THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DONOR GENDER EQUALITY

POLICIES IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

RESEARCH

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I, Kristal Coe, hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Master by research of the Charles Darwin University, is the result of my own investigations, and all references to ideas or work of other researchers have been specifically acknowledged. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACIAR	Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CIFOR	The Centre for International Forestry Research
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
EPMR	External Programme and Management Review
G&D	Gender and Diversity
GAD	Gender and Development
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
INRM	Integrated Natural Resource Management
IPG	International Public Goods
ITTO	International Tropical Timber Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NTFP	Non-timber Forest Product
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PRGA	Participatory Research and Gender Analysis
R&D	Research and Development
Sida	Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDA-FS	United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service
WID	Women in Development
WOCAN	Women Organizing for Change in Natural Resource Management

ABSTRACT

Gender inequalities in education, environment, armed conflict, health and political representation can have devastating effects on economic and human growth. Formal mechanisms to safeguard the consideration of gender equality in development activities have been implemented on a global scale. Many International donor organisations developed their own gender and equality policies that impose conditions on Research and Development (R&D) agencies to consider gender in research projects. These conditions are commonly framed as Gender and Development policies. Ostensibly, these policies prompt R&D agencies to consider gender equality issues in all research projects. However, evaluating the extent to which donors influence R&D agencies to consider gender has proved difficult. The aim of the research was to identify factors in the transition of donor gender equality policies to NRM R&D research project implementation, which enable or constrain the consideration of gender issues in NRM research. The Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), an NRM R&D organisation that resides and undertakes research in developing countries, provided a case study for the research. On the basis of interviews with CIFOR key staff and content analysis of corporate and project documents, the research concluded that there was a well established awareness in CIFOR that gender equality is strongly advocated by most donor agencies. Furthermore, researchers were concerned about gender equality issues in their research. Thus, even if a donor agency advocating gender equality does not fund a project, the research is likely to consider gender. However, because consideration of gender is not fully institutionalised within CIFOR itself, the nature of the research question, researcher/s perspicacity on the institutional context of gender issues, and judgement on whether they are crucial to the research, will significantly influence the depth and breadth to which gender is considered.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

'The presence of inequality does not mark a necessary or a functional arrangement that is in some sense natural to or fitting 'human nature,' but rather an arrangement that has historical, ideological, political, and cultural roots' (Sampson 1975 p. 51).

It is argued that equal rights and opportunities for and between women and men are crucial to economic and human growth (World Bank, 2002). Thus, issues of gender inequality in, for example, education, environment, armed conflict, health and political representation have sparked genuine concern in world development. Gender equality is defined as:

'The concept meaning that all human beings are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by strict gender roles; that the different behaviour, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally' (European Commission 1998).

Gender equality has caused global development leaders to re-assess the importance of gender issues and specifically their impact in two related areas: (1) that gender inequality impedes progress in development and economic growth (for example, World Bank 2002) and (2) that crucial links have been established between gender equality and poverty eradication (for example Derbyshire 2002). Strong links have also been made between poverty and the environment, compelling an approach to research in the natural resources concerned with alleviating poverty and promoting economic growth in developing countries (Tyler 2006).

'Gender relations affect the way men and women use, access, control and benefit from natural resources. The incentives and opportunities facing men and women differ with variations in their access to and control over resources and they often have sharply different stakes and interests in natural resource management (NRM) research' (Magnus 2003). Moreover, recent studies have also shown that men and women experience poverty differently (Watson 2005)

In 1995 the Beijing Platform for Action established gender mainstreaming as the key strategy for the promotion of gender equality in development. Since then most international development organisations have developed policies on gender. Gender mainstreaming and gender equality policies have gained greatest acceptance among international donor organisations and agencies implementing development projects. However, this rhetorical commitment to gender mainstreaming appears to evaporate at the planning and implementation levels (Moser & Moser 2005) and several organisational evaluations have found that the gender mainstreaming strategy has not been implemented systematically and effectively (UNDP 2006), or that the degree to which gender mainstreaming has been integrated is varied and inconsistent (AusAID 2002; Zuckerman 2002).

For over a decade there is little evidence to suggest that the mainstreaming of gender concerns has been implemented into Research & Development (R&D) activity. This is despite the visible existence of gender mainstreaming in organisational gender equality programmes, policies, plans and strategies in international development institutions (Moser & Moser 2005). There are many challenges facing the full integration of gender issues into NRM, including gender blindness, and the poor integration of the social

sciences (Vernooy & Fajber 2006). Furthermore gender is often addressed inconsistently in NRM projects (Magnus 2003), suggesting that there are other factors aside from gender equality policies that influence the uptake of gender mainstreaming.

1.2   Outline of this research

International donor organisations that fund NRM R&D are increasingly imposing conditions on R&D agencies to address gender in projects. These particular conditions are commonly framed as Gender and Development policies. Ostensibly, these policies prompt R&D agencies to keep gender on the research agenda, but, to what extent this is the case has proved difficult to evaluate (Moser & Moser 2005). This research will explore whether these policy commitments on gender equality translate into actual implementation. It looks at four institutional arenas - international agenda setting, donor policy formulation, corporate level programming, and project implementation. The way in which gender mainstreaming is visible and gender issues are considered in a NRM R&D organisation and research activities is the key focus of this research.

Supported by a review of the literature on gender mainstreaming, this research explored how the message of gender equality is conveyed from international level to project level by posing 2 questions:

1. How do donor agencies demonstrate commitment to the promotion of gender equality, and have they formulated explicit gender policies/strategies;

2. How do these policies influence the consideration of gender in NRM research projects.

By exploring the transition of donor gender equality policies to NRM research project implementation, the aim of the research is to identify factors in this transition that enable or constrain the consideration of gender issues in NRM research.

To narrow the scope of the research and define a representative sample of donors and implementing agencies I have elected to use a case study approach. The case study was a NRM R&D organisation conducting international forestry research. The research analysed the gender and development policies of several donor agencies. These agencies were selected because they provided funding for projects managed by the case study. Therefore the research is limited by the selected donors and case study.

Several terms are used in this thesis that are elemental to gender equality. Gender mainstreaming is the awareness and consideration of gender issues by all actors, in all stages of a development project (United Nations 1995). Examples of gender mainstreaming can be determined by evidence of explicit gender equality policies, gender sensitive programs and gender analysis. Therefore, where these practices are found in the data analysed through documents and interviews, I have considered them to be in support of gender mainstreaming even if the term 'gender mainstreaming' is not explicitly stated or even if there are no general commitments to gender mainstreaming. The purpose of this study is not to produce a semantic analysis of terms used in the pursuit of gender equality (and there are many) but to determine the extent

of genuine commitment to the consideration of women and men through the implementation of NRM research projects. Where terms like gender analysis, gender equality, gender equity, and gender awareness are used in this study I interpret them as practices of gender mainstreaming and therefore as examples of gender mainstreaming.

1.3   Chapter outline

This chapter has provided a brief outline of the scope of the research. The remainder of the thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 reviews the international R&D literature. It provides context for the research through the detailing of events that have resolutely placed gender in the international R&D arena. It will look at the concept of gender, the advocacy for gender equality, gender mainstreaming, and the development of gender equality policies.

Chapter 3 will briefly discuss the methods used for the study and introduce the case study; the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR). Given that there are three results chapters the methods and analysis will be explained more thoroughly within those chapters. Chapter 4 describes how the goal of gender mainstreaming is manifest in the form of gender equality policies in international donor agencies, and what tools and practices agencies promote to achieve implementation success in research and development projects. It begins with a brief explanation of the types of donors, their funding, and the challenges they face in fulfilling their mandate to alleviate global poverty. How gender mainstreaming is influenced by the culture of organisations and institutions is considered and attempts are made to demonstrate how this affects the adoption and progress of gender mainstreaming in donor agencies.

Chapter 5 will provide background information on the case study before analysing its key organisational documentation for gender content. It then examines the gender content of the outputs from the case study research projects. Chapter 6 aims to supplement chapters 4 and 5 by exploring the experiences of the people who implemented the research projects. Chapter 7 discusses the results of the study and provides a set of recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: GENDER IN GLOBAL MANDATES, DONOR AGENCIES AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

CHAPTER 2 INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: GENDER IN GLOBAL MANDATES, DONOR AGENCIES, AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the context for this study by examining gender equality development policy, and gender mainstreaming, through a review of the general international Research and Development (R&D) and NRM literature. The chapter begins with an explanation of gender mainstreaming and then continues on to explore the history of the events leading up to the conception of gender equality policies with the intent to contextualise the policies in their rather turbulent political origins. This will hopefully help the reader to appreciate the complexity of gender equality policies, both as a political concept and as a development strategy to promote gender equality and poverty alleviation.

Gender equality policies in development circles call for a very specific outcome; to 'promote equal opportunities for women and men as participants and beneficiaries of development' (AusAID 1999 p. 4). Given that the 'responsibility for achieving gender equity is shared by all actors - men and women, policy analysts, planners, managers and programme staff' (AusAID 1999 p. 11), the process through the institutional arenas where these actors develop, design and implement gender equality policies should be very visible. The objective of this chapter is to review events in the international arena that have led to gender equality policies and the tools and strategies designed to implement them.

The most familiar strategy aimed at promoting gender equality in all areas of international development is gender mainstreaming. The literature critiquing gender mainstreaming strategies is expansive. However, the context in which gender mainstreaming is examined affects the amount and variability of the issues raised. Some of the issues raised regarding gender mainstreaming and R&D can be drawn from generalist critiques. However, 'context matters' (Daly 2005 p. 437) and so, in this study, gender mainstreaming is examined, as much as possible, in line with a NRM R&D context. Although this study will focus on gender equality in research projects, much of the literature referred to in this chapter is drawn from international *development* policy rather than international *research* policy. This is simply because the gender equality literature tends to be discussed in regard to development activity more than research activity. However, international research is an essential element of international development activity (hence the R&D model), thus literature covering international development also applies to R&D.

2.2   What is gender mainstreaming?

Many different definitions of gender mainstreaming exist and there are considerable variations in practice (Walby 2005; Woodford-Berger 2004). The most common understanding of gender mainstreaming, as defined by the United Nations Economic and Social Council, is:

> '... the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned
> action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels.
> It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences
> an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation
> of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that

women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate

goal is to achieve gender equality' (United Nations 1997 p. 27).

Gender mainstreaming is not an objective in itself but a strategy that aims to integrate systematically explicit attention to gender issues into all aspects of an organisation. Gender mainstreaming ultimately endeavours to produce 'transformatory processes and practices that will concern, engage, and benefit women and men equally' (Woodford-Berger 2005 p. 33).

Gender mainstreaming is part of a twin-track approach that combines mainstreaming and the promotion of women's empowerment through specific women-targeted activities. These strategies are recognised as being separate yet interlinked, thus the aim of gender mainstreaming is not to cancel out the need for projects that focus on women but to complement them. Even so, gender mainstreaming is an essential strategy in the challenge to influence critical policies, strategies, plans, and activities in all areas of development – political, economic, social, cultural and environmental (Hannan 2004).

The concept of gender mainstreaming was instigated in the 1970's. Since then it has endured fashioning and manipulation within and between various countries, advocacy groups, gender experts, and policy makers. It has been the topic of discussion at numerous development forums and is subject to persistent debate on its conceptual definition and semantic ambiguity. Eventually it has emerged, in one guise or another, on international, state, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and local government development policy documents all around the world.

2.3   What is 'gender'?

The term 'gender' has its origins in psychology and was fervently adopted by liberal feminists in their bid to discredit the idea of 'biological determinism' whereby the roles of men and women in society are predetermined by masculine or feminine biological traits (Bailey, Leo-Rhynie, & Morris 2000; Reddock 2000). Feminists argued that women's subordination (as a consequence of established 'feminine' roles) was in fact socially constructed and not predetermined by (perceived) limitations of the female sex. Feminists argued that if 'sex' referred exclusively to a classification of the biological differences between men and women, then a new term should be adopted to encapsulate the effect of social processes upon the behaviour, expectations and roles of men and women. And so gender entered into politics, academia, and popular discourse, revolutionising the way in which we understand men and women (Connell 2002).

The contemporary definition of gender is best understood as a social category experienced by all societies that both affects and is affected by other social categories such as race, ethnicity, cast and class (Jackson 2002). Gender is divisible again into other asymmetrical groups of not only men and women but also in the 'ways that people, groups, and organizations [sic] are connected and divided' (Connell 2002, p. 54). The diagnostic tool for identifying gender-based differences and relations regarding labour, and access to and control over income and resources is gender analysis. It is argued that the collection of gender-differentiated data is necessary to design gender appropriate R&D projects (Razavi & Miller 1995).

2.4 The history of gender in development

Gender inequality has sparked genuine concern in world development. It has caused global development leaders to re-assess the importance of gender issues and specifically their impact in two related areas: (1) that gender inequality impedes progress in development and economic growth (for example, World Bank 2002) and (2) that crucial links have been established between gender equality and poverty eradication (for example Derbyshire 2002).

Possibly the earliest form of 'gendered' development aid was delivered by philanthropic white western women with the intent to promote the advancement of women in developing countries. Post war efforts tended towards economic growth and emergency relief, with programs for poor women and children based on welfare assistance and delivered by a predominately voluntary effort (Buvinic cited in Kabeer 1996). Economic growth programs (aimed at men) were intended to benefit women through the increased incomes of male family members. The assumption was that the benefits from economic development would 'trickle down' to women and children (Momsen 2004; Razavi & Miller 1995) and the numbers of people living in poverty would decrease. Poverty persisted despite the promises of modernisation in developing countries, and by the early 1970s it became clear to some that specific anti-poverty approaches were needed to make any difference to all people living in poverty, including women and children (Moser 1989).

The failure of modernisation and industrialisation to advantage women and poor people was brought to light after reviews indicated a lack of progress in these areas at the end of the first Development Decade in the 1960's. Suspicions regarding the assumed

gender neutrality of development started in 1970 with Boserup's seminal work on 'Woman's Role in Economic Development' (1970) which challenged the conventional view that development in developing countries had benefited women (Boserup in Watson 2005). In this same decade the UN founded its Decade for Women (1975-1985), which launched the promotion of development strategies directed at women. Ideas to integrate women into development were born from two separate but remarkably influential groups; the US women's movement and the UN Commission on the Status of Women (Tinker 1990; Reddock 2000). The UN's Decade for Women also produced the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and an environment for advocates to speak about issues and the subsequent development of legislation (Razavi & Miller 1995).

Policy 'windows' create opportunities for change (Dovers 2005 p. 31) and thus sustained, organised mobilisation and political lobbying provided the window necessary for the UN to declare 1975 to be the International Women's Year. The first international Women's Conference was held in Mexico and then subsequently in Copenhagen and Nairobi during the course of the UN Decade for Women (Tinker 1990). The world conference of the International Women's Year at Mexico City and the UN Decade for Women gave global voice to the emerging Women in Development (WID) movement by formally acknowledging the need for social justice and equity for women. Thus the WID movement was born, although the design of WID programs initially remained set in the tradition of welfare aid and relief (Buvinic cited in Kabeer 1996).

During this period the women's movement (for political equality such as equal employment opportunity) was influential on the growth of the WID movement. Feminist academics advanced the idea that success in developing country economic development depended upon tapping into the unused women's labour force (Boserup in Razavi & Miller 1995). Feminists 'packaged' gender issues to appeal to economists by focusing on a strategy of 'relevance'. By emphasising the economic value of women's 'reproductive' labour, there started a shift in perception about women's place in development from one of welfare recipient to a potential avenue towards development efficiency (Moser 2005). Suggesting that women's labour could ensure the success of development aimed at poverty alleviation (Razavi & Miller 1995) increased the visibility of women in developing countries. It then became apparent that data collection and new research were urgently needed to document the situation of women throughout the developing world (Momsen 2004).

The packaging of WID was essential for its rapid acceptance and uptake, argued to be a result of the strategic way WID was advocated. It is argued that the concept of WID was 'sold' to the international development institutions (Elgstrom 2000) by the process of 'frame extension' (Verloo 2001 p. 9) or 'frame bridging' (Snow & Benford in Verloo 2001), whereby a new policy idea is linked to or stretched within an existing frame, making the new idea sound familiar by imitating the terminology of the target audience. International organisations may also be motivated to adopt new policies if they feel it is the appropriate course of action (Elgstrom 2000).

At the same time shifts in development discourse were prompting the analysis of the worlds' poor, which provided a further platform for the WID advocates to highlight the

potential of women's roles in alleviating poverty. However, pro-poor strategies to empower poor women economically often degenerated into women's projects focusing on nutrition and handicrafts (Razavi & Miller 1995). Moser argues that an inherent weakness of these approaches of economic growth and poverty alleviation was that they did not meet women's strategic needs and thus did not shift the balance of power between the genders. Therefore, rather than creating jobs and greater income for women, it created extra work for a group already overburdened (Moser 1989).

2.5   From WID to GAD

In the 1970's there was much debate on the distinction between biological sex and social gender (Razavi & Miller 1995). This debate crossed the threshold into discussions regarding the general dissatisfaction in WID philosophy, that development programs targeting women were neglecting the role of complex social relationships between men and women in defining power relations (Razavi & Miller 1995). Due to the historically superficial nature of WID projects during the 1970s, a conceptual shift began to emerge from 'Women in Development' to 'Gender and Development' (GAD), with a view to broadening the focus of attention beyond the existing preoccupation with women alone (Esplen 2006).

Thus, the concept of gender mainstreaming gained popularity from discussions in the 1970's as a means to address the failures of previous (WID) strategies by integrating women's perspectives into all areas of development (Hannan 2004). It was brought into focus by the Fourth World Conference of Women in 1995 where gender mainstreaming was determined as the key tool to bring about gender equality (Moser & Moser 2005). Subsequently, the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (PfA) was

developed and signed by governments across the world (van Reisen 2005). The PfA called upon governments, the international community and civil society, including nongovernmental organizations and the private sector to implement gender mainstreaming in all Critical Areas of Concern established at the Fourth World Conference. The critical areas are: poverty, education, health, political decision-making, economy, human rights, violence against women, armed conflict, institutional mechanisms, environment, media and the girl child (United Nations 1995). In the last decade gender mainstreaming has reached a level of global policy diffusion and is a ratified strategy in all UN member states (True 2003).

While the overall global framework for gender equality and empowerment of women remains the Beijing Declaration and Platform-for-Action, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are an instrument to support its full implementation (van Reisen 2005). In 2002 the UN General Assembly adopted the Millennium Declaration, which recognised that the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women are critical to the eradication of poverty, hunger and disease and the achievement of development that is truly sustainable (Lambrou 2005). Subsequently, eight MDGs were established for development and poverty eradication, to be achieved by 2015. Although Goal 3 specifically aims to promote gender equality and empower women, it is increasingly recognised that gender equality is essential for the achievement of all the MDGs (Kabeer 2003).

Gender mainstreaming has achieved widespread endorsement by individual governments, regional supra-state bodies such as the European Union, the Nordic Council of Ministers and the Organization of American States, and global governance

institutions, notably the United Nations and its various agencies, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the Council of Europe (True 2003). This phenomenon is commonly described as policy diffusion. However, in this case, simple explanations of 'policy diffusion' may overlook the transformatory influence that translation from 'core countries to the periphery' (Chabot & Duuvendak 2002 in Walby 2005 p. 458) can have on gender mainstreaming objectives. The process of gender mainstreaming policy transfer is subject to the conditions of international, national and local processes, all of which affect, to varying degrees, the characteristics of gender mainstreaming strategy. What emerges are differential versions of the strategy that have, in subtle or drastic ways, moved away from the original intent (Walby 2005).

The adoption of gender equality polices and the gender mainstreaming strategy into organisational culture is an example of 'formal norm change' (Elgstrom 2000 p. 458). The process by which new norms gain sway in institutional thinking is complex and first must be introduced as something that an institution feels compelled to consider. Once the new concept becomes the 'norm' it is often subjected to dilution and modification into the language of the dominant organisational culture. Thus norms are subject to a process of negotiation in order to fit with existing institutional agendas. Arenas of negotiation can include formal decision-making whereby norms are verbalised into texts, which are negotiated by competing actors attempting either to promote or suppress the potential impact of the norm (Elgstrom 2000).

2.6 Gender equality policies

Policies are ideas (Mosse 2003) that require the most appropriate instruments to be chosen for the effective implementation of the policy (Dovers 2005). In this case, the policy idea is to promote gender equality in the development context and gender mainstreaming has been chosen as the key strategy to that end. Gender mainstreaming itself is an idea or concept that needs more tangible tools and procedures to help practitioners channel what is fundamentally a theoretical concept into concrete outcomes in the field (Woodford-Berger 2005). This is proving to be implementing organisations' greatest challenge despite the availability and abundance of gender mainstreaming information (das Pradhan 2004). Much of this information represents a standard approach for the 'translations of policy into manifestations of operational practice' (Woodford-Berger 2005 p. 67).

Development organisations mandating gender equality have developed and published policies that fulfil the Gender and Development framework, henceforth referred to as gender equality policies. These polices have been developed together with an assortment of guides and booklets to assist in the operations of mainstreaming gender equality issues, such as gender analysis 'tools', 'activities' and 'frameworks', 'gender action plans, and 'gender sensitive indicators'. For example the Asian Development Bank has developed a 'Gender Action Plan' (2001), a 'Gender and Development Framework' (2003) and a revised GAD policy citing the key elements of successful gender mainstreaming as gender sensitivity, gender analysis, gender planning, mainstreaming, and agenda setting (ADB 2006). Similarly, the Australian Agency for International Aid (AusAID) has a Gender and Development policy and an accompanying guide with gender mainstreaming as one of the primary objectives.

Gender mainstreaming is not so much enforced by these documents as 'rationalised' into a credible and implementable strategy (Woodford-Berger 2005 p. 66).

2.7   Implementation of gender equality policies

Gender equality policies have gained greatest acceptance among international donor organisations and agencies implementing development projects, but even their adoption has been imperfect. Despite the visible existence of gender mainstreaming in gender equality programmes, policies, plans and strategies in international development institutions for over a decade, there is little evidence to suggest that the mainstreaming of gender concerns has been implemented in development projects. This rhetorical commitment to gender mainstreaming appears to evaporate at the planning and implementation levels (Moser & Moser 2005) and several organisational evaluations have found that the gender mainstreaming approach has not been implemented systematically and effectively (United Nations 2006), or that the degree to which gender mainstreaming has been integrated is varied and inconsistent (AusAID 2002; Zuckerman 2002).

Gender mainstreaming is breaking new ground in policy development and implementation in that it was first developed and articulated at the international level. Most policies are developed at the national level, and are presumably conceptualised in relation to the specific issues and contexts of individual countries. Gender mainstreaming, however, was conceived in global forums for implementation in national, regional and local arenas (Walby 2005). It is fair to suggest that the gender mainstreaming policy is not a one size fits all, or a 'blueprint' for mainstreaming

gender issues (United Nations 2002). Thus implementing the policy in a manner appropriate to the local context requires time and specialist skills.

It is the area of transformation, however, that Kabeer (1994) stresses as being the key indicator to the real success of gender equality policies. Recent studies of multilateral development institutions suggest that gender mainstreaming's ability to transform institutional practices is seriously compromised by two main factors; the lack of resources, including gender expertise inside institutions, and the conflict between the feminist goal of gender equity and the neoliberal goal of economic efficiency (True 2003).

It could be argued that organisations that implement R&D projects are at the transformative core of gender mainstreaming policy, more so than donor agencies. It is argued that implementing agency sign-off on the terms of reference for a project that stipulates gender mainstreaming is essentially a 'tick in the box' to demonstrate their 'commitment' to gender (das Pradhan 2004 p. 93). Signing-off may mean implementing agencies agree to no more than a good-natured commitment to the concept of gender mainstreaming while lacking either understanding of gender issues or any real commitment to mainstreaming gender in R&D activies (das Pradhan 2004).

Thus the successful promotion of gender equality will depend on how implementing agencies conceive of their responsibility to implement (and subsequently inform donor agencies on) gender equality policies. Although the literature suggests that, in most cases, gender equality policies are formulated at the donor level to be applied by implementing agencies into projects, it is important to note that implementing agencies

may develop their own gender equality policies, which will have some level of influence on donor agency policy. Furthermore, implementing agencies play an important role in informing donors of the impact of donor gender equality policies at the project level. This information facilitates 'policy learning' (Dovers 2005 p .138). It provides an important feedback loop useful for implementing agencies' own evaluation and monitoring as well as for reviewing the effectiveness of donor gender policies.

An understanding of organisational culture is crucial for the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming. Organisational culture and successful gender mainstreaming policy are 'intrinsically linked' (Moser & Moser 2005 p. 16). Thus not only does the commitment to gender mainstreaming need to be promoted at the highest organisational level but it needs to become a part of every day practice for the whole organisation - an unconscious action. However, a major obstacle to the effective implementation of mainstreaming gender issues is that organisational change is rarely part of policies or strategies to promote gender equality (Gurung & Lama 2003).

2.8   Natural Resource Management and gender

Merging women's issues into economic efficiency and poverty alleviation policy approaches has pervaded all areas of development and research, and the field of NRM R&D is no exception. The message in gender and NRM literature is categorical - rights to and benefits from natural resources, and the poverty experienced by those dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods, are largely determined by gender (Pound et al. 2003; Magnus 2003; Mkenda-Mugittu 2003; Upadhyay 2005; Vernooy 2006). Central to this assertion is the argument that gender be considered and explicitly integrated into NRM projects (Watson 2005).

Natural resource systems are dynamic and complex, and in terms of research and development, cannot be separated from their links to social, economic, policy and institutional systems, without inviting risk to project outcomes, and the sustainability of environments and livelihoods. It is these systems that determine the value and use of natural resources and establish power relations that influence control and decision-making. Conflicts, diverse and intricate systems of access and use, and unforseen social, political and environmental events are inherent within NRM R&D (Vernooy & Fajber 2006). Additionally, NRM R&D has a long history of reductionist scientific research, which has often neglected to recognise crucial social aspects of natural resources (Vernooy & Fajber 2006). NRM R&D agencies are also subject to institutional norms, rules and values that influence organisational structural and individual behaviour (Watson 2005). These forces can act as barriers to the adoption of gender equality policies, and often socially sensitive research in NRM rarely extends beyond the conceptual level (Vernooy & Fabjer 2006).

As mentioned above, new norms are subject to negotiations in order to fit with existing institutional practices (Elgstrom 2000). Magnus (2003) notes that the process by which gender issues are incorporated into organisations, and that constitute this process of negotiation, can potentially weaken its analytical power and potential for change. These aspects of gender mainstreaming are vulnerable to the structural factors in an organization, which determine the level of emphasis placed on gender issues and the adoption of gender analysis in programs and research. In NRM gender is then exposed to the level of understanding, skills and initiative of individual researchers. This differential process of negotiation helps to explain why gender mainstreaming is often addressed inconsistently in NRM projects (Magnus 2003).

The manner in which women are historically considered in international development policy is mirrored in the NRM R&D and gender literature. Traditionally NRM technological interventions in a developing country community assumed men to be the primary stakeholders, and so designed the projects and technologies around that assumption. The expected 'trickle down effect' to women as secondary beneficiaries of the new technology often had a negative effect on women's roles and ultimately lead to project failure (Watson 2005). WID practices in NRM programs have also been criticised for assuming that men are the 'natural partners of NRM' (Watson 2005 p. 63). In cases where women were specifically targeted, activities were generally of a non-NRM nature (such as nutrition and handicrafts) and were regarded as 'balancing' the main project (Watson 2005 p. 63). Vernooy and Fabjer (2006) observe that many NRM R&D projects still isolate the social/gender component from the mainstream in NRM projects and there is little interaction or discussion between social or gender representatives and scientists.

All natural resource use and access is linked to power relations (Tyler 2006). Tyler states that a study of resource use quickly reveals the issue of control, which in turn highlights the problematic issue of social differentiation and exclusion. If the ability of poor households to utilize natural resources and enhance their livelihood strategies is influenced by scientific discoveries and technologies, it follows that a thorough gender analysis is needed to determine the needs of poor men and women if the most appropriate technology is to be produced.

The limited experience of NRM researchers in social science research, and the poor integration of social science components in research projects can affect the mainstreaming of gender issues (Vernooy 2006) in NRM. Project outcomes are also affected by the different understanding of gender mainstreaming and how it is incorporated into research projects (Magnus 2003). Specifically, gender mainstreaming may be mistakenly interpreted as 'the inclusion of women' and a more thorough analysis of gender relations will be overlooked. Gender blindness is also common in NRM research, whereby researchers refuse to acknowledge that the analysis of gender issues is an important component of a research project (Vernooy 2006).

Historically, the institution of NRM R&D is predominantly a scientific one, and has been commonly criticised for failing to address problems of poverty adequately, and having little impact on actual practice (Tyler 2006). In NRM R&D issues of social and gender inequality can be referred to as 'second generation' issues, which means they are often considered subsequent to issues perceived to be more important (Tyler 2006). However, Kassam (2003) warns of the dangers of underestimating the significance of these issues, stating that these second-generation issues are not only crucial to the effectiveness of the participation of beneficiaries in the process of research, they are also the issues that can have a broad-based, sustainable impact that can create social and institutional change.

Most recently NRM R&D is in a state of transformation, striving for a 'new way of doing business' (Campbell et al. 2006), which includes experimenting with new approaches to NRM R&D. The long established reductionist approach to researching issues in natural resources is becoming increasingly inappropriate in the face of recent

global directives to include poverty alleviation and environmental sustainability into every R&D initiative. Integrated Natural Resource Management (INRM) is an example of a new generation approach, which brings together the hitherto contraposed practices of conservation and development. INRM proposes to encompass the complexities of environmental, economic, and social systems (Campbell *et al.* 2006). With human wellbeing as the core focus for analysis, INRM presents an approach suitably in line with the current international development trends, and is conceivably able to support a gender mainstreaming strategy.

As mentioned above, GAD differs from WID in its greater attention to power relations and an appreciation of social constructs affecting the success of development programs, rather than only the implementation of women-only projects (Momsen 2004). The GAD approach theoretically focuses on the 'interdependent' positions that women and men have in society (Macdonald 1994). Gender, as well as class and ethnicity, determine different social roles and responsibilities and create unequal power relations between actors, most visibly men and women. As regards NRM, these power relations determine who has access to and control over natural resources (Gonsalves et al. 2005). As such, a sound gender analysis should attempt to incorporate issues of class, (or caste) and ethnicity (Macdonald 1994). Yet Vernooy & Zhang (2006) observe that gender analysis in NRM often does not go beyond a description of the division of labour (roles of men and women).

> There is no analysis of the more important and complex gender and social relations. Many researchers do not recognize and take into consideration the differentiation of preferences, perceptions, [and] responsibilities that exist on the basis of gender (Vernooy & Zhang 2006)

2.9   Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed events in the international arena that have led to gender equality policies and how the promotion of gender equality is considered to be crucial in the alleviation of poverty. Furthermore it has explored how gender issues and poverty alleviation are also important concepts in NRM research. The method employed by most international donor agencies to ensure the consideration of gender issues in all R&D activities is to make explicit commitments to promote gender equality in the form of gender equality policies. However, so far there is little evidence to suggest that the mainstreaming of gender concerns has been implemented into development projects, suggesting that gender equality polices are a rhetorical commitment to gender mainstreaming that evaporates once the project is under way.

The 'tick in the box' practice of demonstrating a 'commitment' to gender is a familiar scenario in R&D NRM. The literature suggests that donor gender equality policies alone, although a positive step, have gained little ground in improving the areas of gender equality and poverty alleviation on the ground. Thus R&D agencies have an important role in filling gaps in knowledge concerning institutional drivers of gender inequalities and gender relationships, especially in the area of natural resources where rights to and benefits from natural resources, and the poverty experienced by those dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods, are largely determined by gender.

The literature points to several areas in NRM R&D that inhibit the integration of gender in NRM R&D organisations and gender analysis in projects:

- Poor integration of social sciences;

- Gender analysis rarely goes beyond divisions of labour;

- Lack of practitioner experience in gender issues;

- Resistance to gender as a valid area of inquiry, and

- Gender issues treated as women's issues;

The literature also suggests that, despite the existence of donor gender equality policies, gender issues are inconsistently considered in NRM projects. The following chapters will explore other factors such as the culture of NRM R&D institutions, and how gender is conceptualised in NRM organisations and by individual NRM practitioners.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND CASE STUDY

CHAPTER 3 METHODS AND CASE STUDY APPROACH

3.1 Introduction

The motivation for this research is based on my personal concern for human justice and a desire to contribute to knowledge that assists in creating greater social equality. Equal rights over, and access to natural resources aids in the empowerment of poor people who depend on those resources, and can drastically improve their lives, and lead to the sustainable development and conservation of those resources (Kassam 2003; Pound et al. 2003; Magnus 2003; Mkenda-Mugittu 2003; Upadhyay 2005; Tyler 2006; Vernooy 2006). This can be achieved through a critical understanding of the cultural, social and political process that underwrites all forms of discrimination and inequality. Inequalities between men and women are embedded in social, cultural and political processes – they are institutionalised. There is a large body of literature that states that institutional reform is crucial to social change, and there are clear reforms that have been made in the area of gender equality and R&D practice. These institutional reforms are most clearly, and publically, presented in the format of gender equality polices (or Gender and Development polices) developed by the majority of international development organisations.

3.2 Rationale for a case study approach

The methods for this research were chosen based on an aim to understand how these polices contribute to the goal of gender equality in the natural resources. Additional to the international arena I wanted to explore areas that could potentially influence the consideration of gender equality in NRM R&D practice. To this end I have also explored the corporate documents of a NRM R&D organisation for evidence of

commitments to gender equality. To ascertain the consideration of gender in research projects I have analysed project outputs for gender content, as well as canvassed the experiences and perceptions of gender equality and gender mainstreaming of NRM R&D practitioners.

To address the aim of the research I analysed the actual practices of a single R&D organisation receiving funding from donor agencies and conducting NRM research. Analysing multiple R&D organisations would have provided a greater amount of data and demonstrated variability in organisational approaches, but would have been more superficial in terms of the complex of factors at play in an organisation that determine its structure, values and principles. The case study approach of one organisation allowed for a more in-depth exploration of the culture and processes within a NRM organisation. Furthermore, the case study approach allowed use of various research methods to capture multiple sources of data.

The Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) was selected as the case study because it is a typical international NRM research organisation, being one of the fifteen agricultural research organisations in the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR). The CGIAR mission is "to achieve sustainable food security and reduce poverty in developing countries through scientific research and research-related activities in the fields of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, policy, and environment" (CGIAR 2006a). The case study organisation CIFOR is described in detail in section 5. It should be noted that a principal supervisor was recruited from CIFOR (the Director of the Forests and Livelihoods programme) – he was able to

facilitate my access to difficult-to-obtain and non-public documentation on projects, as well as able to facilitate meetings with CIFOR personnel.

3.3   Research methods and data collection

Chapter 2 poses questions regarding the significance of donor gender equality policies in NRM research and how donors and R&D agencies ensure that gender issues are covered in their on-the-ground projects. A number of issues need to be addressed within a case study. Firstly, it is important to establish what the content of donor gender equality policies are, and in what way they are communicated to the R&D agencies to ensure the inclusion of gender issues in research projects. Secondly, the extent to which implementing agencies interpret these polices and how practitioners incorporate them into research projects must be established. Thirdly, how the R&D agency itself is accountable for promoting gender equality within the organisation must be explored. Lastly, it should be established whether donor gender equality polices have a significant impact on R&D research activity and what extent donor gender equality policies, R&D commitments to gender equality, and individual practices, are reflected in research projects.

To cover the breadth of these issues, the research consisted of four areas of enquiry conducted at the international, donor agency, corporate and project level. The first area to explore was the international context, and how events in recent history have shaped the way the development community conceptualised gender. The second area of enquiry was to examine the content of the gender equality policies developed by donor agencies. The third enquiry consisted of an examination of CIFOR key corporate

documents and semi-structured interviews with CIFOR senior management. The fourth enquiry involved an analysis of project outputs and a series of semi-structured interviews with selected CIFOR project managers. In addition, relevant secondary data were collected and reviewed, and personal observations were made during two weeks spent at CIFOR headquarters. The various components were complementary and provided some means of triangulation. The different methods for collecting and analysing data are briefly described below, however, a more detailed description and application of methods is included in the respective research results chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Before commencing with the research, permission to conduct the interviews was obtained from CIFOR's Director General. Participation in the interviews was completely voluntary. Emails were sent by my principle supervisor to the Director General (DG) and Deputy Director General (DDG) of CIFOR in Bogor, Indonesia, with a brief description of the research. Both the DG and DDG expressed an interest in the research, claiming that CIFOR could improve its gender focus, and that my research could help CIFOR achieve this aim. Given the limitations on time and finances to conduct the research it was considered appropriate to focus on the projects of one of CIFOR's three programmes: the Forests and Livelihoods Programme (Livelihoods). This programme was selected based on the impression that the its projects characterised typical NRM research projects, that is, research that focuses on policies and practices related to the management and use of forested landscapes.

The Livelihoods programme at CIFOR was developed with the rationale of providing a focus within CIFOR to tackle poverty alleviation directly through strategic forestry

research. "Sustainable livelihoods" is the increasingly popular term in development circles for how poverty is now being analysed (see Shepherd 2004). Carney (1998) coined the sustainable livelihoods approach, focussing on five livelihood assets; natural capital, physical capital, financial capital, human capital, and social capital (Carney in Ashley & Carney 1999). The Livelihoods programme addresses these assets in the context of forest use, management and markets.

3.3.1 Selecting projects from the Livelihoods Programme

To address the objectives of the research (to examine the existence of a gender focus in donor agencies, CIFOR, and research projects) some clear connections had to be particularly established between the second (donor agency) and fourth (project implementation) areas of enquiry. A list of CIFOR's Livelihoods Programme donor-funded projects was used as the entry point for the research. The criteria used for selection of the projects was as follows: at least a year in duration; completed or near completed (in order to have generated maximum outputs); and, funding of at least $30,000 per year (to ensure the project was a significant research project, well resourced and documented). Using these criteria, out of 100 possible projects, 22 projects were selected (see Appendix 1 for a list of the 22 projects). These 22 projects were funded by a total of 13 donors due to cases where two, three or four projects were funded by the same donor. In many of these cases the projects are closely related (for example, one donor funded an extension of a project and a second phase, while another donor funded four sequential projects, each with its own project proposal and each of one-year duration, and with very similar activities). However, I did not condense these related projects into single projects in anticipation that there would be separate outputs for each.

To ensure integration of research components, the donors analysed were those identified for the 22 projects, while for the 22 projects the outputs were analysed and interviews were conducted with the managers of the projects.

3.3.2 Analysis of donor gender equality policies

The gender equality policies of the selected 13 donor agencies were documented. This was done using the internet to source the donor website and download the gender equality policy. Where gender equality policies were not evident or available on the organisation' website, an email was sent to an appropriate contact person for information. All existing policies were collected and examined for specific gender components. These components were based on an assumption concerning the information a researcher would find useful when preparing a research proposal that considered gender issues. The method and data collection is explained in greater detail in Chapter 4.

3.3.3 Analysis of key CIFOR documents and management interviews

The employment of new policies can be advocated both formally and informally (Kardam 1995). To ascertain CIFOR's formal commitment to the consideration of gender issues from an organisational perspective, a content analysis of CIFOR's key documents was undertaken. The key documents were identified by the Livelihoods Programme manager and sourced from CIFOR's website. They were then systematically scanned for any contextual references to gender, women, woman, girl or man, men, boy.

This data was supplemented with semi-structured interviews with six of CIFOR's senior management team, who were asked if they were aware of the following recommendation posed by a recent external evaluation.

> "The Panel recommends that CIFOR's Programmes and Projects, in their diagnosis, design and implementation, increase attention to gender, especially in regard to poverty alleviation" (CGIAR 2006c p. 7)

They were then asked what ideas they had for the achievement of the recommendation and what strategies they thought CIFOR could implement. While the analysis of CIFOR documents gave some insight into CIFOR's formal commitments to a gender focus in its research, the interviews gave insights into the informal processes that lead to gender being included or excluded from CIFOR's research portfolio.

3.3.4 Project manager interviews

The project managers (or next available person who worked on the project) for each of the 22 Livelihoods projects were identified and interviews were organised[1]. Interviews, rather than questionnaires, were a more appropriate method of data collection given the small number of staff employed in the Livelihoods Programme. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview method had the capacity to facilitate greater potential for in-depth and detailed discussion, providing a richer source of data for analysis. Most importantly the interviews were considered the best means of capturing information about how the donor and CIFOR management influenced and supported the

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[1] The next available person was someone who worked on the research project team. For consistency the interviewees are referred to as 'project managers' throughout the thesis.

consideration of gender in the project. Although I wanted to ask specific project-related questions, I also wanted the flexibility to explore other gender related issues outside of the project in question. Thus semi-structured interviews were composed to encourage a natural flow in conversation, and allow for unanticipated yet related information to be explored (A list of interview questions is provided in Appendix 2). Although the interview questions were mostly seeking factual accounts, gender can be an emotive topic. Face-to-face interviews would allow a better exploration and capture of emotive responses, and the early detection of interviewees feeling threatened or discomforted by the questioning. Furthermore, interview data would more likely identify the existence of internal advocates of gender equality, which play an essential role in the promotion of gender-related issues in organisations (Kardam 1995).

Interviews were arranged to take place at CIFOR Headquarters in Bogor during the Livelihoods Annual Meeting in August 2007. Invitations were sent out to project managers by the Livelihoods project executive officer a month before the Annual Meeting. Given the hectic schedule of researchers during the Annual Meeting, most interviews were kept as short as possible (around 30 minutes), although, some interviews did extend to two hours.

One project managers who was no longer a CIFOR employee was interviewed by phone before the Annual Meeting, and a further two project managers were sent and responded to the interview questions via email. The preferred method, however, was to conduct interviews in a face-to-face setting – this occurred for 11 out of 14 project managers, as four were interviewed via phone or email.

3.3.5 Project output analysis

A content analysis of outputs from the selected 22 projects was conducted. The outputs were sourced from CIFOR's publications database, directly from project mangers and from the internet. The purpose of conducting a content analysis on project outputs was to determine whether the projects considered gender issues. The outputs of projects were divided into the categories that represent the different stages of a project; project proposal, interim reports, technical reports, completions reports, and publications, such as project proposals, technical reports, and journal publications. These were then examined for evidence of gender consideration. This data was used to ascertain which categories more frequently considered gender and how gender is considered throughout the different stages of a project.

To standardise the analysis of the manner in which gender was considered in project outputs, a set of categories were formulated. These categories were borrowed from several requirements that are common to most of the donor gender equality policies used in this study. These categories were used as indicators in measuring to what degree these policies have influenced Livelihoods research. The minimum evidence that implies a project considered gender is a contextual reference to gender in the project output. An example of contextual gender consideration in a project proposal may be an acknowledgement that gender inequalities exist in regard to the research topic. An example of gender analysis could be a publication which mentioned the research found women heads of household were financially worse off than their male counterparts. The outputs analysis will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

DONOR AGENCIES AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF

GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES

CHAPTER 4 DONOR AGENCIES AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES

4.1 Introduction

The inadequacies of mainstream development, such as the trickle down approach, and women-targeted development activities prompted a conceptual shift in development (Razavi & Miller 1995), and a new strategy to deliver gender equality in development activities (Hannan 2004). Feminists advocated the concept of Gender and Development as a remedy for the persistence of sex inequalities in development activities (Kingma & Sweetman 2005). This 'gender discourse' (Razavi & Miller 1995 p. 45) has now been appropriated by planners and policy makers at the highest level in international development activity. In 1995 the Beijing Platform for Action established gender mainstreaming as the key strategy for the promotion of gender equality in development activities (Mikkelsen, Freeman, & Keller 2002; Hannan 2004; Moser & Moser 2005). Despite the widespread adoption of gender mainstreaming by international agencies (Daly 2005, Moser & Moser 2005), its contribution towards increasing gender equality is not yet known (Moser & Moser 2005).

This chapter describes how gender mainstreaming is manifest in the form of gender equality policies in international donor agencies, how gender has been mainstreamed and what tools and practices agencies promote to achieve implementation success in R&D projects. This chapter begins with a brief explanation of the types of donors, their funding arrangements, and the challenges they face in fulfilling their mandate to alleviate global poverty. How gender mainstreaming is influenced by the culture of international organisations is considered and attempts are made to demonstrate how

this affects the adoption and progress of gender mainstreaming in donor agencies. Integrating gender into projects, and monitoring and evaluation, are also discussed. Lastly this chapter examines the gender equality policies of 13 international donor agencies, looks at what a typical gender equality policy entails and what processes (if any) ensure that they are communicated to implementing agencies.

4.2 Background: Donor agencies and funding

4.2.1 What is a donor agency?

Donor agencies may be multilateral agencies such as The World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), bilateral agencies such as the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), or charitable organisations such as Oxfam International. Donor agencies provide funding (often referred to as aid) primarily to developing countries to support endeavours such as emergency relief, development, and more recently 'anti-terrorism' measures (Randel, German & Ewing 2004 p. 4) all under the auspices of international human rights. Donor agencies, in the context of this study, refer to those organisations that distribute development aid. The three main goals of donor agency support are to:

1. Reduce material poverty, chiefly through economic growth, but also through provision of public infrastructure and basic social services;

2. Promote good governance, chiefly in effective, honest, and democratically accountable institutions to manage the economy and the legal order, but also to promote civil and political rights; and

3. Reverse negative environmental trends.

(Source: Sogge 2002 p. 7)

The country or region to which a donor agency allocates its support is at the discretion of that agency. The means by which the aid is delivered (through support for projects or government budgets) in the chosen countries or regions is also a decision made by the donor agency, as are the processes by which aid is delivered. Some funding approaches are formula-based but more often donor agency funding is not based on any formal allocation criteria (Jones, Riddell & Kotoglou 2005). Furthermore donors have the right to conditional funding whereby recipients of aid must comply with donor-imposed policies. This compliance is usually demonstrated to the donors in an ex post manner.

4.2.2 Donor agency funding

In 2006 total expenditure of Official Development Assistance (ODA) from OECD members was USD 104.4 billion (DAC 2007). The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) insists, 'poverty reduction must be the overriding priority for aid'. However, given the discretionary powers of donor agencies, aid allocation is not always directed at poverty alleviation projects for the poorest people (Randel *et al.* 2004).

Donor agencies are often conceptualised as being at the top of a chain of processes that eventuate in donor agency funds supporting activities on the ground in a developing country. Craig and Porter use the metaphor of an 'aid chain' to describe the system of various actors that deliver aid from the donor to activities on the ground (in Carr, McAuliffe & MacLachlan, 1998 p. 44). Other commentators have expanded on the metaphor:

'most chains have at lease four segments beyond the funding authority: typically first an aid agency or bank, second an operator in the public or private sectors, third a national or local authority, and fourth local collaborating bodies in the public or private sectors. At each level there are hangers-on: advisors, suppliers, media, auditors and evaluators' (Sogge 2002, p. 65)

Some go as far as suggesting that this has caused a culture of 'fund channelling' whereby donor agencies, under pressure to spend money, will target areas of perceived need that suit the donor agency's initiatives. Quality control of project implementation becomes secondary to the perceived status of big budget, high profile projects (Sogge 2002). Whatever the case, funding processes are inconsistent across donor agencies and rely heavily on a process of negotiation. How much a donor gives to fund a project or programme can depend on the negotiation skills of the implementing agency and luck (UNESCO 2006).

Donor agencies often have difficulties in ensuring that their funding actually addresses the deprivations faced by poor people in target locations. Donor agencies can be under pressure to contribute to the Millennium Development Goals, agreed on by the leaders of every country in 2000, but have little control over the lack of will or capacity in local governments and organisations on the ground to use the funding in ways the donor agencies consider the most likely to alleviate poverty (Crespin 2006). The irony is that 'donor agencies and the people whose conditions constitute the very purpose of their activity barely have any direct relationship at all' (Crespin 2006 p. 435).

Of particular note are the bilateral donor agencies, which are unique in that they are public organisations that 'work for the benefit of people who are not citizens of their own counties' (Crespin 2006 p. 435). This can lead to a situation whereby people in

recipient countries are unable to choose the donor agency or request how or where the funding is to be utilised (Crespin 2006). Meanwhile the donor agency is ultimately accountable to the citizens - the tax-payers - of the donor country, not the poorest people of the developing country who receive the donor agency's development assistance.

Donor agencies and 'beneficiaries' are often separated by bureaucratic and geographic barriers, which make it difficult for the donor agencies to gain useful knowledge about the people they are attempting to help. Furthermore, donor agency staff are more likely to be rewarded for their sound management of funds rather than the outcomes of those funds (Crespin 2006). Furthermore, all the separate yet related elements that are involved in taking a donor agency policy from idea to practice are rarely synchronized. Stakeholders and actors of a project 'operate with considerable autonomy from one another' seriously limiting the extent to which donor agencies can exert their influence in how projects are implemented (Mosse 2003 p. 28).

4.2.3 Institutions and organisational culture

Kabeer (1996) describes institutions as the rules for achieving social and economic ends. Organisations are described as the sites where these institutional rules are played out (Rao & Kelleher 2003). Organisational culture is a function of the context in which the organisation is embedded, as well as the organisation's everyday practices, meanings, value systems and power relations. The World Bank found that it was these interacting elements that had the greatest influence on project implementation when a study discovered that the Bank's formal commitment to empowerment expressed in policy documents was not reflected organisationally, nor was it automatically

communicated to project implementing agencies (Bebbington, Lewis, Batterbury & Olson 2003).

As a consequence of the highly institutionalised environment, organisations are compelled to adopt new norms (Meyer & Rowan 1977). This means, simply, that organisations that arise or exist in a given environment will take on the structure of other organisations and operate in a similar fashion; what institutional theory calls 'isomorphism' (Leiter 2008 p. 68). This 'ceremonial conformity' has the effect of lending integrity to the organisation and increases its chances of survival. However, new norms may be adopted to address the need for external approval rather than the need for greater organisational efficiency (Meyer & Rowan 1977 p. 341).

Organisations however, are not passive bodies succumbing to every institutional pressure. They have the autonomy to react to demands in ways that suit the organisation (Oliver 1991). For instance, organisations may be more likely to adopt gender equality polices as a reaction to the adoption of gender equality polices by other similar organisations, particularly in circumstances where the policy is publicly visible (Scott 1995).

An organisation's characteristics will determine the approach it takes to adopting norm changes. These characteristics are shaped by the organisation's vulnerability, visibility, or location in the field (Scott 1995). An organisation's reaction to institutional exigencies can vary from passive acceptance to active defiance, depending upon the degree to which the organisation perceives it will benefit from the new norm (Oliver 1991).

Thus, the implementation of new norms through organisations, such as gender mainstreaming, is not an objective process. Organisations are social structures with particular cultures and standards that affect how the implementation of policies is approached (Prügl & Lustgarten 2006). Organisations also contain power hierarchies, which determine the categories and rank the significance of different people and places (Prügl & Lustgarten 2006), both inside the organisation, and between the organisation and its partners (Bebbington *et al.* 2003)

4.3   Gender policies in donor agencies: history, implementation and content

4.3.1 History of gender policy development

The management of gender concerns in international development has been partly contingent upon the international political arena. The current neo-liberal era espouses a market-led economy, which has had implications for the extent to which gender equality in organisations and social institutions has been challenged (Razavi 1997). This political imperative was highly influential in the initial fashioning of what have come to be regarded as 'instrumentalist' (Moser & Moser 2005) approaches such as 'relevance' and 'efficiency' regarding gender in the development discourse. Given that development was once shorthand for economic development (Jackson 2002), the packaging of gender issues into economic terminology is not surprising. However the meaning of development today encompasses more than just economic growth. It also represents social justice issues, including rights and democracy (Jackson 2002). Thus gender concerns have more recently been assimilated into other emerging cross-cutting debates such as poverty alleviation and environmental sustainability (Razavi 2002).

Institutional goals and procedures have thus had a direct effect on gender policy formulation (Kardam 1995). During the 1980-90s public support for international aid agencies declined, triggering an era of 'aid efficiency' promotion whereby aid agencies adopted the poverty alleviation approach and ratified measurable and quantifiable development goals (such as the Millennium Development goals) (Crespin 2006). This generated a way for the public to observe the positive results of aid agencies and thereby reinforce their survival. However, this preoccupation with results-based achievements may well have lead to an organisational apathy regarding the processes that lead to the achievement of those results (Crespin 2006), such as gender mainstreaming.

By the end of the 1990s the organisational culture of international donor agencies was less than ideal for the introduction of a new norm that required greater resources across all administrative and bureaucratic levels of design, implementation, reporting and re-evaluation. Shortly before a gender mainstreaming strategy could be established at the global development level, development organisations experienced a period of downsizing, and training and resources were decreased (Aasen 2006). Thus despite the many instruments developed to enable the mainstreaming of gender, development agencies lacked the resources and the motivation to implement them. Paradoxically, it has been argued by Aasan that this downsizing in training and resources happened as a consequence of the gender mainstreaming strategy. The goal of institutionalising gender mainstreaming, in some cases, had the perverse and premature effect of making the role of gender advisors, and gender units who focussed specifically on gender issues redundant (Aasen 2006).

4.3.2 Implementing gender mainstreaming

Many reviews of the implementation of gender mainstreaming in multilateral and bilateral donor agencies have illustrated the difficulties in implementing, monitoring and evaluating a gender mainstreaming strategy. In 2004 a review of gender mainstreaming in the UN system revealed several significant problem areas, including: the failure to use gender analysis systematically as the basis for policy and programme development; lack of integration of gender perspectives in sector policies and strategies; lack of capacity to identify and address gender perspectives in many critical areas; failure to use the full potential of training; inadequate resources; ineffective utilization of gender specialist resources; and lack of reporting requirements and accountability mechanisms (Hannan 2004).

In 2005, a ten-year anniversary review of the progress of the formal endorsement of gender mainstreaming ('Beijing + 10') was convened by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, and attended by world governments and NGOs. National progress reports on the implementation of mainstreaming gender issues were discussed and remaining challenges raised. A clear outcome of the meeting was that, although gender mainstreaming had been endorsed and adopted almost globally, 'it had yet to be fully implemented anywhere' (Mehra & Rao Gupta 2006 p. 2).

In a review of the success and limitations in gender mainstreaming policies in 14 international development organisations, 'the most commonly cited constraint was the lack of effective, consistent, and systematic monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming outcomes and impacts' (Moser & Moser 2005 p. 17). Notably, if gender mainstreaming is viewed in terms of a process, then much visible progress has been

made at the international level with the engagement of many international donor agencies in the goal of promoting gender equality. However studies by Moser & Moser (2005) indicate that assessments of gender mainstreaming in these organisations place greater emphasis on institutional inputs (such as the establishment of organisation-wide gender equality policies) rather than the process of operational and programming implementation. Thus, if gender mainstreaming is viewed in terms of the ultimate goal (to increase gender equality in development), then reviews concerning the current status of implementation progress could be misleading.

It is because of this shortfall in robust monitoring practices that the success or failure of gender mainstreaming at the international level is considered premature, with outcomes thus far being described as fragmented and arbitrary (Moser & Moser 2005). Notions of success or failure are further complicated by the various definitions of gender mainstreaming and the different approaches to mainstreaming gender that have developed (Woodford-Berger 2004, de Waal 2006). Daly describes gender mainstreaming as being 'something of a porous vessel – it lends itself to a selective utilisation of some of its basic principles and techniques' (Daly 2005 p. 448). In other words, the meaning of gender mainstreaming has become vulnerable to the various cultural philosophies of institutions and organisational mandates. This can significantly weaken the integrity of a gender equality strategy if organisations develop their gender mainstreaming policies to align with organizational 'fit' (Razavi 1997 p. 1121).

So far evaluations of gender mainstreaming in donor agencies have concentrated more on implementation than impact (Moser 2005). Implementation evaluations relate to the inclusion of gender concerns into programmes and project cycles and impact

evaluations refer to the measurement of the impact of gender mainstreaming on gender equality and women's empowerment. Measuring impact presents a real challenge for the monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming if detailed baseline data concerning the livelihoods of both men and women are not collected and analysed before undertaking project implementation. Thus far, the outcomes and impact of gender mainstreaming on women (Moser & Moser 2005) and men (Hannan 2004) are still largely unknown.

4.3.3 *The content of donor agency gender and equality policy*

Since the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) in 1995 most donor agencies have developed their own gender equality policy (Moser & Moser 2005) in which various documented commitments (gender plans and strategies) propose to mainstream gender issues into all development activities. Most of these gender equality policies have now been established long enough to have been subjected to internal review and external criticism. Policies are shown to be consistent with gender mainstreaming orthodoxy, including the need for gender training, monitoring and evaluation and the imperative of incorporating women-targeted activities (Moser & Moser 2005).

The manifestation of this 'formal norm change' (Elgstrom 2000 p. 458) to promote the mainstreaming of gender issues into donor agencies and its programs and projects is most commonly in the form of documented commitments to mainstream gender into all activities that the donor agency undertakes. These commitments include mainstreaming gender into an agency's internal administration and programs, as well as into those of implementing agencies, and local governments. Gender equality policies are based on the principle that 'mainstreaming [gender] enables systematic attention to the

differential impacts of policies and programs on women and men in organisational processes and outcomes and in this addresses the structural embeddedness of gender inequality' (Prügl & Lustgarten 2006 p. 69).

The development of gender equality policies and associated documents is one way in which donors can formally assume responsibility for gender equality issues. According to Rao and Kelleher (2003) this 'gender infrastructure approach', whereby donor agencies develop gender policies and strategies aimed at addressing gender inequalities in development activities, is necessary but superficial. According to Rao and Kelleher what is needed is institutional change whereby the donor agencies challenge institutional norms, and advocate social change outside the organisation.

The gender equality policies examined for this research were typically sophisticated, stylish brochures, replete with professional photography and eye-catching graphic design. A gender equality policy can be represented as a stand alone document or as a collection or series of documents that cover different aspects of the programme. Documents that outline the programme may include the overarching policy, a strategy or action plan (ADB 2001), and a handbook detailing priority areas or the assessment and analysis of gender equality issues (AusAID 2000). Other documents related to the programme may include reports and reviews of completed strategies and 'lessons learned' (AusAUD 2002). These occur typically after the policy for a programme has expired and the policy is to be revised.

The contents of the primary gender equality policy document varied little across donor agencies. The practicalities of the policies were often preceded by a statement to

rationalise the need for such a policy, which meant conceptualising gender within the governments' overall goal for sustainable development and global poverty alleviation. References to global commitments to reduce poverty (Millennium Development Goals) and promote the equality of women (BPfA) were frequently used as further rationales for the policy. The gender equality policies often consisted of statements to promote the empowerment of women and some included sections on the definitions of sex and gender. The gender equality policy characteristically outlined the areas in which it aims to promote gender equality such as economic development, health and human rights, violence against women, basic services, environment and natural resources, political representation, men and gender relationships, education, rural development and emergency aid. These stated areas were quite consistent across gender equality policies, and correspond to the BPfA listed areas of priority. Some of the policies promoted tools such as gender analysis, and monitoring and evaluation strategies to assess the effectiveness of the policy.

Gender equality policies are manifestly rhetorical statements of intent to improve gender equality and equity. However, in most gender equality policies, a clear distinction is made between the two terms. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) provides the following definitions:

> 'Gender equity is the process of being fair to women and men. To ensure fairness, measures must often be available to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from otherwise operating on a level playing field. Equity leads to equality. Gender equality means that women and men enjoy the same status. Gender equality means that women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and potential to contribute to national, political, economic, social and cultural development, and

to benefit from the results. Gender equality is therefore the equal valuing by

society of both the similarities and differences between women and men, and

the varying roles that they play.'

(Source: Gender-Based Analysis: A guide for policy-making, Status of Women Canada, 1996 in CIDA's Policy on Gender Equality, 1999)

At the heart of gender equality policies lies the commitment to promote gender equality

issues, ostensibly critically linked to two related themes which are consistent with the

wider Gender and Development (GAD) discourse (Razavi 1997).

The first theme is sustainable development. In developing gender equality policies

many donors have followed The World Bank's lead in situating gender inequalities as a

barrier to development itself (World Bank 2001). The following statement is an

example from the Asian Development Bank (ADB) of how giving preference to gender

equality issues is rationalised in this development framework:

'While the pursuit of gender equity remains strongly embedded within the

framework of fundamental human rights and gender justice, investments in

women now also are recognized as crucial to achieving sustainable

development. Economic analyses recognize that low levels of education and

training, poor health and nutritional status, and limited access to resources not

only depress women's quality of life, but also limit productivity and hinder

economic efficiency and growth. Hence, promoting and improving the status of

women needs to be pursued, for reasons of equity and social justice and also

because it makes economic sense and is good development practice'.

(Source: Gender and Development Policy, ADB 2003 p. 3)

The second theme is poverty alleviation. Toward the end of the twentieth century a

fundamental shift occurred in the way in which development is conceptualised and

practiced. This shift changed the aim of development from one of primarily economic to one of poverty alleviation. Cernea (1991) considers that this may be the first time in development where a 'target group' was conceptualised. This target group was 'the poor' – people who live on an income under the poverty line. As mentioned in Chapter 2, for decades the premise of successful development had been assumed to be to the benefit of all people in developing countries. Economic gain was thought to 'trickle down' to the poorest people through advanced infrastructure and thus little was actually known, or thought necessary to know, about these poor people. With the reorientation to targeting the poor for economic advancement, detailed knowledge of the poor people as social actors became essential to development project success (Cernea 1991).

4.4 The donor agency sample

Thirteen donor agencies have been chosen for this study. A brief description of each is provided below.

4.4.1 Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR)

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: ACIAR is an Australian Government statutory authority that operates as part of Australia's Aid Programme within the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

- Purpose: It contributes to the aid programme objectives of advancing Australia's national interest through poverty reduction and sustainable development.

- Funding priorities: ACIAR funds research projects that reflect the priorities of Australia's aid programme and national research priorities, together with the

agricultural research and development priorities of partner countries. ACIAR funds agricultural R&D activities in Papua New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands, Southeast Asia, North Asia, South Asia and Southern Africa. (ACIAR 2007).

4.4.2 Asian Development Bank (ADB)

- Funds type: Multilateral.

- Governance and form: Established in 1966, the Asian Development Bank is an international development finance institution owned by its 56 member governments. Of these, 40 are from the Asian and Pacific Region and 16 are from Europe and North America.

- Purpose: ADB provides loans and technical assistance to its 37 developing member countries in the Asian and Pacific Region.

- Funding priorities: While the promotion of investment and economic growth are the goals of most loans and technical assistance, since 1992 ADB has pursued five more specific and interrelated strategic objectives: overall economic growth, poverty reduction, human development including population planning, sound management of natural resources and the environment, and improving the status of women (ADB 1999). In addition to financial loans, the ABD also finances R&D projects through grants.

4.4.3 Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: CIDA was established in 1968 to administer the bulk of Canada's official development assistance (ODA) programme. The measure of its

success lies in its contribution to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Canada's broader international policy objectives.

- Purpose: CIDA's objectives are to 'support sustainable development in developing countries, in order to reduce poverty and to contribute to a more secure, equitable, and prosperous world'.

- Funding priorities: A large proportion of CIDA funding is spent on international development programs and projects in developing countries (CIDA website 2007)

4.4.4 European Commission (EC)

- Funds type: multilateral

- Governance and form: The European Union (EU) is a collection of democratic European countries committed to working together for peace and prosperity through common institutions that operate on the basis of the rule of law and international consensus.

- Purpose: The European Commission (EC), the executive branch of the EU, was set up in the 1950's to represent the EU on the international stage and manage the development cooperation through its Directorate General for Development Cooperation.

- Funding priorities: The EC has direct responsibility to provide development assistance to international funding for R&D activity in sub-Saharan Africa as well as the Caribbean, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean (Winship 2004; European Commission website 2008).

4.4.5 Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung)

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: The development policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is an independent area of German foreign policy. It is formulated by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and carried out by the implementing organisations.

- Purpose: BMZ aims for globally sustainable development expressing itself in economic efficiency, social justice, ecological sustainability and political stability.

- Funding priorities: The BMZ provides international R&D for 57 countries; however the focus of funding is in Africa (BMZ website 2007)

4.4.6 International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

- Funding type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: Created in 1970, the IDRC is a public corporation created by the Parliament of Canada in 1970 to help developing countries use science and technology to find practical, long-term solutions to the social, economic, and environmental problems they face.

- Purpose: Support is directed toward developing an indigenous research capacity to sustain policies and technologies that developing countries need to build healthier, more equitable and more prosperous societies. IDRC's mission is 'empowerment through knowledge'.

- Funding priorities: The IDRC allocates funds to Africa and the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Asia. (IDRC website 2007).

4.4.7 International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO)

- Funds type: Multilateral

- Governance and form: The ITTO is an intergovernmental organization whose main business is promoting the conservation and sustainable management, use and trade of tropical forest resources, but it also acts as a funding agency disbursing millions of dollars to projects implemented in some of its member countries. Its 59 members represent about 80% of the world's tropical forests and 90% of the global tropical timber trade. The ITTO was established under the auspices of the United Nations in 1986 amidst increasing worldwide concern for the fate of tropical forests.

- Purpose: The goal of the ITTO is to 'strive for an international trade of tropical timber from sustainably managed forests by the century's end'.

- Funding priorities: The ITTO primarily allocates international R&D funding to tropical countries (ITTO website 2007).

4.4.8 Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad)

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: In 1968 Norad was established as a directorate under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

- Purpose: The main goal of the Norad is to contribute towards lasting improvements in the economic, social and political conditions under which people live in developing

countries, with special emphasis on assistance that benefits the poorest sector of the community.

- Funding priorities: Norad allocates international R&D funding to 80 countries in Africa, Asia and Central America, mostly through a variety of support schemes (Winship 2004).

4.4.9 Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation (Sida)

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: Sida is an independent government agency under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

- Purpose: Sida's objective 'is to contribute to an environment supportive of poor people's own efforts to improve their quality of life'. Sida's mission is to 'create opportunities for change and development'.

- Funding priorities: Sida provides international R&D funding to 120 countries in Asia, Latin America Africa and Europe, including specific funding for international research programmes that address issues of high relevance for poverty reduction and development (Sida website 2007).

4.4.10 The Overbrook Foundation

- Funds type: Private

- Governance and form: The Overbrook Foundation is a family foundation established in 1948. The Foundation is overseen by a board of directors and supports projects that protect human and civil rights, advance the self-sufficiency and well being of individuals and their communities and conserve the natural environment.

- Purpose: The Overbrook Foundation funds organizations and projects in two areas: Human Rights and the Environment.

- Funding priorities: The Environment Programme supports projects in the USA and Latin America, focusing on biodiversity conservation (The Overbrook Foundation 2006).

4.4.11 Department for International Development (DFID)

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: DFID administers the British government's overall foreign development assistance. It is responsible for promoting development and the reduction of poverty, with a particular focus on the Millenium Development Goals (DFID website 2008).

- Purpose: DFID seeks to work in partnership with governments which are committed to the international targets, and seeks to work with business, civil society and the research community to encourage progress which will help reduce poverty.

- Funding priorities: The bulk of DFID assistance is concentrated on the poorest countries in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. DFID also contribute to poverty elimination and sustainable development in middle income countries, and help the transition countries in Central and Eastern Europe to try to ensure that the widest number of people benefit from the process of change.

4.4.12 United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: In 1961 the USAID was established as an independent federal government agency that receives overall foreign policy guidance from the Secretary of State.

- Purpose: The twofold purpose of USAID is to further America's foreign policy interests in expanding democracy and free markets while improving the lives of the citizens of the developing world.

- Funding priorities: USAID provides assistance in over 100 developing countries in sub- Saharan Africa, Asia and the Near East, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Europe and Eurasia (USAID website 2008).

4.4.13 *United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service (USDA-FS)*

- Funds type: Bilateral

- Governance and form: Established in 1905, the Forest Service is an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The Forest Service manages public lands in national forests and grasslands.

- Purpose: The International Programme of the US Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, promotes sustainable forest management and biodiversity conservation internationally.

- Funding priorities: Although it is not traditionally regarded as a 'donor agency', it does sub-contract some of its implantation work to others in different regions around the world (USDA-FS website 2008).

4.5 Donor agency gender equality policies

The donor agencies introduced above, including a chronology of gender equality policies and when they were published is listed in Table 4.1. The dates in the far right

column refer to the period the donor agency funds where implemented by the Center for International Forestry Research through one or several research projects. This study has looked at the donor agency gender equality policies current at the time of project implementation (indicated by grey shading).

Although different agencies use different terms to refer to their gender equality documents, only CIDA, ABD and Sida refer to their key gender equality document as a 'policy' while the others refer to 'strategy' (DFID, Norad), 'Plan of Action' (USAID), 'Action Plan' (Norad), 'Programme of Action' (EC), and 'concept' (BMZ/GTZ). For consistency I refer to them all as policies. All government affiliated donor agencies have a gender equality policy (CIDA, DFID, BMZ, Sida, USAID). The three forestry and agricultural donor agencies (ACIAR, ITTO, USDA-FS) have no gender equality policy. The Overbrook Foundation and Canada's IDRC also have no such policies.

Table 4.1 Chronology of donor gender equality polices. Policies shaded in grey are used in this research.

Donor	1st Policy	2nd Policy	3rd Policy	CIFOR projects start and finish dates
ABD	1985 (Policy)	1998 (Policy)	2003 (Policy)	2004-2005
ACIAR				2005-2007
CIDA	1999 (Policy)			1999-2005
DFID	1988 (Strategy)	2000 (Strategy)	2004 (Strategy)	1997-2005
EC	2001 (Programme of Action			1997-2002
BMZ	1997 (Concept)	2001 (Concept)		1996-2002
IDRC	-	-	-	2003-2005
ITTO	-	-	-	1998-2005
Norad	1997 (strategy)	2007 (Action Plan		1997-1999
Overbrook Foundation	-	-	-	2001-2006
Sida	1997 (Policy)	2005 (Policy)		2003-2006
USAID	1996 (Plan of Action)	2004 (Plan of Action)	2006 (Profile Paper)	2003-2005
USDA-FS	-	-		2001-2002

Table 4.2 shows a summary of a systematic review of donor agency gender equality policies. The table represents an analysis of available documentation. The components in the table were chosen based on what an R&D organisation would find helpful when designing or implementing a project. Ten criteria were identified to assess the policies. These points are:

1. Existence of gender equality policy

2. Clarity of goal

3. Clarity of objectives/principles

4. Clearly stated tools/strategies

5. Visibility of gender policies on donor website

6. Monitoring & evaluation strategy

7. Specific gender mainstreaming component

8. Visible mainstreaming of gender policies in organisation

9. Communication/capacity building strategies with partners

10. Responsibility/accountability of implementation

Where donor agencies are shown not to have certain components of gender equality policies, it may not mean that the donor agencies have explicitly left them out of the gender policy but only that it was not included in the available documentation.

4.6   Analysis

Of the 13 donor agencies presented in this study, eight of them have gender equality policies. These are ADB, CIDA, EC, BMZ, Norad, Sida, DFID, and USAID. All are the international development agencies of individual or collective national governments. The five donor agencies that did not have a gender equality policy were ACIAR, IDRC, ITTO, The Overbrook Foundation and UADA-FS. It is possible that two of the donor agencies that do not have a gender equality policy, ITTO and USDA-FS, refer to the agency for international development in their respective country governments, which in this case the UN and US both have gender equality policies. However there is no reference made to gender equality or to their respective government gender equality policies on either ITTO or USDA-FS websites. The Overbrook Foundation, while not having a formal gender equality policy, does have guidelines in which it 'seeks to advance support for gender rights and to eliminate discrimination and marginalisation based on gender' (The Overbrook Foundation 2006). Similarly the IDRC has a large body of work based on gender analysis in

relation to their development activities despite not having a gender equality policy (IDRC website 2007). The ACIAR does not mention gender on its website but it is accountable to the strategic framework for Australia's aid programme which promotes gender equality (Hearn [ACIAR] pers. comm. March 2008).

Of the eight donor agencies with gender equality policies, all of them, excepting Norad and USAID, have a specific gender mainstreaming component. In the case of USAID, their 'Gender Plan of Action' is dated 1996, which is barely a year after the BPfA and therefore was most likely developed before the 'gender mainstreaming' strategy was popularised. Although Norad's gender equality policy does not mention gender mainstreaming as a strategy, the accompanying 'Handbook in Gender and Empowerment Assessment' does stress Norad's 'responsibility to mainstream equality considerations in processes and products to support the efforts of partners to promote equality' (Norad 2000).

Table 4.2 groups the government affiliated donor agencies together to highlight the contrast in gender equality policy adoption compared to the agricultural and forestry donor agencies and the single foundation. The donor agencies shaded in grey (i.e. donor agencies with a gender equality policy) performed well against most of the components, with DFID, BMZ and ADB scoring highest against the criteria. However, with the exception of Norad, none of the donor agencies had visible links to a gender equality policy on their websites. Clearly stated tools and strategies were not consistent among donor agencies. Most of the gender equality policies analysed were first generation policies, established very soon after the BPfA (refer to table 4.1). Therefore explicit signs of the donor agencies having mainstreamed gender internally are only to

be found in statements of intent rather than examples of implementation. Both Sida and CIDA aim to improve the status of gender equality within their respective agencies as part of their commitment to promoting gender equality issues to developing countries. EC and ADB both aim to increase the number of gender experts or establish a gender advisory unit. DFID and EC also aim to strengthen internal capacity to mainstream gender issues through research and staff training, with the EC establishing targets to measure the extent of its capacity building in this area.

Table 4.2. Donor agency gender policy components analysis

Donor Agencies

Donor agency policy components	CIDA	EC	BMZ	Norad	Sida	DFID	USAID	ADB	ITTO	ACIAR	USDA-FS	IDRC	The Overbrook Foundation
Existence of gender equality policy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Clarity of Goal			X	X	X	X	X	X					
Clarity of Objectives/Principles	X	X	X	X		X	X	X					
Clearly stated tools/strategies			X	X	X	X		X					
Visibility of gender policies on website				X									
Monitoring & Evaluation strategy	X	X	X	X		X							
Specific gender mainstreaming component	X	X	X		X	X		X					
Visible mainstreaming of gender policies in organisation													
Communication/capacity building strategies with partners	X	X	X		X	X		X					
Responsibility/accountability of implementation	X	X			X	X	X	X					
Total components considered	6	6	7	6	6	8	4	7	0	0	0	0	0

Source of original data: ADB 2003; CIDA 1999; DFID 2000; EC 2001; BMZ 2001; Norad 1997; Sida 1997; USAID 1996 (Table structure adapted from Moser & Moser 2005)

The gender equality policies above serve as a framework for mainstreaming gender within the donor agency as well as a tool for extending the commitment to mainstream gender in areas where the donor agency provides financial assistance. Most donor agencies that provide funding at the project or programme level require a pre-project gender analysis. This is in line with methodological requirements for mainstreaming gender as per the BPfA. For instance, in its 2003 gender equality policy, the ADB aimed to make gender analysis a compulsory technical requirement of funding proposals to determine whether gender mainstreaming should be included in the project design. It then aimed to monitor any gender elements in the project and required regular reports on the gender mainstreaming progress. This kind of strategy is evident in most of the gender equality policies examined. Other strategies are less common. In its 1999 gender equality policy CIDA aimed to develop selection criteria to asses the capacity of implementing agencies to address gender equality in their projects. Sida is particularly demanding of potential implementing agencies, aiming to ensure that agencies can prove competence in mainstreaming gender issues into projects through a process of:

- Demanding evidence of competence and experience in working with gender equality;

- Stressing the importance of gender equality in invitations to tender;

- Assessing tender documents from a gender equality perspective;

- Taking up gender equality in Terms of Reference and Job Descriptions;

- Requiring mainstreaming of gender equality into all reporting;

- Including reference to competence in gender equality in Sida's consultant register;

- Developing a resource base of gender equality specialists within each department/division;

- Developing policy and utilising instructions on demands to be made on consultants in

  relation to gender equality

  Source: Sida's Action Programme for Promoting Equality Between Women and Men in Partner
  Countries (1997).

4.7   Conclusion

Donor agencies are ostensibly organisations whose goal it is to improve the lives of people through development. Gender inequalities directly hinder that goal through detrimental affects on human wellbeing and economic growth. Donor agencies are complex social, political and cultural organisations that are intrinsically linked to broader social, political and cultural institutions that influence how donor agencies operate. Gender equality policies have been shaped by these forces and are currently the dominant vehicle for the visibility and implementation of gender equality strategies in development activity. Donor agencies have developed gender equality policies to be implemented in all development activities, generally through a process of mainstreaming gender through all areas of the donor agency and by extending the policy to R&D in the field.

Overall, gender equality policies have the dual purpose of serving (1) as a formal commitment to promoting gender equality within the donor agency's internal operations, and in locations where the donor agency is involved in development activities, and (2) as a public document to communicate that commitment to agencies in the international R&D community. It is the second purpose that this research is concerned with. The analyses show that the donor agencies have indeed taken on gender as a core component of their work in development, and that many of the donors

cover multiple components of what is desirable in a gender policy. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the reasons behind whether donor agencies do or do not have gender equality policies. However, the absence of a gender equality policy in the three natural resource agencies (ITTO, ACIAR, USDA-FS) could reflect arguments in the gender and development literature that suggest the particular characteristics of some agencies are not receptive to the promotion of gender equality. Additionally, it could suggest that the goals and procedures of the NRM R&D institution are not conducive to the formulation of gender equality policies.

CHAPTER 5

CIFOR CASE STUDY AND ANALYSIS OF PROJECT OUTPUTS

CHAPTER 5 GENDER CONSIDERATIONS IN CIFOR CORPORATE DOCUMENTS AND PROJECT OUTPUTS

5.1   Introduction

Donor agencies allocate vast sums of money to R&D. In 2006 OECD members donated USD 104.4 billion (DAC 2007) towards development activities. This money is typically secured through a competitive bidding process whereby agencies submit project proposals to donor agencies and, if successful, receive funds (often conditional) to carry out the project. The Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) is one such agency that competes in this bidding process to secure funds to finance research projects.

This chapter provides background information on the case study CIFOR. Because CIFOR is one of a group of NRM research centres under the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) an account of gender related CGIAR initiatives are mentioned prior to analysing CIFOR's key organisational documentation for gender content. It then explains the methods for selecting the projects and analysing the outputs. It is intended that an analysis of these projects will provide an example of how researchers at CIFOR use the gender equality policies of international donor agencies (discussed in Chapter 4). The outputs of the twenty-two CIFOR projects will be used for the gender content analysis and conclusions drawn on the extent to which gender is considered in the projects.

5.2   The case study – Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) and its Livelihoods and Forest Programme

5.2.1 CIFOR Case study

Today, CIFOR is the only pro-poor policy oriented forest research institute in the world with a fully independent and global mandate that focuses primarily on International Public Goods (IPG) (CGIAR 2006c). The Indonesian city of Bogor, Java, is host to CIFOR headquarters; with regional centres and other project offices in a number of countries (e.g. Brazil, Cameroon, Burkina Faso). At the time of writing CIFOR headquarters employed approximately 60 scientists. Given the small number of employed scientists, partnerships are key to CIFOR's operations and its policy to be a 'centre without walls' (CGIAR 2006c). CIFOR's mission is 'to contribute to the sustained well-being of people in developing countries, particularly in the tropics'. It achieves this through 'collaborative, strategic and applied research and by promoting the transfer and adoption of appropriate new technologies and social systems for national development' (CIFOR 2006c).

CIFOR receives contributions from over 50 governments and funding agencies. CIFOR's operations are divided into programs targeting specific concerns in natural resource management. This study will focus on projects undertaken in the Forests and Livelihoods Programme (Livelihoods), which aims to 'enhance livelihoods by contributing to improved policies and practices related to the management and use of forests and forested landscapes' (CIFOR 2006b).

CIFOR is part of the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), motivated by a move to expand the CGIAR's mandate into other areas of

forest research. The CGIAR has established a framework for considering gender issues in natural resource management (NRM) titled the Participatory Research and Gender Analysis (PRGA) programme. The PRGA is a system-wide programme of the CGIAR, and part of a shift to mainstream social science into agricultural research. It is one of several explicit programmes to facilitate the formal incorporation of poverty alleviation into the CGIAR's mission (Kassam 2003).

CIFOR is not an implementation agency. Its objectives and organisational capacity do not encompass technical assistance or the implementation of development projects. CIFOR's priorities are the collection, analysis, synthesis and dissemination of *research* results to policy makers, natural resource managers and field practitioners. Thus, CIFOR provides high quality scientific and technical information to development projects, but does not implement such projects (CGIAR 2006c).

CIFOR is accountable to its Board of Trustees and to the CGIAR. The CGIAR conducts a variety of reviews and evaluations of CIFOR operations, and represents the interests of the donors (donor representatives or their appointees dominate the key decision making bodies in the CGIAR).

CIFOR and the CGIAR do have formalised commitments to helping achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Of particular relevance to gender equality is MDG 3, which concerns the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women. The most recent External Programme and Management Review (EPMR) of CIFOR's research activities indicates that this goal has high status priority for CIFOR and is regarded as being an area targeted for direct impact through the CGIAR's

research priority area 4; Poverty alleviation and sustainable management of water, land, and forest resources and area 5; Improving policies and facilitating institutional innovation to support sustainable reduction of poverty and hunger (CGIAR 2006c).

5.2.2 The selected case study programme - Forests and Livelihoods Programme

In terms of forestry science, CIFOR is by no means a traditional forestry organization. Before CIFOR commenced operations in 1993 most forestry research concentrated on the development of fast-growing trees, silviculture and timber processing, and showed little evidence of making a positive contribution to poverty alleviation or sustainable development (CIFOR 2002a).

Scientists in the Livelihoods Programme are an interdisciplinary group consisting of foresters, statisticians, ecologists, biologists, economists, political scientists, human geographers, anthropologists, and rural sociologists. Some of the biophysical scientists work interdisciplinarily, such as in ethno-ecology.

The Livelihoods Programme aims to 'enhance livelihoods by contributing to improved policies and practices related to the management and use of forests and forested landscapes'. The aim to 'advance livelihoods' embeds the social aspect of forestry, the people who are to be the recipients of improved policies and practices into Livelihoods research. Two examples of the type of research the Livelihoods programme conducts, which are also used in the analysis of this study, are those funded by the ACIAR and Sida.

- ACIAR has funded the project entitled 'Community partnerships for plantation forestry: Enhancing rural incomes from forestry in eastern Indonesia and Australia'. This was a two year project concluding in December 2007. The goal of this project was to improve the contribution to rural and community development made by forestry partnership schemes in Eastern Indonesia and Australia by providing better equity of returns to partners, particularly the smallholders, and by strengthening regional reforestation programs. The project conducted a review of existing forestry partnerships in Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara Timor provinces, and south-east Australia with its main focus on methods to increase the benefits of commercial forestry to poor small-scale farmers. The project used a collaborative research approach.

- Sida funded a project entitled 'Stimulating policy dialogue on sustainable management of Africa's dry forests'. This was a 3 year project concluding in 2006. The three main objectives of the project were to 1) understand contributions of dry forests to local livelihoods and national economies and to determine pathways to poverty alleviation, 2) tailor sustainable management approaches for dry forests to the social, economic and technological capacities in Africa, and, 3) understand key extra-sectoral determinants relevant to crafting policies and sustainable-management approaches for dry forests. The project aimed to look at biophysical, socio-cultural, policy, and institutional factors that determine sustainable dry forest management.

As mentioned in chapter one, gender (in the context of R&D) does not refer to biological differences but to the socially constructed behaviours, roles, and expectations of men and women. Therefore gender is a social category that is

experienced by all societies and cuts across other social categories such as race, ethnicity, and class.

Gender relations affect the way men and women use, access, control and benefit from natural resources (Upadhyay 2005). The incentives and opportunities facing men and women differ with variations in their access to and control over resources. Men's and women's experience with, and interests in, natural resource management research and intervention is often vastly different. A number of studies have shown that a lack of attention to gender differences and how they are constituted through the rules, norms and practices of social organisations, like the household or the community, has often led to both project failure and outcomes damaging to women (Magnus 2003).

The two Livelihoods research projects described above require technical expertise in forestry, economics, policy analysis and institutional analysis. Given that the research aims to improve livelihoods, it inherently contained a significant social research component. As Gonsalves *et al.* 2005 note:

> 'Field experiences show that innovations for improving agriculture and natural resource management need to address not only the technological but also the socio-cultural, political, economic dimensions such as: community structures, gender, collective action, property rights, land tenure, power relations, policy and governance'.

Livelihoods research projects often adopt a participatory approach to ensure that the research has impact. The participatory approach requires researchers to negotiate the terms of the project with all stakeholders 'to build a shared agenda for action' (Ashby 2003). Given the scope of possible stakeholders involved in any one project

(individuals or groups) it is also necessary for researchers to consider institutional and organisational perspectives when applying a participatory approach (Campbell *et al.* 2006). Participatory approaches are particularly important when promoting empowerment, including of women.

5.3 Analysis of key CGIAR initiatives

5.3.1 CGIAR System Wide Programme on Participatory Research and Gender Analysis (PRGA) Programme:

Although gender inequality is by no means a form of discrimination restricted to people living in poverty, there exists a strong argument that gender equality is a critical step toward the goal of reducing poverty (AusAID 2007). As in international development gender policies, the NRM literature integrates 'gender' with the goal of poverty alleviation. The approach of the PRGA programme is designed to provide appropriate research techniques to ensure projects benefit poor farmers, specifically poor rural women (CGIAR 2006b).

The PRGA programme was established in 1997 to raise the profile of participation and gender as key strategic research issues (CGIAR 2006b). The PRGA programme claims to be unique in the area of gender analysis programming as it focuses specifically on the relationship between gender and technological and scientific innovation in the promotion of the livelihoods of rural people and the poor. The participatory research component of the PRGA programme aims to increase the level of partnership with end-users of new technologies, thus bridging a gap in conventional approaches to NRM research. This in turn has increased the visibility of marginal groups such as the poorest

of the poor and women. Additionally, the programme asserts the importance of this type of participatory research in the economic efficiency of producing appropriate NRM technologies (CGIAR 2007).

In 2007 the programme was in the last year of its second phase. Reviews of the implementation of the gender analysis component in phase one of the programme have not been positive, and recommendations called for 'a renewed focus on gender analysis' (CGIAR 2006b p. 1). The lack of gender analysis in the programme has been ascribed to an underestimation of the necessity to mainstream gender through organizational learning and change. Thus the objective for Phase two of the programme (2003-2007) is to:

> mainstream gender analysis and equitable participatory research to promote learning and change in CG Centres and national agricultural research systems (NARS) so that they can better target the demands of beneficiary groups, particularly poor rural women' (CGIAR 2006b).

The impact assessment of the programme's strategy for mainstreaming gender analysis aimed to measure the extent to which gender analysis and user involvement in the research process has been achieved and what impact they have had, and to assess the impact of gender mainstreaming through organizational change. However, there is little information in the strategy to explain how these impacts will be measured. It is also unclear how collaborating organisations (such as CIFOR) are to increase their capacity for organisational change to mainstream gender analysis and develop the capacity to implement it. Thus, the extent to which CIFOR utilises the programme in its consideration of gender issues (as will be reinforced by references to the programme in

CIFOR's project outputs) will determine how useful the programme is to CIFOR's research.

5.3.2 Gender and Diversity Programme

The CGIAR-initiated Gender and Diversity (G&D) programme was initially developed as a tool with which CIFOR and other CGIAR centers could systematically integrate gender issues in research and priority setting. The programme was originally called Gender and Diversity Analysis when it was drafted in 1997, which encouraged scientists to build gender analysis into projects from the initial planning stages.

The G&D programme has its own website (linked to CIFOR) which claims that it is still used to 'create and maintain' an organizational culture that fosters gender equality (Acosta & Wilde 2001). However, the 'Analysis' aspect to the G&D seems to have since been abandoned and the programme is now entirely focused on gender and diversity in staffing. The Gender and Diversity programme currently 'serves to cultivate a workplace where diversity is celebrated and all staff are empowered to give their best to enrich future harvests' (Acosta & Wilde 2001 p. 1).

5.4 Analysis of key CIFOR corporate documents

5.4.1 Annual reports (1998-2006)

From as early as 1998 CIFOR was conducting gender analysis in research projects in Africa and Indonesia, ostensibly encouraged by programmatic influence from the G&D and financial assistance from the CGIAR's PRGA programme. The G&D programme features in CIFOR's 1998 Annual Report as a:

'Programme to help ensure that research activities incorporate diverse perspectives and are as accessible as possible to all groups. Women are a major focus of this initiative because of their traditionally unequal access to forest land and resources and their restricted role in local decision making, which tends to undermine their social and economic security' (CIFOR 1998).

However, 1998 is the only Annual Report to mention the G&D programme.

In the 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005 and 2006 Annual Reports gender wasn't mentioned at all (CIFOR 1999; CIFOR 2000; CIFOR 2002a; CIFOR 2004; CIFOR 2005a; CIFOR; 2006a). 'Women' was mentioned however. Reports 2001 and 2003(a) both featured articles on the involvement of women in NRM research. The 2002 report mentioned how 'adaptive collaborative management' was helping facilitate women's representation and empowerment in communities, additionally it listed two gender related publications. The 2004 report featured a summary of women in NRM extracted from Colfer-Pierce's book 'The Equitable Forest' released that same year. The 2006 report too featured women in highlights of CIFOR publications and film.

5.4.2 Capacity Building Strategy

Although CIFOR's Capacity Building Strategy asserts its 'comparative advantage is research focusing on people-oriented forestry research' (CIFOR 2003b p. 9), it does not differentiate its focus on both men and women, nor does it include building capacity to facilitate gender equality research. Regardless of, or possibly because of this omission in capacity building, CIFOR has recently signed an MOU with Women Organizing for Change in Natural Resource Management (WOCAN) for scientific and technical co-

operation, with a view to strengthening its capacities in women's empowerment in NRM through cooperative research (WOCAN & CIFOR 2006).

5.4.3 Medium Term Plans

CIFOR's Medium Term Plans (the plans examined were: 2005-2007, 2006-2008 and 2007-2009) contained several references to gender. In 2004 CIFOR sponsored a global symposium on gender and forestry in Kilamanjaro, Tanzania, and conducted training in Jambi Indonesia on gender and biodiversity (CIFOR 2005c). The 2006-2008 and 2007-2009 Plans note various CIFOR projects to increase research on women, gender and ethnic groups (CIFOR 2005d; CIFOR 2006d). In particular, a Forests and Livelihood Programme project ('Improving Human Well-being Through Forests) aims to develop guidelines for improving capacity, generating local institutional change and monitoring outcomes of providing the poorest groups and women with better means to benefit from the industrial forest sector. Other areas of intended gender research included were capacity building, collective action and health.

5.4.4 CIFOR Programme Strategies 2003, Strategic Plan for Latin America 2005, Strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa 2005-2009

In CIFOR's programme strategies women are recognised as a marginalised rural group in the Programmes and Policies identified under Sub-theme - Poverty Alleviation Strategies. There are also stated aims to better integrate gender issues into all of CIFOR's work. In particular, women are mentioned in relation to Non-timber Forest Products (NTFPs), having poor access to markers and social services, marginalisation from decision making and property rights, a lack of access to clean water and the

effects of changes in land use. All three CIFOR programs address these issues and plan to do more for gender issues in the future (CIFOR 2003c).

The 2005 Strategic Plan for Latin America does not mention gender issues, which is surprising given the evident gender inequalities apparent in NRM in Latin American countries (for example, Deere & Leon 2003). However, gender equality is one of the guiding principles of CIFOR'S Strategy for Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2005-2009. There are explicit aims for the research to be gender sensitive and pro-poor, with a particular focus on women at the grassroots level.

5.4.5 Other CIFOR commitments to gender equality

In 1998 an inventory on gender related research in the CGIAR stated that at CIFOR 'gender specialists are integrating gender into scientists' tool kits'. The inventory also stated that CIFOR scientists had developed 'a programme for future gender-related research, sharing of lessons, and the development of guidelines with their colleagues' (Sims Feldstein, 1998 p. 78). The inventory also mentioned the development of a gender strategy for CIFOR called the Gender and Diversity Analysis programme (G&DA). The goal of the strategy was to develop a 'programme which will further enhance the high quality of CIFOR research by supporting CIFOR scientists and associated researchers in their efforts to be sensitive to, and to incorporate, gender and diversity perspectives and analysis in their research' (Sims Feldstein 1998 p. 77). There are no other documents detailing these initiatives among CIFOR's key documentation.

In 2004 CIFOR participated in the 2nd World Wide Symposium on Gender and Forestry. A discussion was held entitled 'Help Get CIFOR on the Right Track', which focused on gender issues in CIFOR's Africa Strategy.

The content analysis of CIFOR's key documents revealed several references to gender and women. In particular CIFOR aims to do more gender research in the future. However there was no specific CIFOR commitment to gender equality. Specific plans to develop gender tool kits and a CIFOR gender programme are not mentioned again in the documents after 1998, nor is there any mention of the CGIAR's PRGA programme after 1998.

It could be argued that CIFOR is under less global pressure to adopt a specific policy on gender equality. In Chapter 4 the 13 donor agencies that are used as examples in this study were introduced. The donor agencies are organisations which, due to their highly visible international status, are more susceptible to global political expectations (Kardam 1995), and organisational 'isomorphism' – a process whereby new organisations develop and behave in ways demonstrated by existing organisations (Leiter 2008). CIFOR, although positioned as an international organisation, has greater independence due to its membership of a smaller peer group, and with a governing body demanding accountability (Kardam 1995). CIFOR has a large component of hard science and economic research, which may make it hostile to social (soft) science themes, or view them as issues not creditable of specialised research (Roughley 2005). CIFOR is not 'intergovernmental' (CGIAR 2006c p. 10), so being accountable to a lesser extent than bilateral donors that come under the exigencies of governments or other governing bodies.

It is also likely that, while donor agencies may have formal gender policies, CIFOR may have an organisational culture that favours a common-sense approach to gender issues, rather than formality. However, DiMaggio and Powel (1983) argue that organisational policy in resource dependent organisations is influenced by the organisational structure of the dominant organisation. In other words CIFOR's dependency on external funding from donor agencies could influence CIFOR's organisational structure, thereby prompting CIFOR to be seen to support gender equality for the sake of expediency.

5.5   Methods for analysing project outputs

5.5.1 Choosing criteria for project outputs analysis

In identifying criteria for analysing project outputs, such as published and unpublished material including proposals, reports, and journal articles, it was first established whether project outputs consider gender. 'Consider' could mean a statement relating the proposed research to gender or women in some way. For example, the project proposal may contain a passage on how men and women make use of a particular resource, or in the context of the research project, it may be stated that women are an under-represented group. It is important to note that this study does not intend to determine the degree to which gender is considered in each individual project, but whether gender is considered in the projects, and in what context. It is acknowledged that some references to gender in project outputs will be merely rhetorical statements of intent; nonetheless, these statements are understood to be representative of an awareness of gender issues.

Following the establishment of gender consideration in a project output it was assessed whether the output addressed the practical or strategic needs of women and men. The distinction between practical and strategic needs is explained in several of the donor agency gender equality policies (CIDA 1999, BMZ 2001, ABD 2003, DFID 2000). CIDA has the following definition:

> Practical needs can be defined as immediate necessities (water, shelter, food, income and health care) within a specific context. Projects that address practical needs generally include responses to inadequate living conditions. Strategic interests, on the other hand, refer to the relative status of women and men within society. These interests vary in each context and are related to roles and expectations, as well as to gender divisions of labour, resources and power. Strategic interests may include gaining legal rights, closing wage gaps, protection from domestic violence, increased decision-making, and women's control over their bodies. To ensure sustainable benefits, both practical needs and strategic interests must be taken into account in the design of policies, programs and strategies (CIDA 1999 p. 17)

A further criterion in assessing the consideration of gender is whether projects aim to empower women through the research. Empowering women is considered essential in improving gender equality by most of the donor agencies with gender equality policies used in this study (CIDA 1999, BMZ 2001, DFID 2000, EC 2001, Sida 1997).

A further criterion is whether project outputs refer to a gender analysis. A key aspect in analysing gender inequalities is how they are reinforced in and by institutions and organisations. Gender analysis is a tool used to assess:

the study of differences in the conditions, needs, participation rates, access to resources and development, control of assets, decision making powers, etc. between women and men on their assigned gender roles. (European Commission 1998 p. 18)

Thus gender analysis helps researchers understand how both men and women manage natural resources. Definitions for different types of gender analysis exist in the literature (see Lilja & Ashby 1999 for examples of gender analysis in NRM). Gender analysis is a requirement of most donor agency gender equality policies (see Sida, Norad, BMZ, EC, CIDA, ADB). In certain cases a gender specialist would be contracted to undertake the gender analysis, thus inclusion of a gender specialist in project outputs is also a criterion. Seventy-seven project outputs were analysed from the 22 projects, rating each as to whether or not the project:

1. Considered gender (both men and women)

2. Considered women's practical needs

3. Considered women's strategic needs

4. Promoted the empowerment of women

5. Contracted a gender specialist

6. Involved a gender analysis

5.5.2 Difficulties in sourcing project outputs

This study had initially intended to make explicit links between particular donor agencies and respective research projects. The idea was to take the analysis of a specific donor agency gender policy and measure it against the level of gender consideration in the project funded by that donor. In theory this method would provide a systematic analysis that would make a linear connection between donor agency and

project showing how gender equality policies influence CIFOR's research projects. However, there were some unanticipated difficulties in collecting the necessary data.

Some projects in the sample began in the mid 1990's; thus sourcing key project outputs from 10 years ago was challenging. Although journal publications exist for most of the projects, not all of them could be found easily. Finding copies of proposals, interim or final reports was similarly difficult for all projects. Thus, the data collected, relating specific donor agency policies with specific projects, has been inconsistent across the 22 projects. Without a comparable sample of project outputs from all the projects, it is pointless to compare gender consideration across the 22 projects. Table 5.1 shows the cross-section of documents by category, sourced for analysis. The table represents a total of 77 project outputs categorised into different stages of the research (see Appendix 3 for the full list of project outputs). Some of the projects may have had several documents representing one category, particularly the publications category.

Table 5.1 indicates that for most projects a large number of outputs were not available for analysis. In the interests of conducting a sound analysis of individual projects, it was decided that the research would use the project output information to represent the significance of each of the respective donor's gender equality policy rather than compare each individual project. Comparisons can still be made by examining gender consideration given in projects funded by donor agencies that do not have gender equality policies and those which do. However, the overall analysis of this study is based on the general trends that emerge from the analysis of the data as a whole, rather than individual cases. This does not detract from the objective of the study to examine the degree of influence of gender equality policies on research project activities.

5.6   Analysis of CIFOR project outputs

5.6.1 Overall consideration of gender in projects

Table 5.1 separates donors with gender equality policies and donors without gender equality policies. A comparison of the number of outputs found for both groups of donors and the number of outputs that considered gender shows little variation between the two groups. Where there are differences, however, is in the disparities in gender consideration in publications per donor (see Table 5.2). The Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), which raised the profile of gender issues in development, was ratified in 1995. Most donors did not have gender equality polices before this year. Thus the EC and BMZ projects began before the BPfA, and the CIDA and Norad projects started the same year the respective donors developed a gender equality policy.

Table 5.1 Breakdown of project outputs by category and gender consideration

Project Output Categories	ADB	EC	CIDA			BMZ		Norad	Sida	DFID^		IDRC	USAID	ITTO*			The Overbrook Foundation†				USDA-FS	ACIAR
Donors with gender equality policy → / *Donors without gender equality policy*																						
Years operating	2004-2006	1997-2002	1999-2001	1999-2002	2002-2005	1996-1999	2000-2004	1997-1999	2003-2006	1997-1999	2002-2005	2003-2006	2003-2005	1998-2000	2001-2002	2003-2006	2001-2002	2002-2003	2004-2005	2005-2006	2001-2003	2005-2007
Project #	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	1	1
Project proposal	✓					✓			✓		✓	✓	✓				✓					
Interim reports	✓	✓							✓			✓										
Technical reports	✓																					
Completion reports	✓	✓			✓				✓			✓	✓									
Evaluation reports	✓											✓										
Publications		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓				✓		✓

Grey shading signifies documents in the corresponding category were able to be accessed and scanned for gender consideration.
Ticks signify gender considerations in that document category.
*ITTO projects 1 and 2 and 3 are the same extended project.
†The Overbrook Foundation projects 1 to 4 are all extensions of the same project.
^DFID projects 1 and 2 are the same extended project.

Table 5.2 Number of (sourced) publications considering gender (Donors with gender equality policies shaded grey)

Donor	Number of publications	Gender considered
ADB	3	0
CIDA	6	1
EC	6	1
BMZ	3	2
USAID	1	1
Norad	1	1
Sida	4	2
Total	**24**	**8**
The Overbrook Foundation	5	5
DFID	2	1
USDAFS	1	0
ACIAR	3	2
IDRC	4	4
ITTO	4	3
Total	**19**	**15**

Table 5.2 shows that publications from projects funded by donors with a gender equality policy consider gender about one third of the time, whereas publications from projects funded by donors without a gender equality policy consider gender in almost all cases.

5.6.2 Gender dimensions considered in projects

5.6.2.1 Project funded by the Asian Development Bank (ADB)

The ADB project (2004-2006) looked into poverty reduction strategies in the upland communities in the Mekong region though community forestry projects. The project outputs considered gender in ensuring that minority and marginalised groups (including women) were considered in the participant selection process. Power struggles between ethnic groups, including gender-related ones, were also anticipated in the implementation of the project. A key concern of the project was to examine equity issues in the Mekong region among ethnic groups and with respect to gender. The

project contracted a gender specialist to conduct independent research on these issues and work collaboratively with the project. The project outputs indicated a gender analysis, which consisted of interviews with heads of households to record divisions of labour and income benefits. The outputs indicate that gender was considered throughout the life of the project.

5.6.2.2 Projects funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

The three closely-related CIDA projects (1999-2005) focussed on communities and forests in Indonesia. There were insufficient outputs to determine whether gender was considered throughout the life of the project. However, one publication considered gender equity by retrospectively stating a need to have equal representation of men and women during village meetings.

5.6.2.3 Project funded by the European Commission (EC)

The EC project (1997-2002) involved research into the management of woodland in Miombo, Africa. Project outputs mention gender in terms of equity, specific natural resource use and land ownership. The project involved a gender analysis of the uses of natural resources by men and women and equity in the access and use of the resources, and briefly mentions the outcome. The project also examined how policy decisions would impact differently on men and women. The Participatory Rural Appraisal was based on age and gender. Although the proposal for this project was not sourced, it would seem that gender was considered in all other stages of the project.

5.6.2.4   Project funded by the Department for International Development (DFID)

The DFID (1997-2005) project researched the causes of changes in forest cover in Cameroon. The project advertises links to CGIAR PRGA programme as being beneficial to the research and a central objective of the research was to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of international efforts to support community forestry with the aim of 'promoting transparent, accountable, and democratic decision-making processes concerning forests that incorporate the views of the poor, women, indigenous people, and ethnic minorities'. A publication from this research focussed on how migration, crop diversification, and gender division of labour are related to the economic crisis and forest cover change in Cameroon.

5.6.2.5   Projects funded by Germany (GTZ/BMZ)

The two closely-related GTZ/BMZ projects (1996-2002) researched uses of non-timber forest products (NTFPs). No proposal or final report was found for this research project but the publications indicated that the project considered gender by collecting income generation information of the heads of household, and the gendered use of NTFPs. The projects conducted a gender analysis on income generation and NTFP use by surveying the heads of households.

5.6.2.6   Project funded by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad)

The Norad project (1997-1999) conducted research on tropical deforestation. Although there was no mention of gender in the research proposal, one publication indicated that the project considered the division of labour by gender.

5.6.2.7 Project funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Development Agency (Sida)

The Sida project (2003-2006) conducted research into Africa's dry forests. The project outputs indicated that gender was considered regarding use of natural resources and associated equity issues. A gender analysis was conducted on the use of natural resources, with a gender expert being contracted to do the study. They also mentioned the empowerment of women through commercial use of NTFPs. The outputs further indicate that gender was considered throughout the life of the project, including in publications.

5.6.2.8 Project funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

The USAID project (2003-2005) researched livelihood and food security in the Congo. In the project proposal it is stated that 'This project will not have a separate set of activities for women, rather, women will be fully integrated into all aspects of the project'. The project involved a comprehensive gender analysis of the different uses of NTFPs and a survey of the heads of households to determine income generation. The outputs indicate that gender was considered in all stages of the project, including in publications.

5.6.2.9 Projects funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

The IDRC project (2003-2006) looked into women and forest products in Eastern Amazonia. The outputs mention a gender analysis regarding equity and use of NTFPs,

including a detailed analysis of which forest products represent different values to men and women. The research looked into areas of NRM inequities between men and women and provided a technical analysis of forest product use, thus empowering rural people and participating women's and men's groups with the necessary knowledge to negotiate the uses of forest products. Gender was considered in all stages of the project.

5.6.2.10 Project funded by the International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO)

The ITTO project conducted research on a model forest in Indonesia. Although there is no mention of gender in the research proposal or final reports, the publications indicate that the project included research into health issues which involved a gender analysis through the employment of an opinions survey. A gender analysis was also conducted through surveying the heads of households for demographic and health-related information.

5.6.2.11 Projects funded by The Overbrook Foundation

The Overbrook Foundation project (2001-2006) conducted research into biodiversity conservation for local livelihoods in the Brazilian Amazon. This project focussed on empowering the men and women in rural communities to improve livelihoods in the face of Brazil's changing forestry industry. The research included partnerships with women's organisations. An award-wining article published from this work focussed on a key woman facilitator of change in the Amazon.

5.6.2.12 Project funded by the U.S. Department of Agricultural and Forest Service (USDA-FS)

The USDA-FS project (2001-2003) examined the impact of macroeconomic and agricultural policies on forest condition in Gabon. Only one output was found for this project (a publication). No consideration of gender was apparent in the publication.

5.6.2.13 Project funded by the Australian Council for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR)

The ACIAR project (2005-2007) looked into community partnerships in plantation forestry. The research proposal did not mention gender but the publications considered gender in terms of equity in access and use of natural resources and divisions of labour.

Table 5.3 Analysis of selected Livelihoods project outputs according to donor (donors with grey shading are those with gender equality policies)

	Donors	The project considered gender (both men and women)	The project considered women's practical needs	The project considered women's strategic needs	The project promoted the empowerment of women	The project contracted a gender specialist	The project involved a gender analysis
Group A	ADB	Yes				Yes	Yes
	CIDA	Yes					
	EC	Yes					Yes
	DFID	Yes					
	GTZ/BMZ	Yes					Yes
	Norad	Yes					
	Sida	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
	USAID	Yes					Yes
	Total	**8**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**5**
Group B	IDRC	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
	ITTO	Yes					Yes
	The Overbrook Foundation	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes
	USDA-FS						
	ACIAR	Yes					
	Total	**4**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**3**

5.6.3 Summary of gender considerations in projects

A summary of the analysis is presented in Table 5.3. Shaded rows (Group A) signify the donor agencies with gender equality policies, and the non-shaded (Group B) indicates donor agencies without gender equality policies.

The analysis of outputs from projects funded by Group A donor agencies shows that all eight of the respective donor agency funded projects gave consideration to gender, and

five of the eight conducted a gender analysis. Projects from Group B donor agencies performed similarly with four out of five giving consideration to gender and three out of five conducting a gender analysis.

In total the project outputs indicated that 12 out of 13 cases considered gender, and in eight out of 13 cases a gender analysis was conducted. The consideration was mostly articulated in terms of equity issues and power relations, and NRM use. All of the gender analysis conducted in the projects used a survey method targeting the head of household to determine issues of divisions of labour and income distribution. Not a single project output referred to the CGIAR's PRGA programme.

None of the projects in Group A explicitly addressed women's practical or strategic needs. One project explicitly mentioned women's empowerment in stating that the benefits of sound management of dry forests would contribute to goal 3 of the MDGs to 'promote gender equality & empower women' (Petheram, et al 2006 p. 4). Two projects in Group A consulted a gender specialist, for example:

> 'This research project will have a specialist looking at ethnicity in relation to
> forests and poverty alleviation, and another specialist looking at gender issues
> in relation to forests and poverty alleviation. They will be conducting much of
> their work outside of the bounds of this component on community forestry'
> (Sunderlin 2004, p. 25).

Two of the projects in Group B explicitly considered women's practical and strategic needs and promoted women's empowerment. No Group B project contracted a gender specialist.

It should be noted that two of the projects funded by donor agencies without gender equality polices (IDRC and The Overbrook Foundation) focused on gender relations and men's and women's knowledge and use of forest products. This suggests that the absence of a gender equality policy does not deter the donor agency from funding gender related research. Further, it suggests that CIFOR scientists are not deterred from sourcing funds to conduct gender-oriented research from donor agencies without an explicit gender requirement. Conceivably, some CIFOR researchers are conducting gender research motivated by factors disconnected to external, donor agency pressures. There is little evidence to substantiate Roughly's claim that NRM agencies are hostile to social science themes (Roughly 2005). However, it was expected that, if such attitudes exist, they would be emphasised in the interview analysis of CIFOR researchers (refer to Chapter 6) rather than in the project outputs.

5.6.4 Analysis of gender consideration in projects by comparing proposals with final reports and/or publications

For a small sample of projects where both proposal and final reports and/or publications were collected (see Table 5.1) it was possible to compare how gender was considered in the proposal with how gender was considered in the final report and/or publications.

5.6.4.1   ADB - Poverty Reduction in Upland Communities in the Mekong Region

In the project proposal the scientists stated an aim to 'examine carefully' equality problems such as 'gender discrimination'. They referred to gender as an 'ethnic status'. The researchers proposed to have a 'specialist looking at gender issues in relation to

forests and poverty alleviation', stating that 'the usefulness of a collaborative relationship with the gender research is certain'. In the final report it is implied that a head of household analysis was done which showed that 'female-headed households are twice as likely as male-headed households to receive no income benefit at all from community forestry'. In the publications sited for this project there was no mention of the issue, or conjecture over the institutional reasons for this disparity.

5.6.4.2 USAID - Congo Livelihood and Food Security Programme (CLIFS)

The researchers specifically aimed to improve gender equity through their research, claiming that 'this project will not have a separate set of activities for women, rather, women will be fully integrated into all aspects of the project'. In the final report the researchers state that there was an analysis of 'gender roles in connection with production, processing and trade of NTFPs'. The data is provided in the report, including the information that women were less educated then men and are the primary, more experienced traders in NTFP, which could be potentially empowering if existing barriers to the NTFP market can be overcome. The barriers observed include high transport costs and the payment of formal and informal taxes, but do not mention barriers based on gender inequality. In the publication for this research the scientists reiterate that a gender analysis was conducted and the results are displayed accordingly.

5.6.4.3 Sida - Africa's Tropical Dry Forests

The researchers aimed to look at how death from HIV/AIDS has impacted on 'gender roles and resource use'. The final report was not found and therefore is not included in this analysis, However, in the publications for this project the researchers mention that,

while there are established male and female roles, men tend to cross the barrier and engage in traditionally female roles, whereas this behaviour (involvement in traditional male roles) is rare for women. There is no deliberation in the report on what the potential impact of this process could have on men and women. There is also a statement that the sound management of dry forests can contribute to the MDG 3.

5.6.4.4 DFID - Underlying Causes of Qualitative and Quantitative Changes in Forest Cover in Cameroon

In the proposal the researchers state that the 'project's central objective is to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of international efforts to support community forestry with the aim of '... promoting transparent, accountable, and democratic decision-making processes concerning forests that incorporate the views of the poor, women, indigenous people, and ethnic minorities'. One of the publications focuses on the 'Economic Crisis and Forest Cover Change in Cameroon: The Roles of Migration, Crop Diversification, and Gender Division of Labor [sic]'. The publication focuses on gendered division of labour as a consequence of the economic crisis and possible cause of deforestation and does not analyse the nature of men's and women's different labour roles *per se*.

5.6.4.5 IDRC - Vulnerability and Resilience: Response of women and forest products to escalating logging in Eastern Amazon

In the proposal the researchers state that one objective of the study is to 'describe the different gender roles in the access, use, management and trade of select native Amazonian species that are threatened in frontier regions and managed in the periphery

of cities'. It is stated that specific gender relations associated with this research will be part of a cooperative study'. In the final report the researchers state that this objective was met and that is raised several other issues involving 'inequity, power relations, and gender-partitioned participation in decision making'. They state that 'the fact that women are asking provocative questions indicates that they are less reticent to re-evaluate their traditionally minor role in natural resource decision making'. An interim publication from the cooperative study on gender relationships suggested that researchers worked intimately with local women's groups on strategies to increase the power of women in local forestry and NTFP initiatives - particularly through local education and through the scientific valuation of species used primarily by women. In all of the publications sighted, researchers also detailed the hegemonic relationships between different male groups (loggers and village men).

5.6.4.6 The Overbrook Foundation: Biodiversity Conservation for Local Livelihoods in the Brazilian Amazon

In the research proposal researchers stated that the project team drafted a set of indicators to quantify impact, including the involvement of women in natural resource decision-making based on workshops conducted in 2002. Publications for this project demonstrated an integrated approach to women and NTFPs and did not refer to women as an 'ethnic' or 'minority' group or cross cutting issue. Through the innovative dissemination of research results the researchers saw an increase in women's participation in NTFP management and decision making. It should be noted that these outcomes are the result of 12 years of research.

This is far from a comprehensive, rigorous analysis of the extent to which gender was considered in these research projects. Rather it is an interpretation of how gender was considered in the outputs based on the few outputs that were sighted and lacked crucial evidence from the researchers or, perhaps more importantly, any analysis of the impact of these research projects on the ground. However, some tentative observations are offered in chapter 7 about the way gender has been considered in these projects in light of project manager interview data.

5.7   Conclusions

The analysis of CIFOR's key documents reveals that CIFOR does not have a formal commitment to gender equality, though various strategic and planning documents refer to the need for gender-differentiated research. The project output analysis shows that the majority of projects considered gender issues, which may be because donor agencies are exacting an influence on CIFOR's operations. However, it is not only the donor agencies with gender equality policies that have gender-related research, such work is also being conducted in projects funded by donor agencies without gender equality policies. In fact, while projects in Group A (those funded by donors with gender policies) more consistently considered gender, those in Group B (donors without gender policies) have explored gender issues more deeply and addressed practical and strategic gender issues and promoted the empowerment of women. In summary CIFOR's lack of formal gender equality policy is consistent with the literature (Kardam 1995) given CIFOR's international position and narrower field of accountability. Yet, a second argument (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) has also been demonstrated in CIFOR's readiness to consider gender issues in research projects in response to the demands of securing of funding opportunities. This is not to say that

Livelihoods programme scientists would not consider gender in projects (in fact the evidence suggests that they automatically do), but rather that they would not explicitly mention gender considerations in the outputs. It raises the question of whether donor gender equality polices serve only to further encourage the consideration of gender as a 'requirement' in project proposals.

Unquestionably the consideration of gender equality is embedded in the very core of Livelihoods research. However, with the exception of two projects that focus exclusively on women and gender, this is not clearly expressed in the language used in Livelihoods project outputs. Gender is often placed in the context of 'minority' or 'ethnic' groups, and although most projects considered gender in terms of differences between men and women they did not mention the relationships between, or among men and women. Nor did they consider the institutional drivers that position women as a minority group in the NRM context, or the distribution of income within the household unit.

What is clear from the analysis is that the majority of projects indicated a consideration of gender issues regardless of the existence of a donor gender equality policy. Less clear is what impact the donor agency gender equality policies are having on the consideration of gender in Livelihoods research projects. Although specific donor imposed policies do not directly influence the consideration of gender issues in Livelihoods research, it is possible that the existence of donor gender equality polices in general (and the researcher's awareness of those polices) is sufficient influence. If this is the case then the analysis is also suggestive of a routine practice among CIFOR

researchers to include gender issues in project outputs, if only in rhetorical terms. This matter will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 6 PERCEPTIONS AND POSITIONS ON GENDER – ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS WITH PROJECT MANAGERS AND CIFOR MANAGEMENT

6.1 Introduction

To investigate the significance of donor gender equality policies from a researcher perspective, interviews were conducted with Livelihoods project managers. Interviews were also conducted with CIFOR senior management to further gain an understanding of CIFOR's position on gender. The interviews provided a valuable individual and personal perspective to the data that had previously been sourced from organisational papers and project documentation. Interviewees recounted their experience of considering gender in the selected research projects, but also offered opinions on and beliefs about donors, CIFOR and of gender as a topic of concern in NRM. What also emerged from the interview data were the general attitudes of researchers towards 'gender' and a glimpse into the nature of project implementation as an experience that, once initiated, is rather estranged from the sources of its funding.

This chapter aims to complement the data from the project outputs analysis by exploring the experiences and perceptions of those managing the selected research projects and CIFOR senior management. The chapter is structured according to the order and subject of the interview questions, first for project managers, and then for senior management. Some issues that were raised by both project managers and senior managers are discussed in the analysis. However, in the conclusion both sets of analysis are integrated to establish an overall sense of how CIFOR regards gender issues in NRM.

6.2   Methods

The method for capturing this information from project managers and senior managers was semi-structured interviews guided by a set of questions pertaining to the consideration of gender in research. For the project managers the questions related to the specific 22 projects selected for the outputs analysis. The questions were designed to prompt information from the project mangers on their understanding of gender issues and how they considered gender in their research. Questions included how the project manager considered gender in the project, what support they had from donor agencies and CIFOR, and what their interpretation of gender mainstreaming was (for a full list of questions see Appendix 2). CIFOR senior management were asked four questions relating to a recommendation from a recent external evaluation to increase attention to gender in all CIFOR's research activity.

Twenty-two interviews were conducted over three weeks, two weeks of which were at CIFOR's Bogor headquarters. Three interviews were conducted over the phone or via email and a further 11 were conducted at CIFOR with researchers who had worked on one or more of the 22 projects selected for this study. Where possible, project managers were interviewed. However not all project managers were available at the time of interviewing, or had left CIFOR and could not be contacted. Where project managers were not available to be interviewed face to face or over the phone, other team members on the project were interviewed except in one case where neither a project manager nor any other team members were located for interviews. Two interviews were conducted via email and a further four interviews were conducted at CIFOR with members of senior management. Additionally, there where two supplementary interviews with senior CIFOR researchers with experience in gender research, which

are included in this analysis. The disciplinary breakdown of project managers is; eight natural scientists (for example; foresters), three social scientists (for example; economists), and three multidisciplinary researchers (for example; agro-economist). The sex breakdown for project manager interviews was 13 males and 4 females. The project managers represent a diverse range of professions but because the interview sample is small no comparison was made between each profession due to the risk of compromising the interviewee's identity.

6.2.1 Purpose and adaptation of interview data

When designing the study the initial aim of interviewing researchers was to help gain an understanding of how gender considerations in projects were influenced by donor gender equality policies and CIFOR organisational commitment to gender equality. Due to the selection process of CIFOR research projects, the sample totalled 13 donor agencies and 22 projects. Several projects in the study were funded by a single donor. Several biases were revealed due to this distortion in the sample when it came time to analyse the project manager interview data. For example, one CIFOR project was represented by the interviews of three different researchers. Conversely four different projects were represented by an interview with one researcher. Furthermore, out of 22 projects, seven of them were extensions or subsequent phases of previous projects, with the same project manager (in most cases) throughout.

Some of the projects chosen for analysis in this study began over a decade ago. Where this was the case the project manager (or other team member interviewed) often struggled to recall details of the project, especially when gender was not a focus of the project. In some cases the only project team members available for interview were

junior scientists at the time of project implementation. They were not involved in the planning stages of the project, and could say very little about donor gender policies or if/how gender was initially considered in the project.

Consequently, the data sample was smaller than anticipated. It was therefore decided to take a similar approach as that in the project outputs analysis. Data from the project manager interviews was used to assess the significance of donor gender equality policies on donor funded projects as far as the limited data allowed. In addition, the interview data revealed some important matters that affect how Livelihoods researchers feel about donor gender equality policies and about 'gender' in general, although the purpose of this research was not to test attitudes. Nevertheless, information from interviews that went beyond the specific project focus was a valuable contribution to the research findings, thus, it has been analysed for themes on how project managers were influenced by gender equality polices and the way they conceived of gender. It should be noted however, that attitudes to gender consideration in Livelihoods research projects should not necessarily be associated with a project manager's intention to consider gender.

6.3   Analysis of the project manager interview data

The structure of the following analysis is guided by number, order and content of interview questions posed to project manager. Quotes from the project manager interviews, in italics, have been used to highlight specific responses and attitudes regarding gender.

6.3.1 Do donors influence the gender focus of the projects they fund?

Eleven of the 14 project managers[2] thought the donor funding their project had particular expectations with regard to incorporating gender issues into their research. Three of the eleven were confident that the donors had such expectations because the donors had listed gender as a separate instruction. Two thought their donor did not have expectations with regard to gender, when in fact they did. One researcher did not know. Some researchers made additional comments with respect to the utility of donor gender expectations stating that, even if gender was not a requirement, they would include gender issues in their research anyway. There were no indications that any researcher has read a gender equality policy.

This suggests that researchers had a general awareness that gender issues were on the donor agenda. However, they were only aware of the specificity of gender requirements if the research proposal process includes a section provided by the donor separating out cross-cutting issues such as gender. There were also allusions to a certain inherent conscientiousness so that researchers thought about gender regardless of whether donors had specific requirements or regardless of whether the researchers had knowledge of them. Although it is positive that researchers are thinking independently about gender issues, it implies that inclusion of gender issues (if not specified by the donor) will depend on whether the research has an obvious gender dimension – a decision ultimately made by the project manager.

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[2] In the following analysis project managers will be referred to a 'researchers', interviewees', 'respondents' and 'project managers' interchangeably.

It would seem that some project managers were aware of which donors were likely to be most gender sensitive and thus will be more likely to mention gender in research proposals for those donors. That some researchers are not necessarily aware of specific donor gender requirements suggests that, unless researchers have a particular interest in gender issues, it is unlikely that they will even look at the donor agency gender equality policies. If project managers expect the donor to have such requirements (particularly if the donor is European) then gender is included.

6.3.2 Do donors provide any practical assistance to help researchers with gender issues in research?

Project managers appeared to get no practical assistance from donors at all, regardless of whether or not the donors required gender to be included in the research (Table 6.1). Donors offered no extra resources other than a checklist of mandatory cross-cutting issues to include even if the donor requested the inclusion of gender in research proposals. This absence of support did not appear to upset the project managers as it was considered that donors expected a level of expertise in the field that did not require further donor assistance. In fact this question seemed to elicit some puzzlement at the thought that donors would or should offer support even if gender is a specific requirement *'it [gender] is expected to be in the proposal but that does not translate into more resources from the donor'*. That the donor would offer practical or technical assistance for gender related research was obviously not common practice and certainly not expected *'[the donor] is not really involved on the ground, they just give you the money'*. Table 6.1 represents the donors that have a gender equality policy and those who do not. The table shows the interviewee responses to whether they received any support from the donor agency that funded their project.

Table 6.1 What practical assistance did the donor provide?

Donors with a gender equality policy	Project manager answers^	Donors without a gender equality policy	Project manager answers
ADB	None	IDRC	None
CIDA	Yes, budget allocation	ITTO	None
EC	None	Overbrook Foundation	N/A
BMZ	None	USDA-FS	N/A
USAID	None	ACIAR	N/A
Norad	*		
Siada	None		
DFID	N/A		

* No one was interviewed

^ Answers to questions regarding each of the 13 donors may be represented by more than one project manager.

6.3.3 Do partners in the project influence gender considerations, or does CIFOR have an established gender agenda?

The general response to the question of whether partners in the project had expectations regarding gender consideration was that, once gender was on the agenda there was little difficulty keeping it there but no particular consideration was given to its importance. CIFOR in general seemed to support the inclusion of gender issues and researchers were given the opportunity to seek information and funds to support that aspect of their project. This may include raising funds from non-traditional sources or collecting journal articles to help the project team '*read up*' on gender. CIFOR however does not provide any extra financial resources to support this.

Some project managers collected resources (papers, journal articles) from sources within CIFOR or hoped that partners would provide the necessary material. Two

project managers made vague references to the Gender & Development Programme when asked where one could go for gender information, though both admitted to not being entirely sure what it was, not having used the resource themselves.

There was one mention of CIFOR providing funds for gender training of one member of a project team. The member was a woman and this fact did not go unnoticed by the (male) project manager. In fact two project managers made reference to a perceived gender bias in who is allocated training in gender analysis. The majority of project managers however did not consider gender specific training to be necessary. Similarly, one project manager pointed out that CIFOR should not have to provide extra financial support for gender analysis, stating that *'it is just part of what a good researcher does and there is no need to make an example out of it'*.

6.3.4 What processes are involved in considering gender in Livelihoods research projects?

Researchers overwhelmingly responded that the process involved in considering gender in research projects is informal and tacit, and that no explicit gender analysis tools or systems were used. Some of the methods used in this informal process mentioned by interviewees included a large questionnaire with gender components and male, female and cross-gender focus groups.

Projects that focussed on non-traditional use of forest products, in particular, tended to integrate women throughout the project. Non-traditional uses of forest products usually supplement the major sources of income, such as timber. It is women who often undertake the gathering, processing and selling of these products. Thus women are a

crucial element in the research because of the nature of the research topic, as indicated by one interviewee, *'because the project researched* [non-traditional forest] *products collected by the poorest and most marginalized people in the communities so we are automatically working with women'*

6.3.5 How have Livelihoods researchers experienced gender consideration in research?

The experience of integrating gender into research projects that researchers discussed in the interviews revealed several themes regarding attitudes to the implicit expectations to incorporate gender into research projects. Interviewee references to gender have been summarised in the following four categories:

1. An obvious issue:

'In all my research I deal with gender issues even if I'm not stating it clearly from the start. My project involves looking at rural poverty and the poorest are the women, and that's a fact and you can't ignore it'. The respondent went on to explain that explicitly stating a promise in research proposals to consider gender issues was tantamount to adding an explicit promise to do good research. The comment sheds some light on the frustration researchers are feeling at the manner in which gender is being used by donor agencies. This attitude was most common among the researchers working in the area of non-traditional forest use research projects where women are often the producers of non-timber products. Even where the particular non-traditional forest use is traditionally a male-dominated activity, a researcher noted, 'by looking at the whole value chain women are automatically included'. However, one researcher noted that the

non-traditional forest use projects are not intentionally about women, rather the projects focused on poor people benefiting from non-timber forest products and it is women that default into this category.

2. Not applicable to the research:

This is particularly in the case of macro-economic research projects, where it seems no social or cultural element is considered in the research. *'Gender issues were not important in this research because we were looking at macroeconomic causes of deforestation. So this is aggregate level practice and doesn't involve human rights'*. One respondent estimated that fewer than 25% of CIFOR projects, and never more than 50%, contain gender issues yet often gender must be included (as a donor agency requirement) in the projects regardless.

3. An important yet subsidiary component of the research:

Although many researchers spoke of their aim to canvas the opinions from all stakeholders involved in the project, none of the researchers mentioned that their experience in incorporating gender issues was done using any kind of strategy. Several researchers mentioned that, if it is assumed that donors have this expectation, it is common practice to include it in the proposal in the first instance. However some researchers then went on to mention that, when there was an explicit requirement from the donor to consider gender issues (particularly in the research proposal), it resulted in the researcher feeling that gender was *'out of context'*. Several researchers thought the inclusion was unnecessary to the research yet felt a pressure to include it. This has fostered resentment in some researchers who feel that gender is forced into the main

focus of the research which requires further time and effort that could be better spent on other issues. One researcher admitted that the final project report did not match up with specific gender objectives in the proposal; rather gender was included in the report as a general reference to issues of equity encountered during the project. In the context of non-traditional forest use 'gender' seems mostly understood as 'women'. Several researchers remarked on the tendency to conceptualise 'gender' as meaning projects that include women, however, and mentioned that they would like to see more research that specifically looked at men or the relationship between the genders.

4. An issue to be treated with reservations:

Two researchers mentioned a tendency to underplay the gender dimensions in research proposals. Suggestions were offered as to why a researcher may be reticent to give too much focus to gender issues. A female researcher may not want to play the *'weak card'* based on the fact that she is a woman and using gender as a rationale for funding the research could be misinterpreted as biased. *'I'm already a woman which is a strike against me and I don't want to pull a weak card which is gender, that would just be one more way to upset the scientists'*. Even if female scientists plan to focus on gender it seems the trend is to do the work on the ground without being explicit about it in proposals. A further suggestion was made that male scientists may tend to underplay the gender dimensions in their research, both because of the inherent stigma attached to gender issues and because of a possible lack of familiarity with the subject matter. The assumption is that male scientists are unlikely to stray too far away from their area of expertise if there is a likely element of failure. One respondent was concerned about the condition of women in developing countries where research and development activities are taking place. In many cases women are already time-poor and over-burdened with

domestic (and in some cases commercial) activities. Some researchers had observed cases where projects focusing on gender had inadvertently increased this burden on women.

A further issue was raised in the interviews regarding the position some researchers take on donor-imposed inclusion of gender issues in research proposals. Where reference was made to the practicalities of including gender in projects it was usually in terms of information gathering. Common methods for involving gender in the project mentioned were women-only and men-only interviews and focus groups. It was mentioned by several researchers that there was an inclination to place too much emphasis on the number of women involved in the initial data-gathering phase rather than the quality and usefulness of the data. What was also mentioned, however, was that projects employing this kind of data gathering revealed that women were often uncomfortable *'speaking out around men'*. It was also mentioned by one researcher that, where a gender team had been employed to conduct research and analysis on the gender dimensions of the project, the team had been younger and less experienced than their counterparts. Importantly, the gender team did not have the capacity to publish their analysis in any international journals (even though this was an objective of the project proposal) as were not proficient in English.

6.3.6 At what stage in the project are gender issues considered?

The majority of researchers interviewed mentioned that gender had been considered in the initial stages of the project. Given that the process of integrating gender issues in research projects is informal and tacit, it is worthy of note that, even where gender had not been an explicit component of the research, one researcher believed gender was

'considered by many of the researchers, right from the start of the research, for example, questionnaires had questions about the gender of the head of household. I think that many researchers know that gender is an important issue influencing forest use and management, and while they may not do extremely detailed studies on gender, gender usually becomes one component of many analyses'

6.3.7 Is active consideration of gender issues a necessary part of the project?

Overwhelmingly researchers thought that active consideration of gender issues was a necessary part of their project. This consideration seemed mostly to be related to the use of forest resources and how they can be used differently by men and women. However one researcher stated that gender consideration was not necessary to their project, saying *'we could have left it out and concentrated on something else like labour or social movements'*.

6.3.8 Familiarity with the concept of 'gender mainstreaming'

The awareness of gender mainstreaming among the researchers interviewed was quite low. None of the researchers interviewed was absolutely sure about the concept of gender mainstreaming, although some speculated about possible meanings more confidently than did others.

6.3.9 Interpretations of gender mainstreaming

The following are some examples of what gender mainstreaming means to the researchers interviewed:

'Looking at the various roles of men and women'

'Improve equity and decision making'

'Gender sensitivity'

'Making gender more prominent'

'Developing a conscience towards improving gender policies and outcomes'

'Don't make things worse for women'

'I think it means not having separate sections where you consider gender issues but mainstreaming the consideration into all the activities.'

'Developing collective action'

It was clear that perceptions of gender mainstreaming varied among the researchers. Some thought it meant only the observation of the different roles of men and women, and many perceived gender mainstreaming to be an end result (e.g. *'improve equality and decision making'*, *'making gender more prominent'*) rather than a process. Others guessed that gender mainstreaming had a more strategic meaning, (e.g. *'Developing a conscience towards improving gender policies and outcomes'*) and yet others felt gender mainstreaming to mean the empowerment of women (e.g. '*Developing collective action'*).

6.3.10 Is the consideration of gender issues a professional responsibility?

The majority of researchers interviewed felt that they had a professional responsibility to give consideration to gender issues in their research. However, there were caveats.

One researcher pointed out that the obligation they felt was not so much professional as ethical. This is consistent with comments made by other researchers that *'you cannot*

talk about the management of natural resources without taking gender into consideration'.

Other researchers were quick to point out that women were not the only group that should be considered and that there are other stakeholders with similar issues of inequality. Those interviewees who highlighted the equal importance of considering other marginalised groups did not consider that gender cuts across all other social and cultural groups such as class or ethnicity. Thus, there seems to be a lack of clarification regarding NRM issues that concern women and those that concern gender. Another researcher said they felt a professional obligation to consider gender issues only if *'gender went beyond the '"women"' focus'*. Almost all researchers stated that gender was not always an issue in projects and that it was sometimes difficult to *'get gender into all projects'*. One researcher admitted that the gender analysis in their project would have been much more simplistic had there been no donor requirements to do so.

6.3.11 Do researchers feel responsible for promoting the empowerment of women?

All researchers interviewed stated that they felt a responsibility to promote the empowerment of women. A number of researchers commented on the practicalities of empowering women through research and one stated that they *'see empowerment as happening on the ground and it isn't in CIFOR's mandate to empower anyone directly, only indirectly'*. This question also raised a similar issue to question 6.3.10. above. Although the majority of researchers were committed to promoting women's empowerment in their research, they swiftly drew attention to the fact that there are valid instances of disempowerment in other marginalised groups.

6.3.12 Is adequate support for considering gender issues in research manifest in Donors, Project Funds, Project time frames, Senior Staff, Communities where research is undertaken, CIFOR's Organisational culture, and Training/education?

This question generated similar responses to questions 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 above, suggesting that once funding is secured for a project and the research begins, the practice of research at CIFOR seems to become estranged from the funding donor agency. Attitudes of the researchers towards donors reflected the answers in 6.2.3 and 6.3.3 with statements that they felt more pressure than support from donors. Table 6.2 indicates that donors with gender equality policies gave more support than donors without such policies. However, where support was offered it was primarily in the form of specific requirements that the researchers had to address in their project proposal. One researcher went as far as saying *'they [donors] just give you the money - they are not involved on the ground'*. This was not offered as a sentiment of discontent but rather as a matter of fact statement of business as usual. As mentioned earlier, researchers unanimously gave the impression that any support from donors regarding this issue would be more likely interpreted as unsolicited interference.

Table 6.2. In mainstreaming gender issues in your research project do you feel that you had adequate support from: Donors?

Donors with a gender equality policy	Project manager answers	Donors without a gender equality policy	Project manager answers
ADB	Yes, though depends on circumstances	IDRC	No
CIDA	Yes	ITTO	No
EC	Yes - support not necessary	Overbrook Foundation	No
BMZ	Yes	USDA-FS	N/A
USAID	Yes	ACIAR	Don't know
Norad	*		
Siada	Yes, though more pressure than support		
DFID	Yes, though depends on circumstances		

* No one was interviewed

No issues were raised when asked about the adequacy of project funding (Table 6.3) and when asked about project timeframes (Table 6.4) one researcher replied '*there is a tendency to give cross-cutting issues lip service because there isn't enough time*'.

Table 6.3 In mainstreaming gender issues in your research project do you feel that you had adequate support from: Project funds?

Donors with a gender equality policy	Project manager answers	Donors without a gender equality policy	Project manager answers
ADB	Yes, though depends on circumstances	IDRC	Yes
			No
CIDA	Yes	ITTO	
EC	Yes - support not necessary	Overbrook Foundation	Yes
BMZ	Yes	USDA-FS	N/A
USAID	Yes	ACIAR	Don't know
Norad	*		
Siada	No		
DFID	Yes, though depends on circumstances		

* No one was interviewed

Table 6.4 In mainstreaming gender issues in your research project do you feel that you had adequate support from: Project time-frames

Donors with a gender equality policy	Project manager answers^	Donors without a gender equality policy	Project manager answers
ADB	Yes, though depends on circumstances	IDRC	Yes
CIDA	#	ITTO	#
EC	Yes	Overbrook Foundation	Yes
BMZ	Yes	USDA-FS	N/A
USAID	Yes	ACIAR	Don't know
Norad	*		
Siada	Yes		
DFID	Yes, though depends on circumstances		

* No one was interviewed

No answer

Interviewees indicated that support from senior staff for integrating gender issues was expressed through lack of resistance rather than enthusiastic support. General

comments indicated that some staff were more supportive than others (Table 6.5) One researcher commented that no guidance was received from senior management about gender issues but that they were diligent in their efforts to keep gender visible in projects should the researcher let gender slip off the agenda.

Table 6.5 In mainstreaming gender issues in your research project do you feel that you had adequate support from: Senior staff?

Donors with a gender equality policy	Project manager answers^	Donors without a gender equality policy	Project manager answers
ADB	Yes, though depends on circumstances	IDRC	Yes
CIDA	Yes	ITTO	#
EC	Yes, some senior staff	Overbrook Foundation	Yes, some senior staff
BMZ	Yes	USDA-FS	N/A
USAID	Yes	ACIAR	Don't know
Norad	*		
Siada	Yes, some senior staff		
DFID	Yes, though depends on circumstances		

* No one was interviewed

The project activities related to gender were accepted and supported in the villages where research was undertaken (Table 6.6). One researcher mentioned some initial resistance but that overall feedback from villagers had been positive. One researcher highlighted the nature of the cultural and political environment in which CIFOR research often takes place *'There are a huge number of men making policies in these countries so the question is, do you have time to write a paper on the gendered nature of policy making?'* Similarly a researcher stated that gender was *'important because*

there are traditional structures at the local level that are not very good for women.

More often than not that is the case'.

Table 6.6 In mainstreaming gender issues in your research project do you feel that you had adequate support from: Village where research was undertaken?

Donors with a gender equality policy	Project manager answers^	Donors without a gender equality policy	Project manager answers
ADB	Yes, though depends on circumstances	IDRC	Yes
CIDA	Yes	ITTO	#
EC	Yes	Overbrook Foundation	Yes, though some initial resistance
BMZ	Yes	USDA-FS	N/A
USAID	Yes	ACIAR	Don't know
Norad	*		
Siada	Yes		
DFID	Yes, though depends on circumstances		

* No one was interviewed

The majority of researchers stated that CIFOR's organisational culture is very supportive of integrating gender issues into research. However, a number of researchers were sceptical that the support was really there, particularly in terms of promoting the empowerment of women and not just undertaking gender analysis work on heads of households and divisions of labour. Some researchers mentioned building the capacity of researchers was not supported as much as it could be. Although some researchers were confident that no extra training on gender issues was necessary, most interviewees who had projects funded by donors without gender equality policies commented on a desire for more training and more relevant education on gender issues (Table 6.7). Suggestions included having a *'crash course'* on gender issues, especially

regarding breaking down the stereotypes of *'gender is women and men are bad',* and making gender issues more accessible to male researchers and those with no social science background. It was also suggested by several researchers that CIFOR should establish a separate fund or a *'small portfolio'* specifically for gender research. A similar point was stated by one researcher, *'If we are not doing it (considering gender), it's because we don't have an explicit framework and mode of operation to look into gender across projects'.*

Table 6.7 In mainstreaming gender issues in your research project do you feel that you had adequate support from: Gender training and education?

Donors with a gender equality policy	Project manager answers^	Donors without a gender equality policy	Project manager answers
ADB	Yes	IDRC	Yes, though would like more
CIDA	Yes, though would like more	ITTO	Yes, though would like more training for men
EC	Yes, support not necessary	Overbrook Foundation	Yes, though would like more
BMZ	Yes - adequate	USDA-FS	N/A
USAID	Yes	ACIAR	Don't know
Norad	*		Yes, though would like more
Siada	Yes, though would like more		Yes, though would like more training for men
DFID	#		Yes, though would like more

* No one was interviewed

No answer

Several researchers offered their own estimation of how CIFOR rates with respect to gender issues in research. The general view was that gender issues are often discussed amongst CIFOR scientists. Views differed, however, on how CIFOR looks *'on paper'.* Some feel CIFOR is being unfairly judged because it is actually doing a lot more on gender issues than is represented in any printed format. Others believed that CIFOR's

written commitments (such as in proposals or country strategies) are simply clever rhetoric.

6.4   Analysis of the senior management interview data

In March 2006 CIFOR underwent an external organisational review – External Programme and Management Review (EPMR). One of the recommendations from that review was that 'CIFOR's Programmes and Projects in their diagnosis, design and implementation increase attention to gender, especially in regard to poverty alleviation'. An analysis of senior management interviews, which consisted of four questions relating to the EPMR recommendation, is presented below:

6.4.1 Do you agree with the EPMR recommendation that CIFOR's programmes and projects in their diagnosis, design and implementation increase attention to gender, especially in regard to poverty alleviation?

All senior management interviewed categorically agree with the recommendations of the EPMR. However, most were quick to add that there was in fact quite a lot of gender research being conducted in CIFOR that perhaps the EPMR missed. Thus the comments from the EPMR seemed to have been interpreted as a recommendation to make gender consideration more explicit in CIFOR's research '*I felt that the EPMR was not aware of some of the stuff that's already happening here'*, rather than a need to do more research on gender. Nevertheless, the EPMR did recognise that 'while CIFOR's Programmes are working with women in some projects, CIFOR does not conduct sufficient amount of research that is specifically focused on the impact of forest policy and management on poor women' (CGIAR 2006 p. 4). Note that this is an

observation of CIFOR's focus on poor 'women' and not gender; a semantic and conceptual tension inherent in gender research that is addressed below.

6.4.2 What suggestions do you have for CIFOR to address the EPMR recommendation?

Suggestions from senior management have been grouped into three categories: financial incentives, enforcement, and internal cultural change.

1. Financial Incentives

The idea that CIFOR could introduce monetary support for gender research was repeatedly proposed. One manager claimed that having money put aside exclusively for gender research would provide a positive incentive for researchers to *'think creatively'* about how to include gender in their research. It was suggested that CIFOR provide a *'pot of money'* to complement scientists' ongoing research activities and encourage them to address gender issues. Further suggestions placed the onus on Programme Directors to put aside gender research funds as an incentive.

2. Enforcement

Several suggestions were made to improve the *'quality control'* in CIFOR's research. Processes for internally enforcing accountability in gender issues included making gender equality a requirement of staff performance contracts. Improving consistency in proposal writing and review was also a priority with suggestions to develop a gender and diversity checklist to aid in writing research proposals, and ensure gender is written into impact pathways.

3. Internal cultural change

Many comments were made regarding the nature of CIFOR's attitudes towards gender. Some offered thoughts on CIFOR's *'culture'* and researcher *'behaviours'* and how CIFOR could go about *'creating an internal philosophy'* that was supportive of gender. All suggestions imply that change is needed for CIFOR to engage fully in the consideration of gender issues. Several ways to bring about *'norm change'* in CIFOR were offered. These ranged from *'up stream strategies'*, for example ensuring that gender dimensions were built into CIFOR's *'research domains'*. It was suggested that CIFOR needed to *'change the thinking'* about gender issues by perhaps developing a set of organisational values which explicitly integrate gender. There was a general acknowledgment of the common practice of giving lip-service to gender issues and a strong desire to *'move away from rhetoric'* by making real changes in the way CIFOR conceptualises gender and research.

6.4.3 How can CIFOR implement your suggestions?

There were two divided groups of ideas regarding how CIFOR could best implement a more explicit gender research agenda. The first group covers ways to implement a more consistent and systematic consideration of gender issues through existing requirements of external sources. The second group deals with strategies that could be developed and built into internal processes within CIFOR. These internally driven initiatives focus on both organisational processes and the initiatives of individual researchers.

1. External Sources

It was noted by several senior managers that donor agencies provide a critical role in getting researchers to include gender issues in proposals through their current practice

of making it a requirement of funding. However it was suggested that donors could more effectively enforce the consideration of gender issues at the fund raising stage since *'...without a doubt, even though it's a donor requirement they don't enforce it'*. It was suggested that, however reluctant researchers may be about indiscriminately including gender issues in proposals, if it was to become a non-negotiable criteria for funds then that could provide the *'leverage point'* necessary to encourage researchers to consider gender in all research proposals. This method was said to be additionally beneficial to CIFOR since it would not have to enforce its own set of gender requirements and therefore risk the direct disgruntlement of researchers. As well as including gender in proposals, it was also suggested that gender be factored into evaluation studies. It was posited that this would not only keep researchers returning to look at gender issues throughout the research but also increase chances of a second phase of the project if the evaluation was positive.

Another potential area for external implementation mentioned by senior staff was CIFOR's partnerships. 'In our line of business it [gender] is accepted as an important issue but I think there is a difference of opinion on the methodology'. This methodological argument could apparently be settled by existing gender and research methods of partner organisations. Partners with a clear gender agenda could provide the external influence to keep gender issues highlighted throughout the project. It was suggested that the gap in CIFOR's capacity for knowledge and expertise in gender analysis could also be effectively filled by partners through strategic alliances, such as joint implementation or training provided by partner organisations.

2. Internal Sources

    a. Organisational

Although there was much talk of changing the norm and creating a CIFOR philosophy of gender awareness, there appeared a prevailing desire to avoid creating *'layers of bureaucracy'* and recognition that scientists are resistant to techniques of *'command and control'*. Senior staff were concerned that forcing researchers to include gender issues would make the research process less natural. One senior manager stated that they would *'rather have it as part of the institutional culture and a kind of CIFOR approach that people know this has to be there. We should have institutional values that take this seriously so we don't have to impose them'*.

Other suggestions to assist CIFOR's internal gender awareness included the employment of the services of a gender expert who *'could inform and guide and coach other scientists and could be used as a resource to write into proposals'*.

    b. Individual

The emphasis placed on individuals to include gender in research was significant, with nearly all senior managers acknowledging the critical role of several people within CIFOR who consistently work hard to keep gender issues visible. These people were referred to as *'internal champions'* or *'gender advocates'*. Some gender advocates within CIFOR (usually those from the higher echelons) where thought to have had a significant influence on CIFOR's general consideration of gender issues, and thus the continual turnover of staff has brought about peaks and troughs in the level of CIFOR's gender research activity. Indeed one interviewee stated that gender sensitive projects

were likely to be as much a *'function of the interests and sensitivities of the individual project leader rather than an intrinsic characteristic of the research topic'*.

Not surprisingly the present gender advocates at CIFOR were generally known to be women. Although their persistence in keeping gender on the research agenda was commended, there was a concern at the lack of male gender advocates currently at CIFOR, and that several senior level staff with gender interests have recently left. Currently some female staff are being trained in gender issues in the hope that they will help counteract the *'drain on gender'*.

6.5   Conclusions

It is clear from the interview analyses that project managers and senior managers have some common conceptions of gender issues in NRM research. Both groups acknowledge that the donor agencies with specific gender requirements can act to enforce the consideration of gender issues in projects. Both groups resist the establishment of a specific commitment to gender (such as a gender equality policy) in the interests of maintaining CIFOR as a non-bureaucratic organisation. Also, both groups believe that whether gender issues are an important aspect of NRM research depends on the research question. However, where as most project managers seemed comfortable with the amount and level of consideration given to gender in research projects, senior management evidently aspire to improve the status-quo.

As discussed in earlier chapters most donors in this study assert pressure to include gender issues in research proposals. This external pressure causes discontent for several reasons. Donor requirements are usually framed in general terms to assist in their

application to the many areas of research and development activities that donors fund. Donors with blanket 'Gender and Development' policies will require scientists to include gender in research proposals regardless of whether the scientist believes gender is an issue. It is for this reason that one senior manager explained that *'exclusively external enforcement is counter productive … [it] lacks legitimacy and that's when you get the little paragraph tacked onto the end* [of the proposal] *on gender'*. External, donor-driven pressure does not allow scientists the autonomy to make professional judgements regarding the significance of gender issues to their particular research question - *'you've gotta be willing to say that there may not be a gender component to this particular research'*.

Conversely some senior managers suggest that external donor-driven pressure has the potential to increase the gender activity in CIFOR by making it an enforceable requirement. This contradicts the above suggestion that, if the motivation to include gender issues in research came from an internal source, researchers would have the opportunity to approach gender issues with greater nuance. This would also dispel some of the negativity surrounding gender issues that has been generated by the pressure scientists feel to include gender issues in research, even if the research questions do not warrant it. It seems that even issues as crucial to poverty alleviation as gender equality lose their meaning if they are consistently imposed without discretion. Consequently, it was also mentioned that if gender issues are not a donor requirement then gender is often left out of the research proposal.

All senior manager interviewees strongly agree with the recommendations of the EPMR that 'CIFOR's Programmes and Projects in their diagnosis, design and implementation increase attention to gender, especially in regard to poverty

alleviation'. However, ideas and suggestions from CIFOR's senior staff on how to respond revealed some ambiguity. In the first instance the EPMR recommended that CIFOR give greater attention to gender. A recurring argument from project managers and senior management was that there is a lot of attention already being paid to gender; it just isn't being explicitly articulated. The idea of establishing a central policy that explicitly committed CIFOR to consider gender in research would be one way of stating this commitment to the external R&D community and contribute towards consistency in CIFOR's approach to gender issues. Yet such a document was generally rejected by both project managers and senior management who wish to keep bureaucracy at CIFOR to a minimum.

While project managers were averse to any enforcement of the consideration of gender issues, most senior management were disposed towards developing a system to make gender consideration compulsory. Considerable differences exist regarding the nature of the system, such as whether enforcement should come from CIFOR or externally (from donors), and how it should be enforced. Some senior management suggested it could be more effective to subtly motivate scientists with discreet internal pressure or to entice scientists to *'think creatively'* about gender issues with the promise of financial reward.

A second source of external pressure suggested by some senior management could be issued by CIFOR's partnerships with other organisations. Proffered to be the very *'cornerstone'* of methods by which CIFOR could exploit additional skills and expertise in gender analysis, partnerships could bring a more comprehensive gender strategy to CIFOR's research. However, not all senior management agree that partnerships are the

answer, stating that CIFOR is *'not ready for partnerships in gender research …until we get our own house in order'*.

Senior managers also prevaricated over support for various possible internal CIFOR gender strategies. Some preferred an 'upstream' model where gender would be built into research domains and thus contribute towards developing a new research culture. Others preferred the idea of more downstream strategies during the design phase such as developing proposal checklists and reviews. Even lower downstream were the supporters for building gender issues into impact pathways. This last proposal is especially problematic given the inherent iterative nature of research, mentioned by both project managers and senior management. Whether researchers can successfully use impact pathways to predict or even propose research outcomes will be discussed in the next chapter.

As in the wider research and development community, the concept of gender has caused some confusion and debate amongst project managers and CIFOR senior management. The term 'gender' in respect to research and development has long been differentiated by individual interpretations – usually based on a semantic understanding of the term. Some interviewees recognised that 'gender' is often interpreted as 'women' within CIFOR research.

Conceptualising gender as a cross-cutting issue was also a source of difference amongst senior management. Some felt that grouping gender with other cross-cutting issues such as 'diversity' will potentially weaken it's impact, thereby risking the effectiveness of gender research initiatives *'The concern is that once things become*

cross-cutting they get lost and they become part of various other cross-cutting issues'. Additionally, it was suggested that, if research is concentrated on gender as a separate issue, then CIFOR could better influence policy decisions that target gender dimensions. Others felt that gender and diversity are parallel themes and by linking them together there was less of a risk of either of them falling off the agenda. Furthermore, it was suggested that posing dual themes of gender and diversity may make 'gender' a more easily digestible issue resulting in a less negative response by researchers. In other words the generic, less politically stigmatised concept of 'diversity' may dilute the negative reactions that gender seems to create.

When questioned about the recommendations from the EPMR on gender issues one senior manager stated that they felt 'that the problem may be that gender research is already so integrated that it isn't highlighted as a separate part of research projects'. Another senior manager stated that, when researchers go out into the field, gender becomes part of the research even though no conscious effort is made to write it into the research proposal. This reflects the sentiment made by many of the project managers and it certainly alludes to the possibility of gender having been mainstreamed into CIFOR's organisational culture. However it could more logically be a result of the collaborative nature of participatory research practices and have little to do with active gender mainstreaming by CIFOR.

One suggestion to emerge from the senior management and project manager interviews was that gender could be threatening to scientists. Women scientists may be reluctant to emphasise gender issues in research because it poses a professional risk. Women in forestry research (particularly anthropologists) working in a male-dominated, science

field may feel that they are already at a disadvantage, and paying particular attention to gender issues may diminish the perceived value of their work. This doesn't necessarily imply that women scientists do not consider gender issues, but they may be more inclined to do *'gender work on the ground'* rather than make specific reference to it in research proposals. This reluctance could also be manifest in project outputs where women scientists may not make direct references to disaggregated gender analysis but rather stream gender into the general discourse on forestry and poverty alleviation.

Senior managers had differing opinions regarding how project managers could be encouraged to consider gender issues in their research. An obvious point of relevance to research that depends entirely on external funding is that, if gender is included in a research proposal, there is an increased chance of securing funding. Thus, despite creating potential resentment in project managers, for some senior management this is the most expedient method of getting gender into CIFOR projects as well as potentially being financially rewarding. For senior managers the focus was on representing gender as a potentially interesting aspect of research that could dramatically alter outcomes and influence the utility of the research.

It is clear from the interviews that project managers and senior management are aware of gender issues and, in particular, see the inclusion of women as being fundamental to good research. Also clear is a general scepticism toward gender issues. This is manifest partly in the enforced manner in which gender is specified to the researchers through some donor gender requirements, but also through an entrenched resistance to spend time and effort on issues not directly and obviously germane to the research question. Senior management have different views on how to best package gender issues in this environment. Although there are obvious ambiguities in proposed strategies to

accomplish this there is a general sense of caution that is related to how researchers will react to certain strategies.

Nevertheless, senior management are optimistic that CIFOR researchers will discover that gender research can ultimately benefit the quality of the research. However, it was also acknowledged by one senior manager that this *'will take more effort and training and sensitisation and awareness building and constant reminding of people to think through the issues'*. In this way it is hoped that CIFOR researchers will reconsider the reasons for *'innovating gender in research'*.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1   Introduction

This research has enquired into four key areas where gender equality is conceptualised and implemented to determine the significance of donor gender equality polices in NRM research. The international context has been presented, donor gender equality polices have been analysed, as well as data from interviews with Livelihoods researchers and senior managers, CIFOR key documents and 22 Livelihoods project outputs. The findings suggest that donor gender equality polices are not instrumental in the consideration of gender in Livelihoods projects. This is manifest most evidently in the interview data. There is also evidence of a tacit commitment to consider gender in Livelihoods research projects as evidenced by interview and project output data.

Although the significance of donor gender equality policies is not demonstrated in any direct links between donors with gender equality policies and Livelihoods projects, nor is such a commitment present in any CIFOR documentation, donors with gender equality polices tend to influence Livelihoods research in more indirect ways which will be discussed further in this chapter. Other factors that influence the consideration of gender issues, such as the nature of NRM research and researcher attitudes are discussed. There is a brief conclusion to the research, and recommendations following the synthesis and discussion of the findings from these three areas of investigation

7.2 Donor gender quality policies and Livelihoods research

There are several outcomes from this research that have emerged from the four areas of enquiry. Figure 7.1 provides a breakdown of the research findings by the investigations of the international context, donor gender equality policies, corporate level programming and project implementation.

Observations:

Enquiry 1:
International context

- There is intense international pressure to comply with gender and development imperatives, such as 'gender mainstreaming'
- The tendency is for donors to produce generic gender equality policies that act as internationally visible commitments to promote gender equality

Enquiry 2:
Donor gender equality policies

- The majority of donor agencies had gender equality policies. The few that did not were mostly NRM organisations
- Researchers do not make use of donor gender equality policies
- Donor gender equality policies are not significant in the consideration of gender issues
- However, donors do exert some influence over the inclusion of gender, especially in project proposals
- Few donors enforce specific gender requirements
- Donor gender requirements can foster resentment in researchers and be counterproductive to a thorough consideration of gender issues

Question:
The significance of donor gender equality policies in NRM research

Enquiry 3:
Corporate level programming

- CIFOR has no overarching specific commitment to promote or improve gender equality
- The G&D Programme and PRGA are misunderstood and underutilised by researchers
- CIFOR has internal gender advocates

Enquiry 4:
Project implementation

- Gender was considered in most projects regardless of the existence of a donor gender equality policy
- Gender analysis rarely goes beyond the establishment of gender roles
- The majority of Livelihood researchers believe gender to be an important issue in NRM research
- There is a general belief that gender research requires no specialist skills
- There are positive and negative researcher attitudes towards gender in NRM research
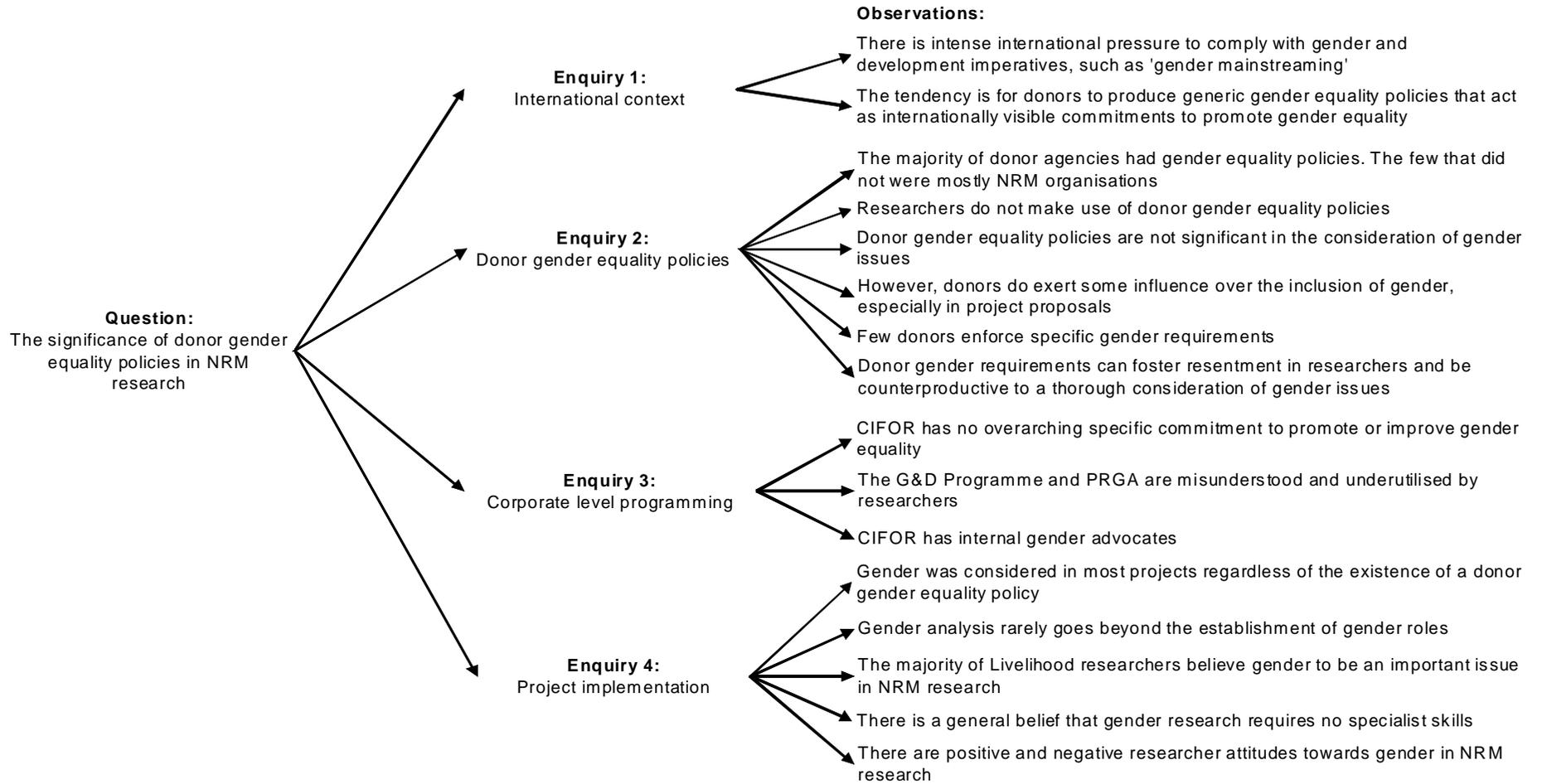
Figure 7.1 Breakdown of outcomes by the four areas of enquiry

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Chapter 2 looked at gender in the international development context. Gender equality is considered a development priority at the highest levels of international policy planning and development. There are international development strategies, goals and conventions dedicated to improving the equality of women and gender, namely the Beijing Platform for Action and gender mainstreaming. International development agencies 'rationalise' their commitment to mainstream gender into all development activities through the development of 'credible and implementable' gender equality policies (Woodford-Berger 2005 p. 66). Additionally, some donor agencies require that gender issues are written into project proposals as a condition of funding. However, aside from exerting an influence on the inclusion of gender issues in NRM R&D (specifically in proposals) the gender equality policies appear to have little value or use for NRM R&D agencies, and most importantly, the people whose livelihoods such research is striving to improve.

In Chapter 4 the examination of donor gender equality polices showed that most donors have a gender equality policy. The donors that did not have a gender equality policy were agricultural and forestry based NRM agencies. This finding is consistent with the literature as it is often argued that social research is often poorly regarded in NRM organisations (Roughly 2006; Brosius 2006; Russell & Harshbarger 2003). The main purposes of the policies are to mainstream gender within the agency and to communicate the agency's commitment to gender equality to other agencies, including the recipients of funding. Few of the donor agencies enforced specific gender requirements as criteria for funding.

Chapter 5 included an examination of gender content of CIFOR's key documents. Although it is clear that CIFOR has internal gender advocates, there are no overarching commitments to promoting gender equality. Livelihoods researchers indicated that such patent commitment was unnecessary, as gender issues are considered as a natural consequence of doing good research. Both the Participatory Research and Gender Analysis (PRGA) and Gender & Diversity Programmes were not used for the purposes of conducting research on gender issues or gender analysis in Livelihoods projects. Researchers indicated that they did not fully understand what resources these programmes offered.

This research has revealed a strong connection between donors with a gender equality policy and the consideration of gender in Livelihoods projects. Paradoxically, it has also shown that gender is considered in Livelihoods projects even if donors do not have a gender and equality policy. This is most obvious in the analysis of Livelihoods project proposals where four out of five projects considered gender without prompting from a donor. It is necessary to point out that one of these five projects focussed exclusively on gender relations and may have skewed data in the latter group. However, these projects are not an anomaly among Livelihoods projects, as the manager of these projects continues to conduct research of this nature for the Livelihoods Programme. Thus, these projects focussing exclusively on women could likely represent typical rather than atypical Livelihoods research. This isn't to say that all Livelihoods research focuses on women or gender to the same extent, only that, out of the projects analysed in this research at least one involved a comprehensive gender analysis that went beyond a focus on women.

Nevertheless, while the Livelihoods Programme may generally support gender research, this is not an absolute indication that gender has been mainstreamed into the Programme. Gender mainstreaming is 'the process of *assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action*' and requires 'making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an *integral* dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation' (United Nations 1997, emphasis added). There was little evidence in the project outputs that predictions of research outcomes on men and women were made. Nor was there evidence in most project outputs and project manager interviews that gender was an integral dimension in the design of Livelihoods research.

The weak connection between donors without gender equality polices and gender consideration in Livelihoods projects was unexpected. It was an assumption of this research that where Livelihoods research projects were not directly influenced by a donor gender equality policy, there would be no evidence of gender consideration in the project. However, gender was acknowledged as an important element in livelihoods research by all interviewees. If Livelihoods researchers consider gender in the majority of Livelihoods projects even without the necessity of fulfilling a donor imposed gender requirement then there could be other explanations as to why this is.

Firstly, gender equality is a fundamental issue in forests and livelihoods research and is therefore integrated throughout the Livelihoods Programme. That issues of gender equality are highly publicised in the R&D community is well recognised by Livelihoods scientists. The research would suggest that Livelihoods scientists would be cognisant of gender equality issues even if the donor agency funding their project did

not have a gender equality policy, since most interviewees stated a need for gender consideration in their research regardless of the donor's requirements. However, the type of research does seem to affect whether gender is considered or not. For example, gender (or more specifically women) are conspicuous in research that explores forest use that is traditionally female, thus women feature prominently in non-traditional forest use projects. Yet where potential gender issues are not so obvious there is an equally obvious omission in the project of sound gender analysis. How gender equality in NRM is understood by Livelihoods researchers is only hinted at in this research, and requires further investigation.

Secondly, experienced Livelihoods researchers know that most donors have gender equality policies and thus err on the side of caution. When questioned, few interviewees knew for certain which donors had a gender equality policy and none admitted to having read one. However, the knowledge that this practice is standard among donors appears to influence Livelihoods scientist's consideration of gender issues when formulating a proposal. Some donors (for example Sida) have specific criteria, such as the consideration of gender issues, which research proposals must address. Thus scientists are obliged to consider what gender issues are relevant to their project, since securing funding for projects is vital for Livelihoods scientists. Given the current high profile of gender in international R&D, submitting a research proposal without explicitly considering gender would be considered careless. Several interviewees conceded that, in order to secure donor funding one felt obliged to include gender in the research proposal – if others did not then they were *'stupid'*.

7.3   Gender consideration in Livelihoods research

What the gender and development literature argues for most avidly is an analysis not just of gender differences in income, labour, and roles and responsibilities, but the structures and norms inherent in institutions and local organisations that control and shape gendered income, labour, and roles and responsibilities (Wiens 2003; Kabeer 2003, Vernooy 2006; Rao & Kelleher 2003) and in particular the gender aspects of natural resources (Williams 2008) and 'local institutional arrangements' (Wiens 2003 p. 11). It is acknowledged that NRM research in general must place greater emphasis on the social and institutional context of natural resources without compromising the 'reductionist' integrity of the research (Campbell et al. 2006 p. 17). An integral goal of Livelihoods poverty alleviation research is to raise incomes, however a salient point raised by one researcher questions the aim of raising incomes in villages when there is a negative correlation between raised incomes and human health, and the extra income is often *'spent on garbage'*. Without research into the local institutional arrangements (such as who benefits from income and how it is spent) such income raising efforts for the purpose of poverty alleviation may continue to be frustrated by established behaviour and practices.

7.3.1 Practical and strategic gender needs

While there is little doubt that Livelihoods research is striving to understand the practical needs of women through research (particularly non-traditional forest use research) and recording household income and gendered labour, there is little evidence to suggest that the strategic needs of both men and women are being considered. Kabeer (2003 p. 2) states that 'a nation's poverty is measured by the number of households that are unable to meet certain minimum basic needs', thus much of the

international R&D policy is based on addressing the basic needs of the poor. Poverty alleviation strategies that address these needs have historically worked within existing social and cultural structures, thereby maintaining systems of inequality (Moser 1989). What is needed are strategies to address poverty that make a difference, such as those that challenge systems of labour, production, law, culture, and governance (Stavenhagen 2003). Basic needs are categorised according to physical and social (Razavi & Miller 1995), or first order and second order (Kabeer 2003). Physical/first order needs and social/second order needs are categorised in gender and development literature by the terms 'strategic' and 'practical' (Moser 1989). Strategic needs are those that stem from inequalities persistent in the culture, especially those at the core of women's subordination, such as education, economic opportunities, political representation, and human rights. These are secondary to practical needs necessary for survival, such as food, health, clothing, shelter, and fuel (Razavi & Miller 1995; Kabeer 2003). These practical needs are addressed within the current unequal system and not through attempts to change it (Moser 1989).

Addressing strategic gender needs is crucial for the empowerment of women. While it has been argued by some project managers that this is the aim of development projects more so than research projects, it should be considered that the identification of strategic needs is crucial to the sustainability of projects (de Waal 2006), and therefore a critical area of research. Evaluations by Sida and the UNDP have also uncovered disparities between meeting practical and strategic needs of women in particular. While both agencies had made progress in meeting the practical needs of women through projects with a focus on women, they fell short of addressing the underlying inequalities (Aasen 2006). Although it is not clear why this disconnect occurs between

addressing practical and strategic gender needs Aasen candidly suggests that improving livelihoods rather than a country's legal system presents fewer obstacles and offers more observable short-term results (Aasen 2006).

7.3.2 Household analysis

Livelihoods projects often conduct interviews with heads of households to ascertain income benefits of both male and female headed households. In this method, however, is an underlying assumption that households are egalitarian units of equal income distribution. That the male head of the household may economically benefit more from community forestry than a female head of household is valuable information but overlooks the processes within the male headed household that influence who benefits from that income (Doss 1996; Watson 2005). Furthermore, women heads may be in receipt of remittances from other family members (Appleton 1996). Thus, a gender analysis based solely on the head of household neglects the processes of income generation, decision-making and distribution regarding household relations (Peter 2006; Razavi 1998). Categorising the head of household by male and female is also a logical and expedient way of ensuring the visibility of women in the research (Razavi 1998). There are similar concerns on the efficacy of questionnaires measuring divisions of labour. Where inequalities exist and resources are scarce (Kabeer 2003), this kind of analyses provides a superficial understanding of the power relations between and among men and women that influence access to and use of natural resources (Fajber 2005).

With the exception of Livelihoods projects that focussed on men, women and forest use, the general gender considerations are more closely aligned with the Women in

Development (WID) approach (refer to Chapter 2). This is not exceptional in R&D activity where, commonly, 'gender' continues to mean 'women' (Smyth 2007). Table 7.2 demonstrates the differences in WID and GAD approaches in research. The analysis of gender consideration in projects by comparing proposals with final reports and/or publications in Chapter 5 suggests a general tendency for Livelihoods research to comprehensively analyse the role of women in forest use (in accordance with WIDs objective to include women in development activity) without questioning the institutional drivers that determine unequal power relationships, and the distribution of benefits. Even in non-traditional forest use projects where it is established that in some countries women are overwhelmingly driving the informal forest industry women are still considered a 'minority' or 'ethnic' group in some of the project outputs.

Interviewees with some researchers urgently expressed a need for more gender oriented research, such as more in-depth analyses of unequal gender and power relations that 'work against gender equality', yet this sentiment is not apparent in the project outputs. Perhaps it is not a function of Livelihoods research at CIFOR to go beyond this initial comprehensive gender roles analysis. Perhaps project funds and timeframes do not allow this type of analysis, or perhaps gender as a category continues to be resistant to the dominant method of economic analysis (Beneria 1995).

Table 7.1 Key Features of Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) Approaches to Research

Characteristic	WID	GAD
Focus	Women and their exclusion from development initiatives	The socially constructed relations between men and women, and the subordination of women
Perceived core problem	Women's exclusion	Unequal power relationships
Goal	Women's inclusion and more effective development	Equitable and sustainable development, appropriate participation and decision making
Solution	Full integration of women in development process	Empowerment and social change
Main strategies	Women's projects; increasing women's productivity and income; increasing women's ability to look after the household	Reconceptualising the development process taking gender and other inequalities into account; identifying and addressing practical needs of women and men; addressing women's strategic interests; addressing strategic interests of the poor and marginalized

Adapted from 'Social and Gender Analysis in Natural Resource Management: Learning Studies and Lessons from Asia', Vernooy 2006 no page number.

7.4 Livelihoods researcher attitudes toward gender

This research suggests that including gender issues in research projects is not dependent on one factor but a combination of several factors such as:

- The researcher's discipline – scientists or economists may eschew gender issues because they are difficult to categorise by quantitative methods, or they may not have the social research experience needed for comprehensive gender analysis, or feel that results from such an analysis are not crucial to the research.

- The nature of the research question – research on informal forest markets rather than on formal forest industries is more likely to encounter explicit gender issues, because more women than men are involved in the non-traditional timber market.

- The researcher's personal attitude – how the researchers judge of the importance or relevance of gender to their research question.

- Institutional and organisational influence – how gender has historically been conceptually and practically managed within the NRM R&D institution and within CIFOR.

- Political appropriateness – particularly in the interviews, some researchers may have felt compelled to say they considered gender important because they felt it was the right thing to say.

This research only touched on the extent to which gender is considered in research projects; however this too appears to depend on the factors listed above.

An unexpected finding was that, when a Livelihoods project does require a thorough investigation of gender issues, researchers will essentially use their previous experience and skill to improvise. There was no evidence that researchers had consulted (or were even aware of) the CIGAR Participatory Research and Gender Analysis (PRGA) Programme. Interviewees were also unaware that CIFOR does not have a key document regarding a commitment to gender equality. Some had sought gender related material from a reliable CIFOR gender advocate, and some had sourced their own material from the internet.

Most surprisingly was the vague understanding of what the Gender and Diversity (G&D) Programme was and what it had to offer. Some hesitantly suggested that the Programme could provide researchers with technical support for gender analysis, yet none had ever accessed this resource. Perhaps the G&D (formally the Gender and Diversity *Analysis*) Programme is not explicitly promoted in CIFOR in its current guise as a workplace equality programme. A decade ago the G&D Programme was overseeing the integration of 'gender into specialist's tool kits' at CIFOR so perhaps

there does exist such material as the researchers suggests (unsuccessful enquiries were made by this researcher regarding scientist 'tool kits'). Whatever the case, Livelihoods researchers show a reticence to seek specialist gender support. Whether this is due to the perceived lack of technical support available through CIFOR or a confidence that the skills and experience they already possess are adequate is unclear.

While there was not enough time to perform a differentiated analysis of project outputs (i.e. proposals against non-peer reviewed articles and peer-reviewed journal articles), a scan of 41 journal publications revealed 24 mentions of gender. Four of the 24 publications were generated from a research project that focussed on gender and forests. Furthermore, while gender is being included in most project proposals, it is mentioned in just over half the publications. Reasons for this disappearance of gender issues could be that gender was found not to be relevant to the research after the proposal was written. Some interviewees mentioned that they had to *'force'* gender into the proposal to comply with donor gender requirements. Thus it is possible that gender was never relevant to the research. This would certainly support the existence of the 'add on paragraph on gender' that is purported to be common practice in research proposals.

While it is clear that Livelihoods scientists consider gender, to varying degrees, in their projects, this research has revealed varied attitudes regarding how Livelihoods scientists and senior management think about 'gender'. While the unpredictable effects of an ersatz interview environment on interviewee responses cannot be underestimated, the research has shown that attitudes toward gender were largely determined by what experience the scientists had with gender. For example, a positive attitude was likely

exhibited if a scientist was researching non-traditional forest use where women feature prominently in the research question. A negative reaction from the scientist could be generated by a belief that gender had little, if anything, to do with their research. Female Livelihoods researchers were not unanimously receptive of gender issues, furthermore some male researchers appeared more receptive than females to including gender in their research.

Kardam (1995) stresses the importance of the presence of internal advocates in organisations. The gender advocates inside an organization can develop internal accountability mechanisms simply by keeping a tab on project proposals and strengthening internal support for gender issues by building allies and making sure gender doesn't disappear from the agendas. A previous study into organisational gender equity at another CGIAR centre (Centro International de Mejoramiento de Maiz y Trigo (CIMMYT) in El Batan, Mexico) found that internal active support groups were crucial in fostering organisational change (Merrill-Sands et al 1999)

This research has highlighted the sensitive, politicised nature of gender in an NRM R&D agency. Prevarication by scientists to explicitly state gender as a key aspect of their research may be based on professional and/or personal agendas. Intimidation based on tackling an issue beyond known areas of expertise, the dominance of an economic model in R&D, and a reluctance to overplay 'gender' in research proposals if one is female and already experiencing the stress of working in a male oriented field were three reasons mentioned. Livelihoods scientists were unreservedly opposed to the suggestion that CIFOR may benefit from a document similar to a gender equality policy, most being averse to bureaucratisation and *'petty policies'*. It is unclear exactly

why this is, however, Livelihoods scientists appear comfortable with, and actively encourage, tacit organisational injunctions.

A defensiveness regarding the consideration of gender issues was apparent in several interviewees who possibly felt that interview questions were probing their moral and professional integrity. This defensiveness could also stem from the notion that whenever reference is made to the disadvantages of women, there contains an implicit statement that places men as 'the advantaged group' (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005 p. 1806). There was also frustration at the nature in which gender is packaged as an exceptional case when there are many other social groups effected by poverty who don't get similar publicity. A typical scenario is where gender analysis is externally forced by donors, involved a hastily paragraphed 'add on' to research proposals. This research has observed that Livelihoods scientists are savvy, discerning practitioners who have seen a succession of popularised 'booms and busts' in the R&D field. It is argued that 'gender' has been so overexposed that it has lost meaning, thus 'real women and men, power and conflict all disappear behind bland talk of "gender"' (Smyth 2007 p. 583). What seemed to spark the most irritation in Livelihoods researchers was the insinuation that a gender analysis was mandatory, not so much because they resented doing the analysis but because they resented being *told* to do it. They implied that telling a Livelihoods scientist that they must consider gender issues in their research is a *'redundant'* directive, paramount to telling a Livelihoods scientist that they *'must do good research'*.

This is not new information for CIFOR senior management, who are aware that researchers are resistant to *'command and control'* approaches. They have already

anticipated that scientists will inherently resist a CIFOR-wide mandate to consider gender issues in research. Senior management are divided on whether to rely on external pressures to consider gender in research projects or to build a commitment to gender equality into the CIFOR strategy. Senior management is more concerned with increasing the visibility of gender activities, particularly visible impacts of gender research, than project managers. They also take a more critical view of CIFOR's current methods of gender consideration and analysis than do project managers. Several concerns were raised on the practice of add-on gender paragraphs in proposals and the issue of gender being dismissed once the research begins. They also had doubts concerning CIFOR scientist's capacity to undertake comprehensive gender analyses.

Positive or negative, most Livelihoods researchers approach gender issues with a pragmatic conviction that gender issues in NRM research can be dealt with adequately through the application of common sense. This is constant with studies exploring the inimical barriers to the integration of social sciences (anthropology and sociology) into NRM agencies where there has been an 'assumption that it was not really a science, anyone with common sense could do it' (Roughley2005 p. 88). This sentiment is even reflected in claims that PRGA staff considered redundant the need to 'strongly advocate a gender perspective in NRM projects' since 'good social analysis of gender roles and relations is also good science' (Prain et al. 2000 p. 23). While there was an equal distribution of biophysical and social Livelihoods researchers in the interview analysis, a comprehensive gender analysis is largely a qualitative endeavour which, in an institution that is professionally safeguarded by time-honoured quantitative scientific methodology, may be assumed to be the domain of sociologists and

anthropologists (Stroud 2003). However, the integration of the two disciplines is crucial for sustainable natural resource management (Vernooy 2006).

7.5   Perceptions of gender in NRM R&D agencies

It has been observed in this research that the term 'gender' can make people feel uncomfortable. Gender is indelibly entrenched in feminist academic discourse and although development culture has attempted to assimilate 'gender' into development discourse, and thereby dilute the negative associations with feminism (Smyth 2007), some remain palpably uncomfortable with the term. Suggestions to marry 'gender' with 'diversity' may go some way to diffusing negative connotations, however the term 'diversity' is also recently adopted by development culture and is just as difficult to define (Smyth 2007), and can be subject to the same challenges as mainstreaming 'gender' in an organisation (Macdonald 2003). El Bushra 2000 p. 60) claims that conceptualising gender as the principal social point of difference is missing the bigger picture. She suggests that R&D needs to move beyond 'the neat distinctions between "sex" and "gender" and "men" and "women"' and begin to look at the 'social relations themselves as the mainframe of analysis'.

The sample size in this research was too small to make a comparison of attitudes toward gender by discipline. However, in cases where there are biophysical and social science professionals working together, institutionalising social science in natural resource management remains a considerable challenge (Roughley 2005). Two identified persistent constraints to integration are the institutional and organizational arrangements of the NRM agencies, and professional impediments to integration being characterized by long held views on the pecking order of academic disciplines evident

in terms such as 'hard' science and 'soft' science (Roughley 2005). A more people-centred approach to NRM research is often hampered by 'centralized [sic] policies; inflexible, top-down bureaucracies; disempowered field personnel; and dependant, impoverished communities' (Colfer 2005 p. 299). Also identified as constraints to the full integration of social based research are the short-term nature of NRM projects, the superficial application of social science in the biophysical domain, the exclusion from communications with key stakeholders and advocacy groups, and inadequate numbers of social scientists and resources for real impact (Roughley 2005).

The relationship between natural science and social science in natural resources has long been an uneasy one. Some argue that the critical gaze inherent in sociology and anthropology unnecessarily complicates NRM projects by questioning the theoretical appropriateness of the project intentions, often without offering any alternative (Brosius 2006). Russell and Harshbarger (2003 p. 8) ague that this behaviour lead to the birth of the socioeconomist, whose 'task is clearly data collection and not critique'. Social research in NRM can be difficult to quantify and has often been considered too 'soft' to be of use to biophysical sciences (King, Biggs and Loon 2007 p. 93). However, Russell and Harshbarger believe that good social research will identify 'many of the components that may not fit the standard definition of economy' such as 'the social economy' and the 'hidden (or underground) economy' (Russell & Harshbarger 2003 p. 4)

This research, and others, (see Merril-Sands *et al.* 1999), has shown that donors clearly exert external influence on the consideration of gender in NRM agencies. It is the nature of movements (like mainstreaming gender equality) to be 'instituted' from

outside an organization rather than from circumstances occurring within the organisation (Kardam 1995 p. 15). While this has generated some resentment among researchers, the more practical resistance to the donor enforcement of gender equality may have merit. It is often the case where gender issues are not essential to a research project (e.g. macroeconomic research). Valid also is the indifference towards gender issues where they have been enforced indiscriminately. The practice of 'ticking the box' to ensure the inclusion of gender concerns in project proposals has no doubt been influenced by this system of enforcing the consideration of gender issues into every project rather than allowing the researcher to determine whether gender issues should be included in the projects objectives. However, with no wholesale donor gender requirement the decision to conduct a gender analysis would rely entirely on the discretion of the scientist. This research has demonstrated that the extent to which gender is considered will vary from project to project, depending upon research questions and often the underlying philosophy and expertise of the individual researcher. In turn, responsiveness to gender issues within an organization will depend greatly on the values and goals of the organization (Kardam 1995).

Internal and external political pressure, time constraints and competing resources often lead to the question of why organisations should pay attention to gender issues (Kardam 1995). However this research suggests that, despite these issues, Livelihoods scientists believe that investigating issues of gender equality in Livelihoods is an important element of livelihoods research. The impasse in this case is not whether to discount gender issues all together because of competing organisational imperatives but rather to prioritise gender concerns against other, potentially more pressing research questions.

The context in which the organisation operates will influence the 'discourse' on gender issues within that organisation (Kardam 1995). CIFOR's mandate is to undertake research that leads to International Public Goods (IPGs). These are sometimes conceptualised in terms of the market capacities of women's labour (e.g. the harvesting and selling of non-timber forest products). More nuanced understanding of gender may thus not be a priority concern, if IPGs are viewed in such a narrow manner. If there is a research priority 'triage' manifest in the pressures, constraints and limitations of organisational mandates and project log frames then gender may be considered in narrow terms, or may slip off the agenda altogether.

7.6   Integrating gender into Livelihoods research

Livelihoods scientists and CIFOR management in particular are concerned about the capacity of CIFOR research to make quantifiable impacts, research that leads to real change on the ground. However, as one researcher noted, research for purposes of informing development policy is 'inherently serendipitous'. Much importance was placed on building impact pathways into research proposals, partly for the use of donor agencies to see what impacts research can have on development policy on the ground (CGIAR 2006c), and also as a tool for ensuring gender is visible in research proposals. However, to date there is little understanding regarding what impact gender analysis has on NRM projects (Lilja & Ashby 2001). Gender at CIFOR (and the CGIAR in general) is often directly associated with participatory research (for example the PRGA) which, by its nature, is a complex, unpredictable, iterative process and observable impacts may take considerable time to develop (Johnson, Lilja, Ashby, & Garcia 2004). Research that aims to influence policy will take an even longer time to

have impact on the ground if that impact is dependent upon the uptake by policy makers and the bureaucratic process that inevitably ensues (CGIAR 2006c). The uptake of research by policy planners, when published, is diffuse and thus a comprehensive assessment of impacts can be difficult (CGAIR 2006c). This is particularly the case when impacts (or uses) of research by non-researchers can be largely conceptual or symbolic in nature, particularly in the natural resources (Gill 2006).

While there is a push toward developing impact pathways incorporating gender perspectives by CIFOR management, the majority of Livelihoods scientists seem averse to the idea of delving into an area considered to be beyond the scope of their research. Indeed, it was noted by a Livelihoods researcher that that one associates 'impact' on the ground exclusively with development activities, not research. However if Livelihoods research is to fully embrace participatory research then the line between research and development must be erased (Campbell et al. 2006). A full integration of the social sciences (sociology and anthropology) is also necessary for CIFOR to reach the critical mass it needs to further establish rigorous social research (Kassam 2006). Also related to the issues of NRM research is the issue of local traditions and values in villages where research is undertaken, and the reluctance to interfere in what Colfer (2005 p. 302) refers to as 'cultural relativity'. However, several scientists noted that when these local traditions and values work against women and gender equality it needs to be addressed by CIFOR. One researcher stated that CIFOR should not shy away from taking an intellectual position on cultural attitudes to gender if it interferes with equality in NRM management; that CIFOR needs to be serious in planning to engage in gender.

7.7   Research limitations

This research could be seen as presaging a more detailed understanding of Livelihoods researchers' experience with, and conception of, gender issues in NRM research. Many questions were raised by the research that could not be followed up because of limited resources and time. These include; why Livelihoods researchers are so averse to the development of a CIFOR gender equality policy; why gender analysis in research projects rarely goes further than divisions of male and female labour and the incomes of heads of households; and why Livelihoods research does not explicitly aim to explore the strategic needs of men and women through research that unpacks the institutional drivers of gender inequality. Donor agencies seem to negatively influence the consideration of gender, by generating resentment leading to 'tacked on' paragraphs in proposals. Further investigation into this finding, including frequency and potential consequences for research and gender equality were not possible. More time spent exploring the complex of institutional factors that influence the consideration of gender issues in research would have benefited it enormously. However, without the extra time and resources, this research has necessarily ignored the inclusion of specifics related to each particular research project, such as the political nature of the country, input from the 'beneficiaries' of research, the dynamics of project teams, and pressures of achieving project success.

The research procedures provided a small example of how donor gender equality policies influence the operations of a NRM agency and how gender is conceptualised and implemented in NRM R&D projects. However a long-term ethnographic study of practices, behaviours and procedures would have contributed to more comprehensive, insightful research. Ideally, a case study such as this should not only involve a NRM

research agency but also explore the research projects case by case to gain a deeper insight in how gender is being considered into research projects by the many actors involved. In particular, a point that was raised in an interview regarding the questionable quality and experience of the gender researchers in a particular Livelihood project is a real concern and should be investigated further.

How gender is conceptualised and implemented at CIFOR is not unique. Resistance to 'soft' science, misconceptions of 'gender', persistent focus of the inclusion of women, and inconsistent integration across projects occur across the spectrum of NRM research agencies (Magnus 2003; Vernooy & Fabjer 2006), and indeed throughout most development activity (AusAID 2002; Zuckerman 2002; Moser & Moser 2005; United Nations 2006). Consideration of gender issues in R&D depends on a constellation of factors that involve the institutional environment, as well as the culture, values and practices of organisations and individual people which are embedded in the context of the institutional environment.

The historical resistance of NRM organisations to the full integration of 'soft' social sciences (Roughly 2006; Brosius 2006; Russell & Harshbarger 2003), are not entirely substantiated by this research. CIFOR did consider gender in the majority of projects analysed. This research has shown that the international development community and requirements from donors do encourage CIFOR researchers to consider gender in projects. It has also shown CIFOR researchers to be aware of the importance of considering gender issues in NRM projects. However, some resistance to gender still persists at CIFOR. A comprehensive investigation of institutional aspects that drive gender inequalities is still lacking in the majority of CIFOR's research. Furthermore,

this research has observed a cynicism among CIFOR staff regarding the high profile that gender equality issues have gained in the international development community. Far from following the international development practice and developing its own gender equality policy, CIFOR has chosen to maintain an informal approach to ensuring gender issues are considered in research. However, this approach has not proved effective as gender is not visible in the design, diagnosis and implementation of CIFOR's programmes and projects (CGIAR 2006c).

The literature suggests that some organisations may demonstrate organisational characteristics that are more independent from, and less accountable to scrutiny from the international development community (Scott 1995). Thus NRM R&D agencies may be under less pressure to develop gender equality policies than the donor agencies analysed in this research. An area worthy of further investigation would be to explore whether other R&D organisations with a similar structure to CIFOR, in disciplines such as health and education, exhibit analogous behaviour.

7.8   Conclusions

The development goal of gender equality has been 'enshrined' in statements, commitments and agreements in the international community (United Nations 2002 p. 1). In 1995 the strategy of gender mainstreaming was unanimously elected as an essential tool to reach this goal. Mainstreaming gender implies that gender equality be adopted as a new norm (Elgstrom 2000) that is visible in all research and development activities (Hannan 2004). Since 1995 most international development agencies have developed a 'Gender and Development' policy (Moser & Moser 2005) designed to assist the agency and its activity in the implementation of gender mainstreaming.

However, thus far there has been little evidence of the implementation of gender mainstreaming (Molyneux & Razavi 2005; Moser & Moser 2005; Hannan 2004) nor has there been any adequate systematic, comprehensive assessment of efforts toward implementation (Hannan 2004).

This research set out to determine the significance of donor gender equality polices in NRM R&D, and to identify the factors that enable or constrain the consideration of gender issues. For organisations like CIFOR that have not developed their own gender equality policy international expectations and donor agency enforcement are an effective tool for ensuring that gender is considered in NRM research, particularly if there are specific gender requirements by the donor. However, the existence of donor gender equality policies has little, if any, influence on whether gender is considered or not. There are other factors working with and against the consideration of gender that suggests donor agency enforcement may not be the optimal method. Researchers can be resentful of being told to include gender issues which can lead to hastily added-on paragraphs which do not meaningfully supplement the research and may even fall away by the end of the research when it is time to prepare publications. Seen in this light, and considering not one interviewee had actually read a gender equality policy (nor associated tools and strategies), the policies seem little more than a political statement of intent which is updated when the gender vernacular changes, and has limited practical function for NRM R&D. It remains to be seen whether the statements in CIFOR's 2008-2018 Strategy, released after the analysis for this research was finalised, perform any differently. This strategy explicitly aims to integrate gender into the research agenda. Considering justice and equity are included as one of the criteria used

to prioritise CIFOR's research themes. These include 'the equity of decision-making' and the 'opportunity to amplify the voices of women' (CIFOR 2008 p. 28).

In the NRM R&D community there exists a well established awareness that gender equality is strongly endorsed by the international development establishment and most donor agencies. Furthermore, NRM R&D researchers are concerned about equality issues in their research. Thus, even if a project is not funded by a donor agency advocating gender equality the research is likely to consider gender. However, the nature of the research question, researcher/s perspicacity on the institutional context of gender issues, and judgement on whether they are crucial to the research, will significantly influence the depth and breadth of the gender analysis. This research has demonstrated that gender equality policies have negligible influence on the inclusion of gender issues in NRM research. Furthermore, this research suggests that donor gender equality policies principally subscribe to international expectations and reinforce the political process of top-down development planning, and thus, are 'far removed from the problem or from understanding development issues' (Russell & Harshbarger 2003 p. 8) regarding institutionalised gender inequality.

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APPENDICES

1 List of selected livelihood projects

Donor Name		Title	Start	End	Extension Date	AUD '000'
Asian Development Bank (ADB)						
	1	Poverty Reduction in Upland Communities in the Mekong Region	2/23/2004	3/31/2005	6/30/2006	106
Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)						
	2	Kaltim Social Forestry Project, Supporting Component for Research Collaboration on GIS/Spatial Analysis	1/29/1999	1/30/2001	5/31/2001	174
	3	Enabling Local Community Forest Management and Planning	4/1/1999	3/31/2002	12/31/2002	154
	4	Forest Livelihoods and Change: Developing tools to analyze and manage natural resources in West Kutai and Pasir regions, Indonesia	4/1/2002	3/31/2005		154
European Commission (EC)						
	5	Management of Miombo Woodlands	11/15/1997	11/14/2001	5/31/2002	2,688
German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (GTZ/BMZ)						
	6	Contribution of Non-Wood Forest Products to Socio-Economic Development	1/1/1996	12/31/1998		641
	7	Developing Institutions for Sustainable Use of NTFP	1/1/2000	12/31/2002	6/30/2004	723
UA Agency for International Aid (USAID)						
	8	Congo Livelihood and Food Security Programme (CLIFS)	10/1/2003	9/30/2005		157

Donor Name		Title	Start	End	Extension Date	AUD '000'
International Development Research Centre (IDRC)						
	9	Vulnerability and Resilience : Response of women and forest products to escalating logging in Eastern Amazon	12/1/2003	11/30/2005	5/30/2006	150
International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO)						
	10	Forest Science and Sustainability: The Bulungan Model Forest	1/1/1998	12/31/2000	2/2/2028	996
	11	Bulungan Model Forest Research (Extension)	1/1/2001	12/31/2001	2/2/2028	128
	12	Sustainable Collaborative Forest Management: Meeting the Challenges of Decentralization in The Bulungan Model Forests (Ph 2)	1/1/2003	12/31/2005	12/31/2006	836
Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad)						
	13	Research on Tropical Deforestation	7/1/1997	6/30/1999		286
Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation (Sida)						
	14	Africa's Tropical Dry Forests	7/1/2003	6/30/2006		1,505
The Overbrook Foundation						
	15	Biodiversity Conservation for Local Livelihoods in the Brazilian Amazon	12/11/2001	12/10/2002		77
	16	Support of Biodiversity Conservation for Local Livelihoods in the Brazilian Amazon	12/1/2002	11/30/2003		88
	17	Support of Biodiversity Conservation for Local Livelihoods in the Brazilian Amazon	1/1/2004	12/31/2004	12/31/2005	77
	18	Biodiversity and Human Well-Being in the Brazilian Amazon	1/1/2005	12/31/2006		145
Department for International Development (DFID)						
	19	Underlying Causes of Qualitative and Quantitative Changes in Forest Cover in Cameroon	4/1/1997	3/31/1999		305

Donor Name		Title	Start	End	Extension Date	AUD '000'
	20	DFID Support for CIFOR: Project Restricted Funding 2002-2005	4/1/2002	3/31/2005		2,416
United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service						
	21	Impact of Macroeconomic and Agricultural Policies on Forest Condition in Gabon	8/21/2001	12/31/2002	3/31/2003	157
ACIAR						
	22	Community partnerships for plantation forestry: Enhancing rural incomes from forestry in eastern Indonesia and Australia	01/012005	31-Dec-07		

2   Recommendations

1. Gender research in NRM R&D should be the responsibility of the whole research team. However, where gender specialists are contracted, it is crucial that they have the capacity to conduct rigorous and systematic research, and aptly manage aspects of publication and appropriate dissemination of results.

2. Experience in gender analysis and the inclusion of gender considerations in project should be included as part of recruitment at CIFOR.

3. CIFOR should canvass researcher opinion on how best to frame 'gender' issues. If gender is an ostracised term then a socially and culturally inclusive term, that encompasses gender without highlighting should be chosen.

4. CIFOR should review the current research proposal process. Attempts should be made to avoid referring to women and gender as a 'minority', 'marginalised' or 'ethnic' group. More attention should be given to how, and in what specific ways, women and men could have different interests in, and benefits from all aspects of the research, including the biophysical research.

5. CIFOR should take a more institutional approach to gender research. Some projects identify practical circumstances that inhibit improved livelihoods. CIFOR research should go further in looking at how to overcome such barriers.

6. CIFOR researchers should reach a consensus on what 'empowerment' means, and whether CIFOR's mandate can promote the empowerment of women (and men) through research.

7. The PRGA and G&D programmes should be more actively promoted so CIFOR researchers know what they are and what they have to offer.

8. Further and ongoing research is required to determine the extent to which gender is considered in Livelihoods research. Particular observation is needed in the planning stages of research projects. Rather than making statements to include women in the research, men's and women's strategic needs should be considered and planned for.

9. Appropriate and agreed reporting frameworks should be established at the time of project initiation. These should be in a form that drives behaviour transformation in NRM research with respect to gender.

10. A small collection of key articles on gender issues in NRM R&D should be added to the CIFOR library. Hardcopies of donor gender equality policies should also be kept in the library as a reference.

3 Project manager interview questions

1. Does (Donor X) have particular expectations with regard to incorporating gender issues in your research?
2. What practical assistance did you get from the donor in this regard?
3. Did the partners in the project (local govt and NGO) have expectations in this regard? Or did you find that CIFOR had to push to keep gender on the agenda?
4. Were there tools or systems that you used to keep gender on the agenda or was it is the process more informal and tacit?
5. What was your experience in implementing gender equality policies into your research project?
6. At what stage in the project were gender issues considered?
7. Do you feel that active consideration of gender issues was a necessary part of the project?
8. Are you familiar with the concept of "gender mainstreaming"?
9. Can you tell me what it means to you?
10. Do you feel you have a professional responsibility to give consideration to gender issues in your research?
11. Do you feel you have a responsibility to promote the empowerment of women in your research?
12. In mainstreaming gender issues in your research project do you feel that you had adequate support from:
13. Donors
14. Project Funds
15. Project time frames
16. Senior Staff
17. Communities where research is undertaken
18. CIFOR's Organisational culture
19. Training/education

4   Reference list of project outputs (published and unpublished)

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