitles me to use the land. I farm on the land allocated to my parents. They had a big farm and shared the land among their children. They did not distinguish between brothers and sisters, rather they gave according to who worked hardest. I work very hard and so I got a lot of land. After harvest, I use the money made to subsidize the drugstore.”* It is important to note that

this woman benefited from a very favourable personal blend of circumstances that she was then able to exploit by dint of hard work and entrepreneurship.

Other women rejoiced in the personal freedom they experienced as single women, as Box 6 demonstrates.

Box 6: Female Headed Households: Autonomous Decision-Makers

- Female-headed households do not suffer from labour problems. We work harder than men. Men are drunkards. We are different in how we work compared to male-headed households. When we are alone we think better.
- When there is a couple their potential goes down. After they have children things get better. The children can help the women.

However, since ASP focused on creating a knowledge economy, it significantly failed to address structural gender inequalities in relation to access to, and control over, key productive resources. Important opportunities to level the playing field for women, including women in female-headed households who face sharp inequalities in accessing particular resources due to their lack of male kin, were missed. Women in several female-headed households confirmed that their ability to graduate through the five phases of ASP programme was critically limited by their lack of resources and by still prevailing gender roles and responsibilities in some areas as explained in Box 7.

Box 7. Constraints for Female Headed Households

- We cannot manage to construct a house or storage buildings. This is men's work. It is very expensive for us.
- Sometimes we had a good yield, but we could not earn enough. We had to buy fertiliser and to get someone to plough. We cannot manage ploughing; we have to have a man to do it.
- We do not have resources to achieve our vision.

Male farmers agreed with this analysis. They explained: *Male-headed households have progressed faster than female-headed households as they have higher control over productive resources. Some female-headed households have had to skip achievement of their plans due to lack of resources.*

In some ASP areas women have learned to plough. This is a critical skill, but women also need to be enabled to own oxen, or at least, to be able to access them for ploughing on time. Conservation farming eliminates the need for ploughing altogether. If it were to be applied in a gender-sensitive manner it could help to alleviate the land preparation constraints that women-headed households generally face.

The point being made here is that *a fully gender sensitive programme needs to alleviate structural inequalities.* Knowledge alone is not enough if the basic resources are not there. The overall lack of programme focus by ASP on (i) understanding gendered inequalities in accessing resources; and (ii) devising strategies to alleviate these structural constraints can be related to the lack of sustained capacity building in gender analysis skills in programme staff at higher levels.

Interventions are needed that focus on building an asset base for female headed households, and also for poor women and men in general. Micro-credit is one of the most obvious, and indeed ASP started working on creating linkages between farmers and credit institutions. However, this was very much work in progress when ASP came to an end. This said, there are many innovative programmes around the world that can be drawn upon for inspiration in a future programme that focus on the provision of credit, and on farmer insurance.

6.1.5. Cultural Differences Affecting Adoption of the Household Approach

Chapter 5 provided grounds for the research team to speculate that the gender empowerment gains of the household approach would vary according to the particular marital arrangements and inheritance patterns in force. The research confirmed this hypothesis, though in an unexpected manner.

The households in Kabwe have better access to markets and a better resource base to invest in farming as most of them had worked somewhere before they settled there. The system of residence which applies is the neo-local system since the research site is within a Settlement Scheme (Mukobeko Zone 2), close to Kabwe town. Women respondents said they have high decision-making power and high access to, and control over, resources and benefits. The absence of influence of either maternal or paternal relatives on the husband or wife enabled these households to negotiate their interpersonal relationships more freely and work very well with the household approach of ASP.

The study team expected to find similarly high levels of female empowerment in Petauke. In Chintanda and Nyampande research sites in Petauke District, the farmers are matrilineal and practice the matrilocal system at marriage for a defined period ranging from four years in the past to as little as 3 days today in cases where the husband lives in town. Here, close relatives living nearby tend to interfere in intra-household negotiations over access to, and control over, household resources and benefits. However, the research team found that men have higher control over decision-making and access to resources and markets than do women. Ultimate control over key resources resides with the wife's family rather than with her (Box 8).

Box 8: Male Power in Matrilineal and Matrilocal Society

Male Farmers

- Resources are known by the men's names although they all belong to all family members.
- In most cases the man applies for land use rights. The field will be known by his name as he is the household head.
- The shifting of the man to the residence of the wife is still 100% but the time has been shortened and can be reduced to as little as three days after the payment of bride price.
- If I work in my parents' fields the control over the productive resources will be in my wife's family
- In matrilocal residence the parents-in-law control productive resources. The churches, NGOs and school have assisted men in matrilineal, matrilocal marriages to gain parental custody of the children.

Women Farmers

- We are not happy that the children have to work with us rather than the man. It would be better if the husband would work.
- The children cannot attend school because the father spends all the money.
- Children do not follow the mother. They do not listen to her. They listen to the father. He has power.
- The way I see it myself, children do not listen to mothers. Sometimes they refuse to go to the field.

The quotes in Box 8 show that women in Petauke traditionally experience significant lack of voice in all domains. Access to, and control over, resources has is governed by relationships between their husbands and their male kin, rather than between them and their partner. This may be partly attributed to the fact that overall agricultural policy in Zambia has for decades recognized men as household heads. This has eroded the headship of women even in matrilineal matrilocal post-marriage residences and elevated men all areas of development.

Despite these findings, women in Petauke are experiencing important empowerment gains as expressed in several of the boxes above. It is just that the pace of change is slower. Strategies to increase their voice and their access to and control over assets need to be strengthened.

Overall, the findings show that the extended family system has an important impact on the ability of ASP-coded households to fully realize the programme. These findings are not unique to the research sites but apply to Zambia as a whole. Official gender blind policy is underpinned by the prevalence of patriarchal attitudes even in matrilineal societies, and religious beliefs. These still operate to the advantage of men.

This said, there are other forces for change which are working to strengthen women's agency in Zambia across all cultures. These include urbanization, education, and the Interstate Succession Act (No. 5 of 1989). The Act provides for the following distribution of a deceased spouse's estate: 50% to his/her

children, including those born within and outside marriage, 20 % to parents of the deceased, 20 % to surviving spouse, and 10 % to dependants of the deceased. This Act provides for a woman remain in the house (as long as she does not remarry) until she dies. All the children have rights of ownership of the house for life. Generally, in practice, the majority of women are unaware of their rights. Under the dual tenure system, customary land is communally owned and, therefore, not subject to the division under the Act.

6.2. Community Level Extension Meetings

6.2.1. ASP's Strategy for Involving Women at the Community Level

A key gender empowerment of ASP was to direct training to women as well as men in its all its components. There was a policy that 30 % of participants at meetings should be women. We were told by farmers that meetings did not take place if this quota was not reached, though some facilitators cast doubt upon this. Women were encouraged by facilitators to speak and to ask questions in all meetings. *"Let's have Gender"* became a byword for inviting female participation. Extension workers explained:

- At meetings, we mainstreamed gender. We encouraged women to contribute and participate. Traditionally, women should not speak when husband are there.
- Women groups are coming up. Earlier on, cooperatives were focused on men, but now women feel they should have their own body through which they can learn through extension agents.
- The ASP approach made women aware they have equal opportunities with men. Women are now there in cooperatives and women groups. Positions like chair and vice chair can now be held by women in cooperatives.
- Women shy away from certain positions, women are shy.
- Although the society is changing ASP kick-started this.
- We found that it was simple for women to come together and discuss, but men did not want to join discussion groups. We found that it was easier to organize activities with women.
- In my camp there were more male-headed households but women were more active.
- Women are easy to organize. Men have to spare some time to go drinking.

This strategy has resulted in important empowerment gains for women. Women have become seen as role models for other women, and have gained in standing at the community level as Box 9 shows.

Box 9: Community Level Empowerment Gains for Women

- We became respected as people of knowledge because we were trained.
- Now we are educated and trained. Our eyes are no longer veiled. We are looking up.

In fact, extension workers in Petauke District found they had to work hard to involve men in the programme.

- In my camp I have more women than men. We started extension through the women's clubs and when ASP came we worked through these. We had 60 % women at beginning but worked to involve more men.
- We started to work with men too. We told the women to involve the men. At the end we achieved 50/50.
- We explained that development cannot only come to women. It is for both men and women. We developed the programme together.
- When ASP came we started the household approach. We wanted everyone to participate, even the husbands, even the sons. They had to be part and parcel of the action planning.

6.2.2. The Group Approach: does it benefit women?

Women respondents readily acknowledged the empowerment gains through participating in group level discussions. In particular, they appreciated their higher visibility as people of knowledge.

However, women were very anxious that the household approach should continue, arguing that the benefits of technical extension could only be realized through involving the whole family (Box 10).

Box 10: Reasons Why Women Oppose the Group Approach to Extension

- For us as women the HH approach is important. We cannot manage through the group. It is better for women to work alone.
- Some people don't cooperate in groups. People don't join in and the group is destroyed.
- It is difficult to share things in a group. Some will benefit more than others. If ZADEC comes to the group leadership, the leadership will not tell members the right price. ZADEC may offer 100 K for a goat but the leaders will say they are giving 70K. We are speaking of perhaps 50 households who will be cheated like this.
- We need the household approach so we can include the children in the vision and the action plan. The children can also work to on the action plan.
- We can sit together as a family and the children can make a suggestion.
- If the head of the household dies, the rest of the family knows the vision and can continue.

The findings show that the group approach alone does not empower women sufficiently because the whole household is not involved. Women who attend group meetings can find it very difficult to persuade the whole family to adopt extension messages. As noted earlier, the household approach enables the whole family to participate in the formulation of the household vision and the action plan to realize this. The involvement of children is particularly prized. Indeed, all the gains of the household approach outlined in the previous section would appear to be jeopardized if extension is, in the future, to be managed through groups alone.

6.3. Household Food Security

Food security and nutritional rights are a development and human rights issue; one of the important indicators of development is achievement of sustainable food security and nutrition at all levels: global, national, community, household and individual. For development programmes, food security is a concern that raises issues of availability of food – related to production, and access to food -related to distribution, at all levels. Both the availability and the accessibility of food can be affected by many complex factors working in interaction. These frequently include cultural norms which preclude the equal provision of nutritious food to women and men/boys and girls. This can cause serious health issues for women and girls. Food security is a sectoral issue which requires contributions from development experts of varied backgrounds covering poverty, gender, sustainable livelihoods, governance, and natural resources.

In Zambia, as in many African countries, women are a special focus of efforts to improve food security since activities such as food production, food preparation, and the provision of food to family members generally fall firmly to women. Zambian women are key players in ensuring household food security.

6.3.1. ASP and Food Security¹¹

One of the objectives of ASP was to promote the food security and the incomes (through the concept of “farming as a business”) of ASP-coded households. To address the issue of household food security, ASP used United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) guidelines for explaining how much food each household should set aside for their own use before sale. One ex-facilitator explained: *Households were trained to plan jointly on how much food was needs per person, and to set aside food for funeral and hospitality. Most of the farmers adhered to the guidelines; women came out strongly on the issue of household food secu-*

¹¹ This section was built from interviews with Edna Maluma, ex-ASP facilitator (18/02/2010 in Lusaka) and farmers in Kabwe and Petauke.

ity. Household food security was promoted through training farmers on the planning cycle (resources for production or inputs), actual production of crops/livestock, how much to set aside for household consumption, and how to calculate the excess for market/sale. This was conducted from a gender perspective through mainstreaming gender concerns. Farmers were also taught how to assess the likely food needs of visitors and for funerals and to set aside some food for this purpose – provided their own food needs for the year had been met. The practice of reserving food grains for household consumption has been sustained; the study team confirmed this at many of the ASP households visited. Farmers explained that they do not sell the “reserved” grains until after the next harvest.

Household food security was also promoted through training farmers to diversify from growing only maize to include production of both large livestock (i.e. cattle) and small livestock (goats, pigs, chickens, etc.) which can be sold for the cash needed to buy grain and other family needs.

Both female-headed households and male-headed households interviewed during field visits reported having achieved household food security as a result of training and skills acquired through ASP. The household approach enables female heads to plan and make decision jointly with their sons and daughters; and male heads to plan and make decisions with their wives, sons and daughters.

HIV/AIDS was treated as a cross cutting issue since ASP recognized that it negatively affects household food security as well as production for the market. This is because, generally, persons infected with HIV tend to be the productive members of the household. Women and girls assume the burden of care for both sick family and community members. To enable farmers to deal with HIV/AIDS related issues, ASP provided awareness and skills training on coping strategies, including: (i) livelihood diversification; (ii) Micro enterprise development; (iii) Alternative labour saving techniques; (iv) Nutritional requirements for patients; and (v) empowering youth with relevant knowledge/skills to ensure sustainable dissemination of the knowledge and skills gained.

Of course, some constraints remain to the achievement of full food security across many years. There are constraints, some of which lie beyond the power of ASP to influence. These include: (i) natural disasters, climate change and GoZ’s weak communication systems on adaptation/mitigation measures; (ii) overall poor provision of extension services by MACO: input supply, technical support to farmers, infrastructure); (iii) disproportionate burden of care for HIV/m patients on women and girls, which results in women’s absence from economic activities, and frequently the absence of girls from school; and (iv) The traditional perception of a man as head of the family household, which can contribute to some husbands misusing family resources (cash income, grain, livestock) for their personal gain.

6.4. HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS is acknowledged as the most serious public health, social and economic challenge faced by Zambia because it affects all economic and social sectors. In 2002, the national HIV prevalence rate was 16 % but in 2007 it dropped to 14.3 %.¹² Prevalence rates are higher among females (age-groups 15–49 and 24–29) but the HIV prevalence pattern changes with changes in age. For example, prevalence is higher for males than for females in the 45–49 age band. This suggests that older men infect young girls who then marry and infect males of their age-groups. In terms of urban and rural comparisons, prevalence rates are higher in urban areas (23 %) than in rural areas (11 %). Gaps exist between awareness and knowledge of HIV/AIDS and the actual practice of safe sex (i.e. use of condoms). For married persons, gender differences in condom use act against females.¹³ However, education for women tends to enhance their ability to make decisions in favour of condom use, particularly in relationships outside marriage.

¹² Zambia Health Demographic Survey, 2001–2002; 2007.

¹³ World Bank, 2004; Zambia Strategic Country Gender Assessment; National AIDS Council, 2008; Zambia Country Report.

The two common modes of HIV transmission, heterosexual (78 %) and mother-to-child (20 %), have social and economic implications regarding gender relations of power. First, culturally and socially, females are subordinated to males. They lack the power to make decisions in terms of their sexuality and engaging in safer sex. Second, women's and girls' economic dependence on men makes them more vulnerable to HIV infection. They succumb to sexual exchange for survival. Third, traditional norms and practices (i.e. polygamy, early marriages, tolerance of men's promiscuity) undermine women's sexual and reproductive rights. Fourth, HIV/AIDS are a gender issue since the burden of care for HIV/AIDS patients falls disproportionately on women and girls. Fifth, the blame for the spread of HIV and the stigma associated with it is often placed on females more than males. Examples of the drivers contributing to unsafe sexual behaviour include:

- Sexual cleansing in the event of death of a spouse, which is widely practiced in Zambia particularly rural areas. Among the Luvale of North-western Province, for instance, a surviving spouse arranges for an unsuspecting relative of a deceased spouse to sexually cleanse him/her.¹⁴
- Initiation ceremonies for adolescent girls and boys stress submissiveness for girls and dominance for boys in their relationship to each other.
- Polygamy through inheriting widows of relatives or getting additional female family labour for farming purposes.
- Traditional practice (Mpokeleshi, Bemba): the engaging a wife's young sister as a "sexual helper" during the older sister's breastfeeding period to prevent the husband from going for other women.
- Attitudes that tolerate promiscuity for both married and unmarried men.
- Marriage payments (lobola) which give husbands considerable power and authority over their wives.
- Pro-natal values of Zambian society place high value on children for their perceived multiple roles (status enhancing, social security, family labour) (Munachonga, 1988).

In response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the GoZ has introduced a National HIV/AIDS Policy (2004), an institutional framework (National AIDS Council), as well as strategic and M&E intervention plans. The national response focuses on three inter-related interventions: prevention, mitigation, care and support. Gender mainstreaming is recognized as central to HIV prevention. However, major challenges remain. These include: (i) lack of legal backing (legislation) for National HIV/AIDS Policy; (ii) low skills/capacity levels to mainstream gender into programmes; and (iii) tendency for national response to be driven by top-down approaches. The solutions offered may not reflect local knowledge and understandings, and socio-economic realities, (iv) the national vision, which stresses multi-sectoral approaches, is difficult to realize in the actual implementation of activities due to poor institutional linkages; (v) low capacity at Gender In Development Division (GIDD) and the National AIDS Council, resulting in weak coordination of programmes on gender mainstreaming in HIV/AIDS programmes; and (vi) high levels of awareness/knowledge (98 %) on HIV and AIDS has had limited impact on behavioural change.

6.4.1. Mainstreaming HIV and AIDS in ASP

The Zambia Human Development Report (2007) says: For people living in rural areas the agricultural impacts of HIV and AIDS are very high. Agriculture's performance is under threat by HIV and AIDS from the loss of labour as a result of death or chronic illness as well as the reduction in yields in the area under cultivation.¹⁵

ASP recognized these challenges. HIV and AIDS was treated as a cross cutting issues which had to be mainstreamed in ASP activities. During the implementation of ASP, the focus of HIV/AIDS

¹⁴ Government of Republic of Zambia/United Nations Fund for Population Activities, May 2005; Reaching Out In Zambia – A Country Programme Update.

¹⁵ Zambia Human Development Report 2007, p8.

mainstreaming activities shifted from awareness raising to coping mechanisms in order to increase household self-reliance (Bishop-Sambrook, C. & Wonani, C., 2009) programme ensured that the awareness of household members on HIV and AIDS was raised through popular education methodologies. As nutrition plays an important role in HIV and AIDS, efforts were made to increase household food security and families were taught how to grow and prepare nutritious food stuffs. The extension staff also advised farmers on mixed farming where small livestock such as goats, pigs, chicken and ducks were encouraged. According to Mr Chikopela (Senior Agricultural Officer, Kabwe)¹⁶, *Small livestock formed a very reliable asset base for ASP-coded Farmers as their prices on the market remain stable through out the year. This earned them money when it was needed by households. It was also a strategy of the programme to promote less strenuous enterprises such as bee keeping, fish farming and mushroom growing for families that were infected. The households involved were also practising conservation farming to reduce on the labour intensity of ploughing and contribute to promotion of sustainable agricultural practices.* The fact that the Household Approach encouraged members to plan and make decisions jointly enabled them to discuss HIV and AIDS issues more freely than previously (see Box 11).

Box 11: HIV/AIDS – Interview with Level 5 ASP-Coded Male Headed Household in Kabwe

...Now I discuss with my last-born. She is free to say, “**How do people suffer from HIV?**” I explain it is through sexual intercourse if you misbehave yourself. In those days [before ASP] it was a taboo.

6.5. Marketing

The success, or otherwise, of ASP in meeting its goals to promote “Farming as a Business” must be judged against the overall agribusiness environment in Zambia. The Agricultural Sector Investment Programme (ASIP) was launched in 1996 by GoZ as a joint public-private investment facility to consolidate the government’s policy of liberalization and market reform. Overall both the ASIP Mid-Term Review, and the 1998 and the 1999/2000 Sector Performance Analysis (SPA) show that ASIP performed poorly and has not won the confidence of the stakeholders. It failed to improve agricultural performance from 1996 to 2001 and it failed to make an impact on the reduction of poverty and hunger. It was designed to ensure food security but statistics show increase in both poverty and food insecurity in rural areas¹⁷. Most people that the study team interviewed supported the official findings: they said that ASIP did not achieve significant impact on its second goal of increased income through the sale of mainly agricultural and agriculturally-related products and services.

A key contributory factor to disappointing agribusiness development is poor infrastructure: one of the negative impacts of liberalization has been the deterioration of public infrastructure like roads, bridges and storage facilities. This is due to a lack of routine maintenance and repairs. Today, many rural areas are no longer serviced by private transporters since roads and bridges are almost non-existent. Over the years the areas are no longer accessible by lorries have become serviced by “briefcase businessmen” who are able to offer low prices for agricultural produce due to the lack of competition.

6.5.1. ASP and Marketing

It was generally agreed by most people interviewed that the business environment was not targeted and developed properly by ASP; ASP could not meet the challenge fully. Given its size compared to the national dimension of the problems this is not really surprising. One of ASP’s components was an Infrastructure Fund (see Box 1 above), the aim of which was to overcome some of the rural infrastructure constraints inhibiting economic development by investing in a limited number of small-scale infrastructure projects. However, very few projects were actually supported. Indeed, a total of only

¹⁶ Interview with Mr Chikopela, Senior Agricultural Officer, Kabwe, 18/02/2010.

¹⁷ Zambia Human Development Report, 2003: 30–31.

11 projects were provided with funds (six market sheds, one goat marketing centre and four small bridges); and no new proposals were accepted from 2005 to the end of the project in 2008.¹⁸

In sum, rural farmers are price-takers and do not get maximum returns to their investments. ASP-coded farmers that were far from good roads and markets, for example Chimtanda Village in Petauke District, find it harder to realize their vision than those close to markets, such as the farmers near Kabwe. Discussions with men farmers in Chimtanda, Petauke (Box 12), a place distant from market, revealed how detrimental the current situation can be.

Box 12: Marketing Constraints: we sell by cheating each other

Tungulisa mu kukatana pameso (we sell by cheating each other). The lack of reliable markets has affected the profitability of farming business in our area. Prices dropped even after we signed contracts and so buyers got our farm produce at lower prices than agreed. The poor road infrastructure has prevented even private buyers from coming to buy from us. We need a shed, bridges and good roads in our areas. Farmers tried twice to bring their produce in one place but it was not bought and collected. We could have achieved most of our plans if the market was good.

With respect to gender issues, it is clear that most players (both sellers and buyers) on the market are men and boys since women tend to have low numeracy and literacy skills. It is said that this stops them from bargaining properly. The distance to markets, poor road infrastructure and traditional/ cultural norms and values also prevent women from travelling in search of better markets for their crops and livestock outside their communities.

An absolutely critical indicative finding of the research needs more exploration. Extension workers indicated that, since households are starting to hold resources in common as a consequence of the household approach, the division between “male” and “female” crops is starting to disappear. Critically, there are indications that men are not asserting sole ownership over “female” crops that have become lucrative, as has been the pattern across sub-Saharan Africa. See Box 13.

Box 13: Gendered Changes in Control over Female Crops: men’s views

Question: Why is it that when women’s crops like groundnuts become cash crops men take over?

- That does not take place now because we plan, budget and work together. We also market the crop with the full knowledge of all members of the household/
- Before ASP, those things were happening because of jealous, ignorant, selfish men. They felt that because they are heads of household and so they should control and benefit from the sale of women’s crops. Men wanted to benefit more than women, but joint planning helps to remove that as there is no imposing of one’s ideas.
- Yes, some people are adopting the joint planning and working together of ASP. There is increased output with the involvement of women at household level on planning, implementation and marketing. Family members put in their best as they see and control the benefits.
- Mostly it is men and boys who go to sell the produce as it requires some numeracy and literacy skills that are lacking with most women. The whole household knows what we are going to sell and when we come back we have to sit as family to budget for the funds.
- I have worked with ASP for three years and in those years my wife went two years running to sell groundnuts that we grew as a household.
- As for me my wife went to sell cotton for 2 years.

6.6. Extension Workers

The extension service is organized from National Headquarters to Provincial, District, Agricultural Blocks and Camps. Dr. R. M. Kamona informed the research team that there are over 1,650 Agricultural Camps across the country. These are manned by technically qualified staff and both men and women are given

¹⁸ The Household Approach as an Effective Tool for Gender Empowerment: A review of the policy, processes and impact of gender mainstreaming in the Agricultural Support Programme in Zambia.

equal opportunities to be employed. However it has been observed that most women are not willing to be posted to remote rural areas where services and infrastructure are not good. The Ministry tries to mitigate this by posting female extension workers to Camps that are near towns or ensure that their dwelling place is in the compound, near a school or clinic. In the field women extension staff are not made welcome by male farmers, especially when they are young. Older women who have “proved themselves” are accepted. Male extension workers are freer to interact with male farmers than female farmers. This is due to cultural beliefs that disapprove of public interactions between persons of the opposite sex who are strangers. As a policy MACO looks at a family and encourages farmers to come to meetings as couples. Dr Kamona explained how they approach gender issues in staffing (Box 14).

Box 14: Opinion of MACO HQ regarding Female Extension Staff

We have an affirmative policy for extension staff and seek to ensure that 30% of our staff are women. However, women extension officers are a problem in the field. All extension workers are recruited on an equal basis but women start to cause us problems. Young ladies refuse to be posted out in the distant areas. It is too far for them, they can't work there ... we try to bring young ladies into reasonable areas where they can work comfortably. We try to bring them close to urban areas. In cases where they are married, we look for offices in those areas who can swap with them.

A consultant, Mr Coillard Hamusimbi, working with Zambia National Farmers' Union (ZNFU) said that the general picture of the Extension Service in Zambia is, *near absent as some Camps have no personnel and funding is very low or non-existent. The extension workers in camps who are not implementing any partner funded programmes go for many months without any recurrent funding.* He advised commercializing the extension services to assist the farmers in making extension officers more accountable. In his opinion, ASP could have facilitated this process, and, had it done so, it would have been easier for MACO to scale up the household approach throughout the country. Level five farmers (successful businessmen and women) would have made stronger profits to sustain their farming activities had they been more effectively linked to reliable marketing systems.

In Petauke District, the extension workers informed the research team that their last logistical funding was in March 2009. Although they are keen to work, inadequate monies inhibits their ability to effectively serve the farmers. The financial picture is not clear in Kabwe due to lack of questioning on this point.

Study findings demonstrate that the extension workers that were involved in implementing the ASP Programme benefited in terms of capacity building, and in the provision of logistical support to service the farmers. They repeatedly affirmed their appreciation of these services and expressed deep longing for the return of ASP. See Box 15.

Box 15: Interviews with Camp Extension Officers in Kabwe and Petauke Districts

- Our work as extension officers was made simple during ASP as we had logistical support. Now we just make individual visits and this is difficult when we are not supported with fuel and allowances. We have seen change of attitudes in most of our working areas. Women can now contribute at community meetings and they make decisions to take children to school, pay school fees, and can be elected top leaders in committees.
- At one time we were laughing at ourselves as extension workers. A farmer came into a place where we eating. He was driving a Prado. The farmers are doing better than us.
- We are fighting for ASP to come back. When ASP was there we got fuel and allowances as a motivation.
- We want ASP to come back to add value to our work.
- We are only asking you to ask ASP to come back.

One of the most fascinating and unexpected findings is that extension workers are becoming agribusiness entrepreneurs themselves. They have been translating knowledge and skills gained through ASP into practice.

6.7. Gender Mainstreaming Across the Programme

Discussions with ex-facilitators and with extension workers showed that gender as a concept was not properly mainstreamed with staff, a finding shared with the authors of the 2008 ASP gender study (Bishop-Sambook, C. & Wonani, C., 2009). One interviewee commented, *“The attention paid to gender and HIV/AIDS in ASP kept on shifting depending on who was there. Someone from Land Management and Conservation was doing it at first, then it was given to a man who had no idea, then to me. I also had no training. The attitude was: You should be able to know what gender is and to do it. During the five years we were working in the ASP programme this position was handled by three people. I asked for training but they said I did not need training, even short training, on HIV/AIDS. They said if you come here as a consultant you should know all about it. It was very haphazard”*.

District extension staff interviewed by the research team revealed varying degrees of understanding of gender issues, with some confusing it with sex (men can't give birth) whilst others said that it meant that men and women should have equal opportunities. Overwhelming, the word “gender” has come to mean the participation of women. *“Let's have gender”* at a meeting means that women should speak.

The evidence presented in Section 6.1. above shows that ASP did not attempt to tackle structural gendered inequalities to productive resources. Better understanding of core gender concepts such as (i) access to, and control over, assets; (ii) the gender division of labour; and (iii) gendered decision-making is essential if these issues are even to be recognized as constraints upon farming effectiveness. This awareness needs to be accompanied by an ability to apply these concepts analytically in training and in the field. Situation-specific understandings needed to be backed by targeted measures to strengthen women in areas where they suffer gender disadvantage. It should be noted that junior men, for example, may well experience age and gender-specific disadvantage, for example in accessing land. Any gender study should investigate male gender needs as well.

Whilst women, and some men, may need external assistance, for example through the provision of micro-credit and through the development of resources such as women-friendly agricultural tools, water sources located close to homes, and improved cookstoves, it is also important to examine ways of exploiting local resources as Box 16 shows.

¹⁹ Asset Based Community Development or “ABCD” is a term coined by John McKnight and Jody Kretzmann of the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University in Illinois, USA in their book *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A path toward finding and mobilizing community assets*.

Box 16: Asset Based Community Development¹⁹

Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) as a development approach is based on extensive inquiry into the characteristics of successful community initiatives in the U.S., McKnight and Kretzmann articulated ABCD as a way of counteracting what they describe as a predominantly “needs-based” approach to development. They describe two very distinct paths to address poverty. The first focuses on a community’s needs, deficiencies and problems. This is the traditional path. It creates negative images that can be conceived as a mental “problems map” of the community. This is only part of the truth about the actual conditions, but unfortunately, this is often taken to be the whole truth. Many development agents have taken needs-based paths. In this approach the poorest of the poor usually left out in the development strategies as they are blamed for being lazy.

But every community possesses a number of assets, capabilities and abilities that could help them to address their needs.

Community Problems	Community Assets
Preventable diseases	Examples of healthy families as positive role models
Poor housing	Free building materials available, Construction skills, history of people working together, vacant land
Poor crop markets	Local buyers, information about good markets, transport to cities available
Fatalism/apathy/Dependency	History of community-building activities without relying on outsiders
Low incomes/productivity	Entrepreneurial skills, artistic skills, Close to market, active women’s groups, responsive local government, positive relationship with local NGO

The ABCD approach to working at the community level is not only effective in stimulating development by active citizens; it also complements policy changes designed to create institutions that are responsive to community-driven initiatives.

The following are the major influences that are reflected in the ABCD approach:

- Recognition of successful community driven initiatives that have taken place with limited outside intervention “endogenous development”.
- Deeper understanding of what motivates communities to self-mobilize.
- Lessons learned from integrated approaches to community development
- Community economic development theory.
- Lessons learned from the theory and practice of empowerment, participation and citizenship.

Annex 1. Fieldwork Timetable

Schedule of activities (overall timeframe: 15–26 february 2010); Sida gender study: Gender aware approaches in agricultural programmes (ASP, Zambia)

Dates	Location	Activities & timing
Saturday 14 feb	Lusaka	14:30 Preparatory meeting/reviewing timetable by team
Monday 15 feb 2010	Lusaka	08:30 Dr chris coulter, consultant 11:00–14:00 Interview-cum-business lunch with charlotte wonani, gender consultant 14:30 Interview with dr eva ohlsson, first secretary, agriculture & food security (0977 771285), and agnes kasaro-ngolwe, agriculture & food security (0966 721357)– swedish embassy Write up and initial analysis
Tuesday 16 feb 2010	Lusaka	08:30–09:30 Interview with martin sekeleti, programme officer study circles, swedish cooperative centre (0977 6788840) 10:00–11:00 Interview with dr richard kamona, deputy director extension services (0977 789007, rkamona@maff.Gov.Zm and mr lameck kaluba, chief agricultural extension officer, maco 13:00–14:00 Lunch break 14:00 Interview with mr musonda kunda, senior sociologist & maco gender/hiv/aids focal point person (0977 371775; mkunda@maff.Gov.Zm) 15:30 Interview with barbara oollinson, internal consultant asp (0966 844 323) Write up and initial analysis
Wednesday 17 feb 2010	In lusaka	Morning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparations/contacting dacos for fieldwork in kabwe and petauke • Making appointments for interviews in lusaka • Write up and analysis 13:00–14:00 Lunch 14:00 Interview with odd arneson, norwegian embassy Write up and initial analysis
Thursday 18 feb 2010	In lusaka	08:30 Interview with edna mulema, former asp facilitator (0977 396242) 10:00 Interview with mr olle otteby, former asp md (0966 726918; olle.Otteby@yahoo.Se) 13:00–14:00 Lunch 14:30 Depart for and arrive in kabwe, interview with mr chikopela, senior agricultural officer, kabwe. Lewis chikopela, daco (0979 425850) Write up and initial analysis
Friday 19 feb 2010	In kabwe	08:30 Interview with mr p. S. Chisulo, provincial agricultural coordinator (paco, central province) 09:00 Interviews with extension workers under asp 11:00–16:30 Interviews with asp coded female and male farmers, mukobeko, zone 2, kabwe Individual interviews – tour/farm visits (1 mhh and 2 fhh) 16:30 Return to lusaka
Saturday 20 feb	Lusaka	Write up and fieldwork data analysis
Sunday 21 feb 2010	Lusaka	

Dates	Location	Activities & timing
Monday 22 feb 2010	08:00 Travel to and arrive in petauke	12:15 Arrive in petauke 12:15–14:00 Lunch 14:00–16:00 Interviews with district extension staff under asp Write up and initial analysis
Tuesday 23 feb 2010	Fieldwork in petauke	08:00–12:30 Interviews with asp coded female and male farmers, chimtanda village individual interviews – tour/farm visits (1 mhh and 1 fhh) 12:30–13:30 Lunch Interviews with asp coded female and male farmers, nyampande village Write up and initial analysis
Wednesday 24 feb 2010	Petauke/lusaka	08:30–12:00 Developing outline and writing of country report 14:00–19:30 Travel and arrive in lusaka
Thursday 25 feb 2010	Lusaka	08:00–13:00 Individually preparing presentation to swedish embassy 13:00–14:00 Lunch 14:00–15:00 Interview with mr coillard Hamusimb, head-outreach, member services & administration, zambia national farmers union (0966 787078, hamusimbi@znfu.Org.Zm) 16:00–17:00 Team meeting – finalizing presentation to swedish embassy Analysis & writing report
Friday 26 feb 2010	Lusaka	11:00 Presentation of findings to swedish embassy (dr eva ohlsson, first secretary, agriculture & food security; agnes kasaro-ngolwe, agriculture & food security; and njavwa nkandu, gender focal point) 13:00–15:30 Working lunch – division of tasks for incorporation of feedback from embassy and drafting/sharing report 15:30–17:00 Incorporation of embassy feedback into country report by team members
Saturday 27 feb	–	Cathy departs lusaka
28 Feb	–	
1 March		Drafting and sharing draft report through e-mail, incorporation of feedback
2 March		
3 March		
4 March		
Friday 5 march 2010		Finalize report for sending to stakeholders

Annex 2. People Met

Name	Organization	Position
People interviewed in Lusaka		
Eva ohlsson, phd	Embassy of Sweden	Programme officer, agriculture & food security
Agnes Kasalo-ngolwe	Embassy of Sweden	Programme officer, agriculture & food security
Chris Coulter, phd	Indevelop, Sweden	Gender consultant
Martin Sekeleti	Swedish cooperative	Programme officer for study circles
Dr. Richard M. Kamona	Maco	Deputy director
Lameck Kaluba	Maco	Chief agric extension
Musonda Kunda	Maco	Senior sociologist & Maco gender/hiv&aids focal point
Barbara Collinson		Former asp consultant/ facilitator
Odd Arneson	Norwegian embassy	
Edna Maluma		Former facilitator asp
Olly Otteby		Former md asp
Coillard Hamusimbi	Zambia national farmers union	Head-outreach, member services & administration
Charlotte Wonani	University of Zambia	Lecturer/gender consultant
People interviewed in Kabwe district		
Lewis Chikopela	Maco-kabwe	Senior agricultural officer
P. S. Chisulo	Maco-kabwe	Provincial agric coordinator
Malilakwenda Malambo	Maco-kabwe	Agricultural block extension officer
Hilda h. M. Sinkamba	Maco-kabwe	Block extension officer
Chola Bwalya	Maco-kabwe	Junior technical officer
Joline t.N. Chomba	Maco-kabwe	Horticultural officer
Jedidah Mbambara	Maco-kabwe	Block extension officer
Eneidy N Musonda	Maco-kabwe	District agricultural information officer
Mary m.N Mungabo	Maco-kabwe	Crop husbandry officer
Kabela Chama	Maco-kabwe	Camp officer
Nosiku Kayama	Maco-kabwe	Assistant fisheries technician
Doreen k. Mushimbwa	Maco-kabwe	Agricultural assistant
Edwin Miyoba	Maco-kabwe	Land husbandry officer
Solomon Mudenda	Mukobeko zone 3	Asp coded farmer
Moses Kansonkomona	Mukobeko zone 1	Asp coded farmer
Power Kalusa	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Davison Chitumbo	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Stenaly Bwalya	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
James Zulu	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Luckson Ziwa	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Joseph a nkuwa	Mukobeko zone 3	Asp coded farmer
Lawrence Zulu	Mukobeko zone 2	Non-asp coded farmer
Anderson Mumba	Mukobeko zone 3	Asp coded farmer
Margaret Phiri	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer

Name	Organization	Position
Blandina miti	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Edna zulu	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Eva chilambo	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Alice mvula	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Elinata phiri	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Hilih mumani	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Eva chisenga	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Glinesi kasuba	Mukobeko zone 2	Asp coded farmer
Joseph cheelo	Maco-petauke	Senior agricultural officer
Joel b. Munkonka	Maco-petauke	Camp extension officer
Charity chisola	Maco-petauke	Camp extension officer
Andrew banda	Maco-petauke	Agricultural block extension officer
Epharaim j. Phiri	Maco-petauke	Camp extension officer
Charles chewe	Maco-petauke	Agricultural block extension officer
Tembo synodia	Maco-petauke	Agricultural assistant
Goefil c. Phiri	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Joseph mwanza	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Newsmaker phiri	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Unikani tembo	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Aoron daka	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Mbili banda	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Estele phiri	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Sofia c. Phiri	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Emelia phiri	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Dailess phiri	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Kingford chama	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Uda mwanza	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Alex banda	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Keson banda	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Lucia mwale	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Maxina banda	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Emely mwale	Chimntanda village	Asp coded farmer
Charity chisolo	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Magreet zulu	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Doris daka	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Salome mumba	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Ester banda	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Catherine banda	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Arida chirwa	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Francis phiri	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Isaac chirwa	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Fredrick daka	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Michael banda	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Yohan sakala	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Joseph daka	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer

Name	Organization	Position
Jabes mwanza	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Raymond i lungu	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Wallace banda	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Paul zulu	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Boice mwanza	Nyamphande village	Asp coded farmer
Arida chirwa	Namphande village	Asp coded farmer

Annex 3. Women's Access to Agricultural Land in Zambia

Rural based settlements schemes were established by the Government during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Schemes provide settler members with individual farming plots aimed at promoting commercial farming, and are of two types:

- i. Government-supervised Village Settlement Schemes which are governed by customary tenure (no title); and
- ii. Individual Farming Unit Settlement Schemes which are governed by statutory tenure (titled).
The main objective was to give settlers opportunity to settle permanently in agricultural areas in the various provinces

Study findings on Women's access to land in Settlement Schemes

A study commissioned by the Department of Lands and funded by the Swedish International Development Agency conducted by Chuma N. Himonga and Monica Munachonga (1991), in 1988 covering nine settlement locations in Central Province (4 settlements), Northern Province (2 settlements), Southern Province (2 settlements) and Lusaka District. Findings of the study revealed that women lagged far behind men in terms of access to land in the Settlement Schemes, only 3.7 % of farm owners with title to land were women compared to 95.7 % men. Joint ownership between husband and wife constituted only 0.6 %.

Major constraints to women's access to land

Major constraints to women's access to land in government-supervised settlement schemes were identified as including the following:

- Bureaucratic delays in processing applications for land, which affected women more adversely than men because of other domestic responsibilities women have, making it difficult for them to follow up their applications as thoroughly and consistently as men do. Moreover, women's low levels of familiarity with bureaucratic structures reinforced by low levels of literacy meant that women were not likely to understand the complexities of procedures relating to land acquisition.
- Low representation of women on State decision making structures concerned with allocation of land officially denies adequate representation of women's interests
- High costs involved in acquiring land (travel, fees charged), worsened by the condition to develop the land allocated within 18 months.
- Men who dominate the decision making structures tended to be opposed to allocating land to married women and women of marriageable age without children to support because they considered it as being against Zambian culture. Applications for this category of women were screened at lower levels of officialdom; they did not reach higher levels for consideration on their merit.
- Low levels of sensitivity to women's issues among both female and male decision makers; this means the presence of women in decision making is necessary but not a sufficient factor
- Opposition by men to joint titles for fear that, in the event of their death, the land would be inherited by wives' extended family of new spouse (if widow decided to remarry)
- Married women's fear of applying for land due to fear of marriage breakdown – men interviewed were strongly against wives owning land because wives and their children were the main sources of family labour
- Women's lack of access to information relating to advertisements put up by councils
- Sex-role stereotyping; rural women felt inferior to men and considered the issue of applying for land as being men's reserve. Only FHHs applied for land in their own right.
- Traditional kinship and succession systems which generally tend to favour male heirs to land.

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UTV Working Paper

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- 2010:9 How Basic Community Infrastructure Works can Trigger Livelihood Improvements
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Personal notes on a validated model integrating socio-economic progress
and democracy development in poor urban areas**
Pierre Frühling
Department for Conflict and Post-Conflict Cooperation,
Team for Regional cooperation Latin America and the Caribbean



Gender Aware Approaches in Agricultural Programmes – Zambia Country Report

This study is part of the evaluation project on Gender aware approaches in agricultural programmes. The purpose is to increase understanding of how Sida's development assistance in agriculture should be designed, implemented and funded to ensure that female farmers are reached, that their needs as producers are met, and that they are able to benefit from the support to achieve a positive impact on their livelihoods. The Zambia Country Study of the Agricultural Support Programme (ASP) is one of the project's five country case studies.

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