



*“While recognizing tremendous effort that has been put to address gender and governance, it still remains an uphill task. ... It is true that representation and affirmative action may not necessarily solve the problem of gender-sensitive governance. This issue can be addressed through institutional reforms. It is only then that gender equality policies can be implemented ensuring that they are not resisted due to deeply entrenched cultural norms. Implementing gender equality policy will require committed leadership, a paradigm shift in mindset, information, disaggregated data by gender and monitoring and evaluation techniques.”*

Grace Ongile, UNWomen Nigeria director, 2011<sup>1</sup>

A farmer tends to a soybean field in Borno State, Nigeria. ©IITA, Flickr

# 3 Transforming the Enabling Environment

**D**evelopment partners, research institutes, agricultural colleges, governments and non-governmental organizations have all focused to some extent on addressing the visible symptoms of gender equality – the gender gaps – without always addressing the underlying gender norms and attitudes. This has compromised the ability of such initiatives to create lasting change and improve poor women’s and men’s ability to participate in, and benefit from, agricultural initiatives. A broader perspective is essential: one that integrates work to redress gender disparities in resources, technology and services with complementary efforts to promote more gender-equitable systems that allow both women and men to reap the full benefits of what is available.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter examines ways of improving the overall “enabling environment” that is a prerequisite for transformation. It starts with a discussion of gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) and provides a case study from Ghana. Gender-responsive budgeting is critical to ensuring that commitments to women’s equality on paper translate into measures to help finance equity measures in the agricultural sector. The chapter then provides an overview of a radical new initiative by the CGIAR Research Program on Aquatic Systems to “get gender integration right” by transforming its research theory and practice. Following this, we discuss how “gender audits” can help organizations identify barriers to effective integration of gender across their work. We conclude with a discussion of how to change our own attitudes to be more gender-responsive and people-centred in our interactions with farmers. In this context, we discuss insights from “citizen juries” in Mali, which have proven to be a great way to put farmers first.

## National transformation: Gender-responsive budgeting

Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) challenges the notion of that policies and budgets are inherently “gender-blind”, and instead explicitly considers the impact of every part of the budget on women, men, boys and girls, and it identifies and responds to their differentiated needs and interests. Thus, GRB integrates gender equity and equality objectives into governmental planning and budget processes, helping to prevent “policy evaporation” when it comes to programming for women. (Along with gender, it may also consider other socio-economic criteria, such as disability or ethnic origin, in order to maximize equality objectives). In addition, GRB designs and supports specific equity measures to bridge gaps in budget allocations and ensure gender equality. Typically, the development of gender responsive budgets includes the following steps:

- Gender situation analysis;
- Gender policy analysis leading to formulation of gender-sensitive policies;
- Activity planning and costing;
- Gender-responsive budget allocation;
- Gender-responsive programme implementation and budget execution;
- Reporting to show patterns of expenditure allocation; actual expenditures are monitored, and gender audits are performed; an implementation mechanism for tracking should be established.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter 3 title page quotation: Ongile, G. (2011). *Beyond Numbers: Gender, Governance and Development*. Presented at the 2nd Africa Governance, Leadership and Management Convention 2011, Mombasa, Kenya, 2–5 August. <http://www.africaconvention.org/Documents/CONVENTION2/Gender%20and%20Development/Grace%20Ongile.pdf>.



UN Women Executive Director Michelle Bachelet meets with Nana Oye Lithur, Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection of Ghana. © UN Women, Flickr

In Ghana, GRB was approved by the Cabinet in 2007, with the first pilots launched in the ministries of health, education and agriculture in 2009.<sup>2</sup> It was supported by a strong enabling environment, starting with an explicit commitment to gender equality and women’s empowerment in the country’s 1992 Constitution.<sup>3</sup> Recognizing that inequalities persist within Ghana, Article 17(4) of the Constitution provides for the possibility of affirmative action by stipulating that Parliament can enact laws to provide for the implementation of policies and programmes aimed at redressing social, economic, or educational imbalance in Ghanaian society. Furthermore, under the Directive Principles of State Policy –Article 36(6) – the Constitution provides that the state shall afford equality of economic opportunities to all citizens and, in particular, take all necessary steps to ensure the full integration of women into the mainstream of the economic development of the country.

Ghana is also a signatory to key international instruments including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the Millennium Declaration, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). So on paper, there are strong commitments to women’s equality; the challenge is to turn them into a reality.

The first steps taken in this regard included establishing a Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs (MOWAC) in 2001 to help develop gender-related policies and programmes, as well as to coordinate the mainstreaming of gender and children’s issues across all sectors and

2 For a brief overview of how GRB began in Ghana, see Mends, E. E. and Hayford, F. P. (2009). *Gender Responsive Budgeting: the Case of Ghana*. Presented at the OECD DAC 7th meeting of the GENDERNET, Paris, 10–11 June. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/43332630.pdf>.

3 See <http://www.judicial.gov.gh/constitution/home.htm>.

government agencies, from the national to the local level.<sup>4</sup> MOWAC put in place a National Gender and Children Policy that lays out a framework for integrating specific goals for women and children into Ghana's overall development agenda and offers guidance to the different ministries, departments and agencies, as well as their partners.<sup>5</sup> With guidance from MOWAC, the ministries of agriculture, education, and health also formulated sector-specific gender policies to enhance gender mainstreaming and the integration of women and men in their interventions, from planning through implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Gender desk officers were established in all line ministries. The Gender Equality Sector Theme (GEST) group was created to promote the coordination and harmonization of policies and programmes towards achieving gender equality. MOWAC co-chairs this body together with development partners. A major achievement of the GEST group was to put gender equality on the agenda of the country's annual consultations with development partners and to insert gender responsiveness into multi-donor budget support programmes.

It is against this supportive background that the GRB process in Ghana was introduced and successfully implemented. The GRB is the result of well-positioned actors' seizing opportunities, supported by a convergence of several factors, ranging from international-level engagement, to effective work by MOWAC, to advocacy by local civil society organizations.

In 2005–2008, Ghana was active in international discussions about financing for development and aid effectiveness, including extensive consultations on gender issues, and culminating in the Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2008 in Accra.<sup>6</sup> Also in 2008, key officials MOFEP attended the 52nd Session of the UN Commission on the Status of



Women farmers in Mahonu, Ghana, grow oranges for sale in markets. © Gates Foundation, Flickr.

4 See <http://www.mowacghana.net>.

5 See <http://www.mowacghana.net/download/National%20Gender%20and%20Children%20Policy.pdf>.

6 See <http://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/theaccrahighlevelforumhlf3andtheaccraagendaforaction.htm> and [http://www.unifem.org/gender\\_issues/women\\_poverty\\_economics/financing\\_aid\\_effectiveness.html](http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_poverty_economics/financing_aid_effectiveness.html).

Women,<sup>7</sup> with the theme “Financing for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women”, and this helped build commitment at the highest levels of Ghana’s government.

Within Ghana, meanwhile, MOWAC lobbied ministers and the Director of the Budget for Ministry of Finance, and civil society organizations also advocated for equity measures to be included in the national budget. A local NGO, the Centre for Budget Advocacy at the Integrated Social Development Centre (CBA/ISODEC), and UNICEF Ghana have also made important contributions, jointly publishing analyses of the national budget from a gender perspective.<sup>8</sup>

Ghana began exploring gender budgeting in 2005, and after discussions between MOWAC and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), a memorandum recommending gender-responsive budgeting was submitted to the Cabinet in 2006, and approved in 2007. Also that year, a directive to begin implementing GRB was included in the guidelines for the Preparation of the Government Economic Policy and Budget Statement. The 2008 policy statement committed government to enhancing its gender programmes by spelling out a step by step approach to gender budgeting, with pilots to be launched in three key ministries: the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), the Ministry of Health, and later the Ministry of Education.

The initiative was also supported by a GRB sensitization seminar with key players, after which a 10 member GRB steering committee was formed, with representatives from the key ministries. The steering committee prepared a GRB Road Map as well as guidelines; the latter include requirements for gender analysis, identification of gender-related gaps in the objectives/activities and services to be delivered, outline activities to bridge the gaps, costings and defence at budget hearings for fund allocation, followed by implementation, monitoring and evaluation of outcomes and expenditure.

Following these steps, technical training in GRB was provided to staff at all levels in ministries, departments and agencies. Associated methodologies for tracking progress were developed. MOFA regional and district offices worked to implement GRB by identifying women-focused farm activities in their areas of operation. They budgeted for specific support with respect to inputs, and lobbied with local authorities for release of land to women farmers. These activities are continuing.

Ghana has been fairly successful with gender-responsive budgeting, though challenges with implementation and commitment remain. Many lessons were learnt. First, with respect to advocacy for change, it became clear that adopting and implementing GRB requires a strong political will, a responsive organizational culture, technical capacity, and accountability. GRB needs champions able to navigate the bureaucracy in charge of national economy and planning.

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7 See <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/52sess.htm>.

8 See, for example, Centre for Budget Advocacy and UNICEF Ghana (2009). *The 2009 Budget and Issues Relating to Women and Children Welfare*. Accra. <http://www.isodec.org.gh/publications/2009%20Budget%20Analysis%20by%20CBA%20UNICEFComments%2017%2008%2009-1.pdf>.

Second, it is vital to secure the commitment of the Cabinet and Parliament. Government national policy statements at the highest level, and accompanying framework papers, must clearly express commitments to gender equality, and they must provide clear direction for gender mainstreaming and GRB as a strategy and tool to be applied by all towards achieving gender equality.

Third, the participation of the women's movement must be secured. Civil society organizations and the media must contribute in different ways, including through research, advocacy and awareness-raising, lobbying, monitoring and evaluation. Advocacy is not a one-off event. Sustained and continuous engagement with all constituents is needed to build and maintain consensus and buy-in.

Fourth, development partners play a crucial role. They need to show their commitment to the process through sustained policy dialogue on GRB and by providing significant financial resources to support the GRB process. Where governments operate within the framework of a multi-donor budget support system, development partners can influence the process by negotiating for GRBs outcomes as indicators/triggers in the framework.

In terms of managing the whole process, it is not possible for women's ministries to take on entire responsibility for formulating and implementing GRBs. Such ministries can only help to organize and support the capacity-building required. As part of their advocacy work, they can help to track expenditure and outcomes. It is critical that the ministries of finance and planning are central to implementation and that they are accountable for results.

Furthermore, responsibility for mainstreaming gender and monitoring for results should not rest with gender desk officers alone, but with the entire department responsible for coordinating sector ministry policy direction and budget collation and review. All departmental staff must receive training in gender-responsive budgeting alongside the gender desk officers. It is also important that accountability for gender outcomes forms part of the job descriptions of directors and senior officers. They should be appraised annually on their achievements on gender related indicators.

In addition, capacity development in gender mainstreaming is fundamental. Resources have to be mobilized and committed to provide staff with the tools for gender-related data collection, analysis, identification of activities, budgeting and implementation and impact assessment. In the Ghanaian case, collaboration between the National Development Planning Commission, MOFEP (responsible for resource and economic planning) and MOWAC (gender equality advocacy and technical) resulted in the creation of a technical team in charge of GRB across all sectors. This was instrumental in developing capacity.

A final key lesson is that implementing GRB is a long-term process of change that needs to be sustained. It must be managed, coordinated, monitored and evaluated. Effective collation and analysis of sex-disaggregated data is key. Results must be widely shared by all partners. It should also be noted that many countries in sub-Saharan Africa are decentralizing many government processes. As power and resources shift downwards, gender mainstreaming efforts, including GBR, must be translated into the planning processes.

## CASE STUDY

### Gender-transformative research for development: The CGIAR research program on Aquatic Agricultural Systems



Women in the AAS programme in the Berrisse floodplain, Zambia. Georgino Smith, © Worldfish, Flickr

The CGIAR Research Program on Aquatic Agricultural Systems (CGIAR AAS) was launched in July 2011 with the goal of reducing poverty and improving food security for people whose livelihoods depend on such systems.<sup>9</sup> The project focuses on gaining a deeper understanding of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty and finding ways to overcome past constraints, including gender disparities. Getting gender integration “right” is thus a key part of the research approach.

The AAS Gender Strategy will take a broader perspective, integrating efforts to redress gender disparities in resources, technologies and services with complementary efforts to promote more gender equitable systems within which poor women and men can use them. This requires a significant investment in building context-specific knowledge of the dynamics of social inequality. Key to the Program’s success therefore is to understand the systemic nature of gender inequality across program contexts in order to identify ways to create more enabling socioeconomic environments for poor women and men alike.

Decades of research have documented gender gaps in access to productive resources, technologies, markets, networks and business services, and development programmes have been set up to address these disparities. But those programmes offer only partial solutions,

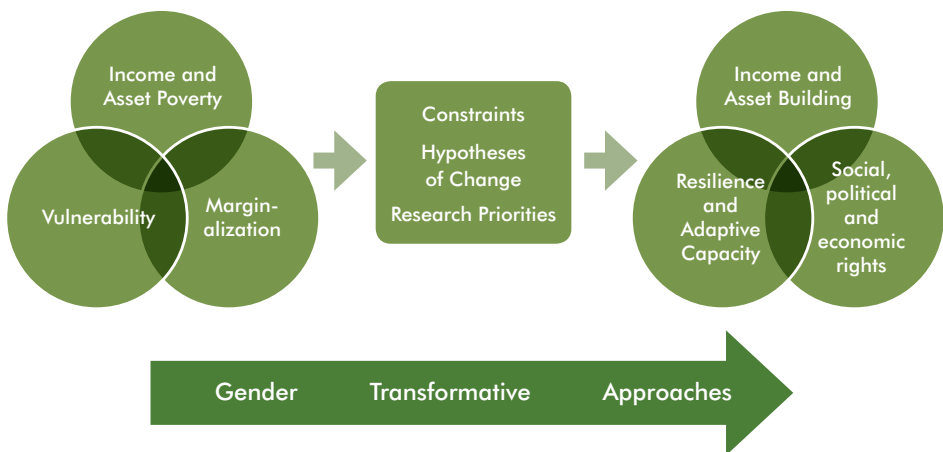
<sup>9</sup> This text is a synthesis of: CGIAR Research Program on Aquatic Agricultural Systems (2012). *Gender Strategy Brief: A Gender Transformative Approach to Research in Development in Aquatic Agricultural Systems*. Brief AAS-2012-03a. Penang, Malaysia. <http://www.worldfishcenter.org/publications/gender-strategy-brief-gender-transformative-approach-research-development-aquatic-agricultural-systems>.

CGIAR AAS contends, because focused only on the visible symptoms – the disparities – but not on the gender norms and attitudes underlying them. The AAS Gender Strategy aims to take a broader approach, systematically tests different sets of interventions that combine “technical” interventions to deliver better access to markets, new technologies and assets, with interventions that directly target the norms, values and attitudes which underpin the gender and wider inequalities identified in each location.

As part of this process, CGIAR AAS is also working to build knowledge of the systemic nature of gender inequality, helping to bridge the gap between research and practice in gender and development. In the context of aquatic agricultural systems, this means asking questions such as: How do social norms limit the “horizon of possibilities” for women and men? What openings are there for expanding these horizons? How does gender influence risk perceptions, experiences and responses? How do these differences influence well-being outcomes for poor women and men? More broadly, gender transformative strategies will lead to a stronger focus on:

- Gender relations and the importance of working with men on gender, acknowledging shared and conflicting interests within the home, and responding to the multiplicity of identities shaping women’s and men’s positions, motivations and opportunities.
- Encouraging critical awareness among men and women of the consequences of the inequalities embedded within gender roles, norms and the resulting distribution of resources.
- Challenging and changing power relationships between women and others in the community, including service providers and traditional leaders.

Figure 3.1 presents a visual overview of the CGIAR AAS gender transformative approach in its research in development (RinD) strategy.<sup>10</sup> The central box is key, in that it focuses on the need to identify the gendered constraints to change, to develop hypotheses for how to change the problem situation, and then to develop research priorities based on this underlying analysis.



**FIGURE 3.1** AAS Gender transformative research in development strategy

<sup>10</sup> Adapted from CGIAR AAS (2012), *op.cit.*, Figure 1.



Gender transformative approaches will cut across the work of CGIAR AAS and help set the programme's priorities, aiming to move people from positions of asset and income poverty, vulnerability and marginalization, to positions in which they are resilient and adaptive, can build income and assets, and are assured of their social, political and economic rights. The CGIAR AAS is developing partnerships at the local, regional, national and global levels to implement and test solutions and to outscale and upscale proven approaches. A monitoring and evaluation system is also being developed to enable learning and anchor the gender transformative action approach within the AAS.

### Organizational transformation: Gender audits

It is important that senior management in an organization working with agriculture “begins at home” by taking gender equality seriously both as a task and within its own structure. One effective approach is to conduct a “gender audit”: a focused review of policies, practices, and the attitudes and experiences of people across the organization, to ensure that gender equality and awareness of gender issues have been fully integrated into daily operations.

In 2006, for example, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) commissioned a gender audit of its Tanzania office, which had already taken significant steps to support gender integration, such as creating a gender advisor position and a Gender Working Group, and developing guidelines for gender mainstreaming in the procurement process.<sup>11</sup> The audit began with a staff survey, then followed up with discussions. It found a high level of awareness of the importance of addressing gender inequalities, and of USAID's mandate for gender integration, as well as an appreciation of “strong leadership” from management in this regard.

But still, the audit found, gender mainstreaming was not systematically developed or institutionalized. For example, the members of the Gender Working Group needed more training to empower them as leaders, and there was a need for more systematic, coordinated action to enhance gender equality in the workplace and reduce gender constraints in mission programming. The audit produced several recommendations, including development of a vision statement on gender equality, a gender policy



A member of the Wanawake Kwanza group in Morogoro, Tanzania, waters crops. © USAID, Flickr

11 This section is a very brief, limited summary of the findings of Rubin, D. and Missokia, E. (2006). *Gender Audit: USAID/Tanzania*. Report commissioned by the U.S. Agency for International Development, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. <http://www.culturalpractice.com/resources/gender-audit-usaidtanzania/>.

and a gender action plan, and a long-term effort to strengthen gender integration skills and overall gender awareness among the staff.

ENERGIA, the International Network on Gender and Sustainable Energy, has supported gender audits in India, Senegal, Kenya and Botswana to identify the factors that hinder efforts to mainstream gender in energy policy.<sup>12</sup> In each case, a national team of experts has led a participatory process that reviews energy planning, budgets, ministries' institutional capacity to implement gender mainstreaming strategies, and links between gender, energy and national poverty reduction and development goals.

The Kenya audit, conducted in 2007,<sup>13</sup> found strong evidence of political will for mainstreaming gender at the “macro level”, such as the establishment of a Ministry of Gender, a national gender policy, and inclusion of gender in development plans and a Bill of Rights. But at the sectoral level, these intentions were not being translated into action; gender awareness in the energy sector was low, and there were few women in top management positions. Notably, the audit identified the Ministry of Agriculture as an example of effective gender mainstreaming. While the Energy Policy didn't address gender issues, the Ministry of Agriculture had made gender equity one of its core values, explicitly stating that “sustainable development of Agriculture should recognize the key role of women in production and marketing of agricultural products”. The audit also notes, however, that any policy efforts will have to overcome societal barriers, including a discriminatory property rights system, disparities in household decision-making power, and women's limited access to and control over productive economic resources – all important concerns in agriculture as well.<sup>14</sup>

### Personal transformation: Starting with ourselves

The development scholar Robert Chambers suggests that along with power over, power to, power with and power within, we consider a fifth dimension: the “power to empower”.<sup>15</sup> How can change agents – individuals, groups and agencies – work to empower others? This is one of the most critical questions of our book, since we assume all readers would like to empower the people they work with. Chambers asked people in positions of power, whom he calls “uppers”, such as teachers and development workers, to come up with ideas on how they can empower the weaker people – the “lowers” – who they work with. Lowers include all people who face discrimination, including women. Typical replies include listen, respect, trust, inspire, coach, mentor, give responsibilities. Chambers expands on those ideas, drawing upon the participatory rural appraisal tradition:

12 See <http://www.energia.org/knowledge-centre/gender-audit-reports/>.

13 See Mbuti, P., Odongo, F., Machera, M. and Imitira, J. K. (2007). *Gender Audit of Energy Policy and Programmes in Kenya: Final Report*. Kenya Ministry of Energy and Practical Action East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya. <http://www.energia.org/knowledge-centre/gender-audit-reports/kenya-gender-audit/>.

14 For an example of a gender audit in the agriculture sector – but not limited to Africa – see FAO (2011). *Gender Audit of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations: Final Report – Executive Summary*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/023/mc027e.pdf>.

15 This section is based on Chambers, R. (2012). Robert Chambers on the Fifth Power (the power to empower). *From Poverty to Power*, Oxfam blog (D. Green, ed.), 29 November. <http://www.oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/?p=12489>.

- Sit down, listen, learn.
- Facilitate: fundamental to good management behaviour, to transforming relationships.
- Hand over the stick (or pointer, baton, marker pen, chalk, PowerPoint clicker, microphone ... even a megaphone with larger groups) to lowers.
- Ask them! Ask lowers what they know, their priorities, their ideas, advice and views. Often they come up with ideas new to the upper. This helps to reverse or at least level power relations. Uppers discover that “They Can Do It” – that lowers have unsuspected capabilities.
- Shut up! Silence can be surprisingly hard to practice, but it is empowering and worth a try. (As the late Brian Goodwin put it, “Participation is in the pause” – listening, thinking, reflecting.<sup>16</sup>)
- Make simple empowering rules. Codes of conduct for a workshop, for instance, can give voice to those who hold back and limit the big talkers. With a “Senior Silence” rule, no senior person or upper may speak, and lowers can come into their own.
- Convene: invite people to come together and share knowledge and ideas, co-generate knowledge and gain solidarity. This can be a great strength of women’s groups.
- Broker: act as mediator, intermediary, conciliator.
- Ask empowering questions.

An excellent example of reversed power hierarchies is that of “citizen juries”. Citizen juries have been piloted in West Africa with the assistance of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). The basic premise is that farmers and other citizens need inclusive and safe spaces to discuss how to build an agri-food research system that is democratic and accountable to wider society, and to help shape the policy for investments in agricultural research that affect them.



A citizens' jury in Mali evaluates the merits of GMOs. Khannh Tran-Thanh, © IIED.

16 Brian Goodwin was a lecturer at Schumacher College, Devon, England. This comment is from a personal communication with authors of this book.

Citizens' juries enable small-scale producers to assess expert knowledge and articulate strategic research priorities and policy recommendations that meet their needs. Ensuring that women can participate equally is central to ensuring that recommendations are gender-responsive. Separate women-only citizen juries may be needed. Table 3.1 summarizes key recommendations made by farmers' juries in Mali over the past two years following their assessment of the work of the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) and national research bodies.

**TABLE 3.1 Recommendations by farmers' juries in Mali for putting farmers first in research and development<sup>17</sup>**

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>Models of agricultural production</b> | <p>Involve farmers in every stage of creating and selecting crop varieties and focus research on improving the productivity of local varieties through, for example, growing practices, land use and soil fertility management.</p> <p>Find strategies to promote the use, exchange, and storage of local seeds.</p> <p>Generate knowledge and technologies to support sustainable agriculture, including tools and machines adapted to small-scale farming; use of natural mineral resources and compost; integrated pest management; and mixed cropping.</p>   |
| <b>Land tenure and property rights</b>   | <p>Provide producers with accurate information about land registration procedures.</p> <p>Develop research into how to allocate land titles to women.</p>  |
| <b>Farmers and markets</b>               | <p>Develop mechanisms to help protect the local market and local produce from unfair competition from imported products.</p> <p>Develop strategies to facilitate sales of local products on markets.</p>   |
| <b>Research governance</b>               | <p>Reconstruct agricultural policy to give farmers a central role in defining it.</p> <p>Directly involve producers, users and consumers (both women and men) in controlling, designing, conducting and monitoring research activities.</p> <p>Organize citizens' juries, or conferences, to define the overarching policies and strategic priorities for food and agricultural research.</p> <p>Identify and investigate mechanisms that enable the state to provide more funding to research and reduce dependency on external sources.</p> <p>Increase efforts to circulate and disseminate the results of participatory research, especially in local languages.</p> <p>Build on and disseminate farmers' agro-ecological knowledge and innovations (on seeds, fertilization, etc.).</p> |

## Ways forward

This chapter is mostly about transforming visible and invisible structures. Figure 3.2 highlights and associates some of the key interrelated activities suggested in this chapter.

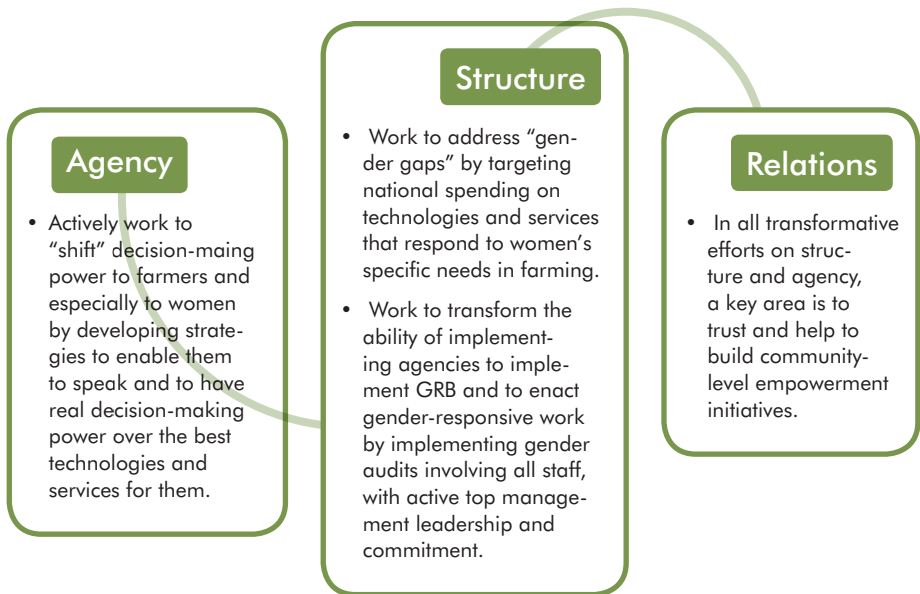
Gender-responsive budgeting works to embed gender-transformative change in visible structures and exposes hidden biases and inequities in those structures. Commitments to

<sup>17</sup> Adapted from Pimbert, M. (2012). *Putting Farmers First: Reshaping Agricultural Research in West Africa*. IIED Briefing Paper (17122IIED). International Institute for Environment and Development, London. <http://pubs.iied.org/17122IIED>.

gender equality in the financing of national development plans are put on paper, turning policy pronouncements and international commitments to women’s equality into tangible actions. At the same time, the case study makes it clear that GRB needs a strong enabling environment. It needs a legal and institutional foundation, as well as broad societal shifts, widespread awareness-raising, and support from the grassroots to the top levels of government. Powerful individuals can make a major difference by putting their weight behind GRB. Opportunities must be seized. And change is not a one-off process; work has to continue at all levels to transform visible and invisible structures, and to preserve the progress that has been made.

The gender audits at USAID Tanzania, in the Kenyan Ministry of Energy, and elsewhere show the value of systematically reviewing every aspect of an operation to identify barriers to effective gender mainstreaming. Even if staff are aware of gender issues and committed to addressing them, they may lack the skills to do so effectively, or an explicit plan or policy to guide them. They may also be working with colleagues or supervisors who don’t yet share their awareness and commitment. Or they may lack crucial resources. A gender audit can help an organization to systematically fill these gaps.

The gender-transformative research of CGIAR AAS, meanwhile, points to the critical need to “rethink” gender disparities as not just a series of gaps to be addressed one by one – e.g. access to finance, to equipment or to services – but as the product of systemic inequalities. The focus of the CGIAR AAS project is to expose, understand and start to transform the underlying, often invisible norms that make it so hard for women and men to benefit from improved services and technologies. The final sections support the thinking of both PRISM and the CGIAR AAS by emphasizing how important it is for development actors to recognize their own role in encouraging farmers to speak out, listening to what they have to say, and giving them real decision-making power.



**FIGURE 3.2** Creating enabling environments by transforming visible and invisible structures