

CRP MAIZE

MAIZE Gender Audit 2013

Summary Report

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Disclaimer

The present summary report is very similar to that of CRP WHEAT given the joint-ness of the audit process and team and the level of synthesis required. Still, CIMMYT prefers to have a summary report for each CRP to ease follow up and sharing. The views expressed in this report are those of the gender audit and do not necessarily reflect the views of the associated institutions, donors or CRP MAIZE.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background on the MAIZE gender audit

Gender relations play a significant role in the food security and well-being of communities, households and individual women, men and children. In the past, gender considerations in relation to maize or wheat research for development have been addressed in different ways in CIMMYT initiatives, typically as part of specific projects or studies¹. The formulation of the MAIZE and WHEAT CRP proposals in 2011 provided the circumstances for establishing a concerted, strategic effort to strengthen the integration of gender and social equity in maize and wheat Research-for-Development (R4D), and thus further enhance the relevance and impact of CRPs MAIZE and WHEAT. CIMMYT and partners took this opportunity to set themselves the task of completing a comprehensive, programmatic gender audit of CRP MAIZE and WHEAT within the first two years of implementation.

In September 2012, the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Centre (CIMMYT), as lead center for the two CRPs, commissioned the Social Development and Gender Equity team of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam (KIT) to undertake a gender Audit of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) Research Programs (CRPs) on WHEAT and MAIZE. These programs represent global alliances of more than 500 diverse actors and institutions who work together to improve the food security and livelihoods of resource-poor peoples in maize-based and wheat-based agricultural systems around the world².

The implementation of the MAIZE and WHEAT gender audits constitute a major component of the CRPs' gender strategies. The findings provide an external analytical perspective on the integration of gender and social equity in maize and wheat R4D, and based on this a series of recommendations were made on how to further strengthen this and, in turn, the promotion of equality of opportunity and outcomes between women and men farmers. This document provides a summary of the approach and findings of the gender audit of CRP MAIZE.

The data collection phase ended in June 2013 and the data set by and large represents the situation as per late 2012-early 2013. However, the total gender audit process was 16 months (Sept. 2012-Dec. 2013). During this time the MAIZE and WHEAT gender strategies were elaborated and implementation initiated in parallel to the gender audit process. At the same time, the gender audit

¹ For further details, please consult the CIMMYT annual report (<http://repository.cimmyt.org/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10883/4080/99444.pdf?sequence=5>) or MAIZE and WHEAT websites (maize.org/ and wheat.org/).

² In terms of their focus as well as the challenges and the contexts they address, MAIZE and WHEAT are two very different CRPs. However, both are led by CIMMYT with the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) as the co-lead institution for MAIZE and the International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA) as the co-lead institution for WHEAT. In addition, a number of specific research projects address both maize- and wheat-related issues and thus contribute to both CRPs, just like many scientists and research support staff from the lead institution are involved with research related to the development of maize- as well as wheat-based systems. Thus there were many reasons for closely aligning the gender audit process for the two CRPs, and while they concern two distinct CRPs, the Audits use the same conceptual framework and were implemented in a parallel process.

process itself, its breadth and depth and interactive approach, spurred curiosity and greatly contributed to general gender awareness raising at different levels. At the time of completion of the gender audit process, many initiatives to strengthen both integrative and strategic gender research were already under way, including strengthening of the internal gender analysis capacity; integration of gender in the project portfolio and implementation, and initiation of a strategic gender research portfolio.

1.2 The structure of this summary report

Section 2 introduces the objective of the gender audit and provides an overview of key components of the conceptual framework and overall approach applied, as well as the data collection methods employed.

Section 3, which summarizes gender audit findings, is comprised of five sub-sections, of which the first presents a set of cross-cutting findings, including different understandings of “gender” encountered in the audit process, and issues related to co-existing and – at times- competing theories of knowledge. The second sub-section assesses gender in CRP MAIZE policy intent, while the third addresses gender at the level of the systems, instruments and processes used in program administration and planning. A fourth sub-section considers gender at the level of program, and thus policy, implementation. The last sub-section describes a “meta-level” finding based on the previous sub-sections.

The report ends with a set of concluding reflections in section 4, and a synthesis of the gender audit recommendations. Short bios of the gender audit team members, and a list of participants in the MAIZE gender audit, are included in annexes 1 and 2.

It should be noted that since the start of the gender audit implementation phase in January 2013, many of the issues identified by the audit have been addressed or have started changing as a result of both increased understanding of the relevance of gender in relation to agricultural research, and specific measures introduced to further promote gender aware maize research for development.

2. Methodology of the gender audit

2.1 Objective and gender audit questions

The overall objective of the MAIZE gender audit was to make an analytical and operational contribution to the process of strengthening institutional capacity to integrate gender as an analytical tool for enhanced targeting and impact of research for development under MAIZE. An iterative, participatory and interactive approach was followed, guided by four research questions:

1. How is gender currently addressed in projects across CRP MAIZE, why, and how can this be strengthened?
2. What is the CRP MAIZE’s capacity for gender-aware research? How can this be strengthened?

3. How do key CRP functions affect the integration of gender in CRP MAIZE, and which functions need to be addressed in order to improve development results?
4. How do different theories of knowledge affect the way CRP MAIZE addresses gender?³

2.2 Conceptual framework and overall methodological approach

The WHEAT and MAIZE gender audits draw primarily on qualitative research, where the aim is to understand social phenomena within its “temporal and local particularity” (Flick 2009: 21) rather than testing predetermined hypotheses (Carter and Little, 2011).

The conceptual lens of the gender audit is informed by three perspectives: 1) the recognition of knowledge as a contested area where different research approaches may not agree on what constitutes knowledge and what is a legitimate basis for knowledge; 2) a relational concept of gender; and 3) an understanding of policy processes as interpretative practices.

2.2.1 The implications of different theories of knowledge

The integration of gender in research for development involves more than just the transfer of gender knowledge and expertise. The knowledge that is transferred depends on the R4D actors' own understanding of gender, which is usually informed by what s/he considers to be valid knowledge and valid ways of knowing.

The gender audit is based on the premise that there are many different understandings and interpretations of experience, and that there are multiple ways of knowing and of constituting knowledge. It is also based on the premise that products of development – including policies, technologies and social outcomes – are socially constructed. And finally, it is based on the acknowledgement that not all types of knowledge and/or knowing are equally valued in different institutional or disciplinary settings. The hierarchies of what constitutes knowledge affect the reception of gender knowledge and gendered realities in development interventions and organizations, and therefore merit consideration in the gender audits; all the more relevant because knowledge and research make up the core of CIMMYT's research for development work.

MAIZE is deeply rooted in the broad multi-disciplinary field of bio-physical sciences. The basic tenet of bio-physical science is the pursuit of a knowledge: for example identifying and producing desirable combinations of stress-tolerant and high-yielding traits that can eventually be made available to the market in the form of seed. Through experimentation and a process of elimination using a multitude of genetic permutations and combinations, new genetic materials can be developed. Bio-physical science draws heavily on reductionism: the whole is comprised of the sum of its constituent parts and can be understood by delineating these parts and accounting for them individually. Understanding, based on deductive reasoning, is generated by developing, testing and modifying hypotheses through observation, measurement and experiment. This generates a certain truth, with the assumption that 'truth' does

³ The particular relevance of this question springs from the fact that while gender, as an analytical concept, is directly linked to social science theory, the vast majority of research under MAIZE is strongly rooted in a natural science tradition.

actually exist and can be attained, particularly by eliminating 'bias' and achieving 'objectivity'. With a positivistic view of science, the focus is on what is measurable, with an emphasis on quantitative approaches to science (Harding 1986 and 1991; Shiva 1993). 'What' questions (e.g. 'what combinations of genes produce stress resistant, high-yield maize?') which assume linear and attributable relationships between cause and effect, are key to the bio-physical episteme.

Social science is another area to which MAIZE research regularly refers, particularly in its work on systems and socioeconomics, which apply more holistic approaches to understanding that, partly, draw upon inductive reasoning. Inquiry in the social sciences, particularly in sociology and anthropology, tends to pursue questions of 'why' and 'how' rather than 'what', primarily through qualitative methodologies of inquiry. Related research methods of social science focus on exploratory inquiry that is aimed at investigating various realities (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000 and Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Relationships are understood more broadly, as opposed to just cause-and-effect, and in terms of webs of relationships that are complex and that implicate the involvement of the researcher him/herself. Lastly, rather than applying a reductionist emphasis of understanding of the whole in terms of its constituent parts, social sciences acknowledge that the whole is more than the sum of its parts and that the relationships between these parts are, among other things, socially constituted, dynamic and often context specific.

The large diversity of scientific disciplines involved in MAIZE, and the potential for interdisciplinary research that this represents, is a great strength of the CRP. However, distinct differences in the theoretical backgrounds and traditions of disciplinary fields also sometimes have implications, e.g. in the form of challenges with regards to communication across groups, and understanding of what different disciplines and approaches can bring to the table.

The gender audit draws on a holistic, social science approach. As part of this, assessing and recognizing how different theories of knowledge co-exists in the overall context of MAIZE and complement each other, is important in order to understand how gender is addressed and how this can be strengthened further. However, because the research tradition underpinning the gender audits is quite different from that of natural science and thus the majority of MAIZE scientists, some readers may experience different reactions in relation to their scientific paradigm, as well as, in some cases, personal views and values.

2.2.2 Gender as a relational concept

Understanding gender as a social relation (Whitehead, 1979) implies an acknowledgement that the social position of people is shaped through social relations of gender, class, age, ethnicity, location (rural/urban), etc. (Kabeer, 1994). These social relations are relations of power that are created by people- groups and individuals come to be defined and valued in relation to each other, based on social categories. These categories are not neutral: some groups are valued more than others. Social categories are thus hierarchies. The social value of a group affects how individuals belonging to that group are perceived and their access to and control over resources, as well as their social position.

Social relations of gender are understood as specific forms of power relations between men and women in a given society (Kabeer 1994; March et al., 1999). The way gender relations manifest themselves

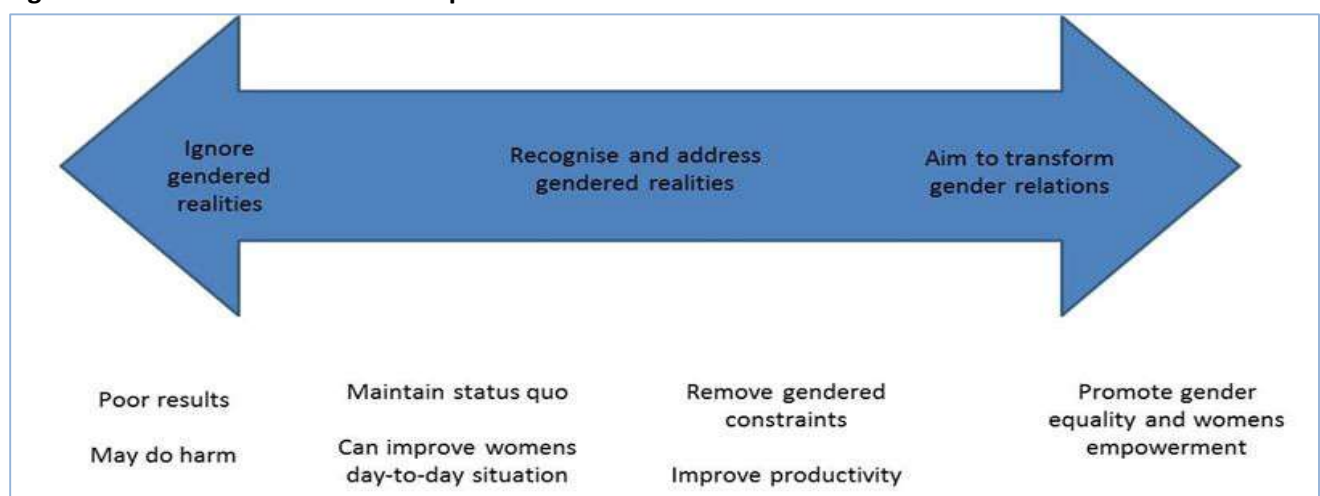
varies from society to society and also changes over time. Still, these relations define the way in which roles and responsibilities are assigned and the way in which women and men and their ascribed roles are assigned a relative value.

Social relations of gender explain why women and men are valued differently, and affect their relative opportunities and life chances, particularly their divergent access to and control over resources. Social relations of gender create and reproduce systemic differences in women's and men's position in society; not only between women and men, but also among women and men themselves. While all people are in some ways subject to gender dynamics, other factors such as caste, age, ethnicity, language, socio-economic class, geographic location, combine to determine each person's social position. These factors contribute to the heterogeneity of women's, -and men's, experiences: within the broad social category of women, there is a great amount of diversity within each situation, as well as in how women and men are engaged in power relations. Hence the need for analysis of the social relations of gender for different contexts (March et al., 1999).

All development interventions interact with social relations of gender; they are a key aspect of reality, both in the context of the communities and in the institutional settings of development work (Macdonald et al., 1997). Gender relations therefore affect what results are achieved; how, and for whom. The point then is to examine those gender relations, to point out their desired and undesired effects, and to identify opportunities for change.

The different gendered effects of development interventions can be placed on a continuum that assists in identifying how they reinforce or alter gender relations (see Figure 1). As a minimum requirement, development interventions should 'do no harm'. The rationale behind the gender audit is, that ignoring gender realities, or being gender neutral or unaware, is likely to lead to poor results and may make already disadvantaged groups, e.g. women and girls, worse off than they already were (Kabeer, 1994).

Figure 1: Gendered effects of development interventions - a continuum



2.2.3 Policies as interpretative processes

A third key element of the conceptual framework of the gender audits is that gender policy⁴ and strategy can be analyzed at three different levels (Mukhopadhyay et al., 2010):

- **Gender policy intent and shaping:** how policy intent shapes strategy and activity design, and the subsequent gender results as experienced by women project participants; and how policy is shaped by different understandings of gender and competing theories of knowledge in the CRP
- **Administration and planning of gender policy implementation:** how gender integration in CRP projects is enabled or constrained by leadership commitment; resource allocations; project design and Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E); performance monitoring; and organizational learning, knowledge management and communication; and
- **Gender policy implementation:** how gender policy is implemented through the actions of program and project staff and informed by their gender knowledge, skills and attitudes.

At each level, interpretive processes are at play where dominant understandings of gender inform the gender policy (formal or informal), the establishment of administrative systems and procedures, as well as policy implementation. Gender assessments are often carried out at the level of policy formulation or the level of implementation rather than at the level of administration and planning where gender objectives are translated into systems and procedures. However, what really matters here is not just the intention as stated in a policy, but rather what is actually delivered on the ground. This perspective of interpretative policy-making enables consideration at all three levels of policy-making within a program, and the observation and acknowledgement of inconsistencies between policy and practice. Accordingly, the gender audits look at all three levels, which form the basis for the Audit's findings.

2.3 Data collection

The gender audit data collection included: a) an online staff capacity assessment survey (OLCA) with a total of 240 international and national staff respondents from CIMMYT headquarters and selected country offices, and international staff from ICARDA and IITA; b) a total of 101 Key Informant Interviews (KII) with 35 women and 66 men, including international and national staff and partner representatives working on CRP WHEAT and MAIZE; c) 26 focus group discussions and group interactions, including with male and female farmers participating in CRP projects; d) as well as 8 project 'case-studies' including field visits to 7 of them in Asia, Africa and Latin America; e) observation and participant observation, as well as f) document reviews. Table 1 provides a summary of the various methods and data collection techniques used.

⁴ In this context the term 'policy' is understood as a course or set of principles of action that shape research-for-development interventions, regardless of whether it is articulated in a formalized policy or strategy document, or merely in implicit, common "way of doing business".

Table 1: Summary of methods used in the gender audits

Gender audit phase		Methods and data collection techniques
Collaborative design phase		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literature review • Background review of program documents and SI desk review • Key Informant Interviews (KIs) • Design phase workshop
Implementation phase	<i>Capacity Assessment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Online staff capacity assessment managed through Survey Monkey
	<i>Project studies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desk review of project documents • Field trips with staff and partners • KIs with project staff, partners, and women and men farmers • Focus group discussions (FGDs) and group interactions with partners, and women and men farmers • Observation and participant observation – incl. participation in project-related workshops
	<i>CIMMYT HQ activities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KIs with program staff and managers • Focus group discussions with program staff and managers
	<i>Participation in international meetings</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global Maize Program Meeting • Obregon Open Days
Participatory analysis and finalization phase		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory analysis workshop

3. Findings

3.1 Cross-cutting findings

3.1.1 Understandings of gender in MAIZE

The gender audit revealed a range of different understandings of gender and its relevance to the CRP; from not seeing gender as relevant to the work of MAIZE, a view held by only a few respondents, to considering gender very relevant in MAIZE. Among those viewing gender as relevant to MAIZE, five different perceptions of gender were found:

a) Gender is a given and cannot be changed: This understanding acknowledges that gender differences exist but assumes they cannot be changed, mainly because they are determined by the prevailing social and cultural norms that need to be respected. The issue with this perspective is that dominant social processes are left unattended and status quo intact (see figure 1), because gender is accepted and understood as an unproblematic reality. This understanding contributes to the reproduction of marginalizing social processes and undermines the notion of “gender” as dynamic and changeable, as opposed to biological differences, which are fixed.

b) Gender is concerned with counting women and men without considering the inter-relations between them: Gender is understood in terms of the balance in the numbers of women and men participating in and benefitting from project activities, as well as in the number of staff. The focus is

subsequently on achieving quantitative targets for women where gender integration is limited to reporting on the numbers of women participating. Such data is not necessarily used for analysis.

c) Gender roles give rise to different needs among men and women that need to be addressed in order to achieve project aims: This understanding of gender stresses the social differences between women and men and points to the need to address these in order to achieve the aims of CRP projects. It is centered on an appreciation that women and men have different roles in agriculture. This represents an acknowledgment of women as farmers and the dominant and diverse roles women play in agriculture, whether it is in tilling, land cultivation and preparation, weeding, or harvesting, post-harvesting etc. This acknowledgement is the basis for including women in the CRP work and for acknowledging that they have different needs in terms of these roles, as well as different preferences for specific traits. Related to this understanding, the concern with women's agriculture roles is also strongly linked to women's responsibilities in the family and household, particularly with regard to food preparation and security.

Both the focus on counting women (b) and the focus on the different roles of men and women (c) have limitations because they do not take into account how women and men are socially related and occupy different social positions, thereby having different degrees of access to and control over resources that are critical to MAIZE's focus on increasing productivity. These views implicitly or explicitly accept, as a given, the status quo of gender relations and, as a result, risk further reproduction of those relations.

d) Social relations of gender constrain women's access to resources and benefits, which needs to be recognized and addressed in order to achieve project aims: In this understanding, men are generally recognized as assuming positions of privilege and decision-making, and women's position, in turn, is seen as being subordinate. Social relations of gender form the basis of constraints on women and, subsequently, affect the work of the projects. This appreciation of women and men's relative social positions allows for looking at their relative access to and control of agricultural resources (such as knowledge, technology and credit) and the benefits derived from these, such as yield and income.

e) Gender equality needs to be promoted, particularly through women's empowerment, as a development goal in itself: The integration of gender considerations is seen as an objective in itself, not only as a means of achieving project objectives. Such an understanding is often based on the adoption of a rights-based perspective. The promotion of rights and gender equality are generally understood as a political process that focuses on women's empowerment. The gender audit observed examples of this understanding in projects that worked with partners who had internal gender expertise.

Both (d) and (e) build on a relational understanding of gender and recognize the untapped potential in addressing gender inequality.

Types (b) and (c) were found to be the most common in CRP MAIZE, followed by (d), while examples of (a) and (e) were only found in a minority of cases. How and why are some understandings more dominant than others? The gender audit found that this has to do with how different understandings are positioned relative to one another and, at their basis, what knowledge is used to inform the understandings.

3.1.2 Co-existing and competing theories of knowledge

Contestations of bio-physical and social science theories of knowledge: The Audit found that underlying many of the different understandings of gender are contestations of different theories of knowledge of related bio-physical science and social science. How these differences are manifested in MAIZE work is apparent in a number of ways.

Organizational competence: The lead center, CIMMYT, has built its reputation on plant breeding, which influences recruitment patterns and what areas of expertise are maintained. This is not to say that other disciplines are not represented. In fact, the architecture of the impact pathways of MAIZE and the relative positioning of bio-physical science and social science within the SIs require and assume integration, cooperation and mutual informing of each other. Generally, bio-physical scientists (agronomists, physiologists) agree that such linkages exist, while other respondents reveal that there is limited systematic inter-disciplinary work.

Within the Socio- Economic Program (SEP) itself, there has been, up until recently, a privileging of econometrics, drawing more on quantitative reductionist approaches, over other social science areas such as anthropology and sociology. In some cases, SEP staff, who are supposed to provide sociological interpretations, have no background in social analysis. The audit found that the plans to re-visit CIMMYT SEP strategy and re-position its work, so as to make it more pro-active and aligned with other SIs, is expected to support greater integration of MAIZE SIs.

Different paradigms: The limited inter-disciplinarity also stems from a limited appreciation of how different disciplines work. Even in the current context of generally growing awareness and interest to address gender, the integration of gender into MAIZE work is affected by the way in which knowledge is constructed and reality is understood and approached within the bio-physical paradigm. It tends to assume a rather narrow perspective of what is, in fact, a much broader and more diverse social reality. For example, while the Audit found that there is an awareness of the feminization of agriculture, resulting changes in the relations of production are not always internalized in project design. Moreover, there is a hierarchy of knowledge where bio-physical paradigms sometimes tend to crowd out social science perspectives. Accordingly, the Audit found that qualitative methods are viewed somewhat skeptically, and social science is relegated to a support function. For example, when gender specialists are brought in, their tasks are conceived within a biophysical frame and they experience pressure to fit into and support the episteme. Lastly, different epistemes, privilege the one who is perceived as the “knower”. This concerns a bias of recognizing men as farmers and identifying women as belonging to the private sphere of the household, which affects not only how projects are designed but also practiced.

3.2 Findings re: Gender in CRP MAIZE policy intent and –background

3.2.1 Leadership commitment

Many respondents indicated improved commitment and increased focus on gender integration at the level of senior management, particularly in the Deputy Director General (DDG) Research and among

program directors. However, respondents also noted that this commitment needs to be translated into actual decisions, further resources and actions. Also, a majority of respondents expressed concern about organizational issues that tend to constrain gender-aware research in the CRP. Consistent management commitment, at all levels of management, is particularly critical when the integration of gender concerns is seen to depend, to a large extent, on individuals and personal interest. Also, limited commitment to gender integration among mid-level managers was noted. Some respondents called for a more top-down approach to instigate change and for the establishment of gender-aware standards. However, others were wary about pursuing policies and procedures as the only or main instruments to advance gender integration.

3.2.2 Strategy and activity design – an overview of steps taken to integrate gender

Gender strategies: The gender strategies of the CGIAR and MAIZE provide an indication of commitment and rationale for the addressing of gender concerns, as well as policy direction in the CRP in relation to gender. However, most of the sampled projects do not have formal strategies or objectives related to gender equality, and only a minority of project documents provide a sense of gender strategy by referring to it as cross-cutting activities or by emphasizing a focus on pro-active targeting of disadvantaged groups.

Project activities: Efforts to integrate gender into projects under MAIZE have been observed in technology development and in brokering relationships with farming system actors. This is addressed in different ways, e.g.:

- Introducing targets for women's participation in farmers groups in on-farm trials or in training. These targets ranged from 30% - 55%.
- Integrating gender considerations in breeding, particularly in conducting gender-aware Participatory Varietal Selection (PVS).
- Working on or initiating steps to 'broker relationships' between women farmers and different actors across the maize value chain.
- Working with mechanisms to link farmers, researchers and other stakeholders in such a way as to provide space for solving local problems and taking advantage of opportunities.

3.3 Findings re: Gender at the level of program administration and planning – systems, instruments and processes

3.3.1 Gender in the project cycle

Project design: In the past, gender concerns have not been systematically addressed in the conceptualization and design of MAIZE projects, which has a bearing on the possibilities for gender integration in projects in different ways. Firstly, it is difficult to integrate gender concerns retroactively in any substantial way once project implementation has started, mainly due to challenges regarding resources and budget changes. Secondly, important aspects that could determine what the project will achieve and how interventions are to be undertaken are left unexplored, thus ultimately limiting the

potential impact on gender relations. Given these implications, it is crucial that gender concerns be considered in the design phase of a project. Many key respondents brought up the need to formalize proposal development and integrate gender herein, for example through requirements for situational analysis and quality screening. This is also pointed out in the MAIZE gender strategy and is being addressed as part of the strategy implementation and the gender audit follow up.

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E): A critical factor for the uptake of gender concerns in MAIZE projects is the extent to which gender-disaggregated data on gender issues is systematically collected and analyzed. Most projects included in the Audit collect gender-disaggregated quantitative data to different degrees, and particularly on the participation of women and men in project activities and trainings, but gender analysis is not yet a standard procedure and qualitative data is generally not collected. Also, few projects refer explicitly to the importance of a gender-aware data collection process. While there are no set procedures for gender integration into project planning and M&E, CIMMYT's gender unit aims to address this as part of its plan to engender the overall research management framework.

Special studies and surveys: Overall, the gender audit found that the undertaking of special gender studies or –analysis, and the integration of gender concerns in socio-economic surveys is very varied. A more standardized approach is likely to benefit strategic decision making and efforts to ensure that gendered findings are integrated into project learning and revision. Plans to address this are included in the gender strategy.

3.3.2 Gender accountability: incentives for and monitoring of performance

Gender accountability is not yet systematically structured across the CRP. The audit found that not all CRP MAIZE staff feel that they are expected to integrate gender or to report on gender activities. As an example, the audit found that gender was not part of or integrated into the Key Performance Indicators (KPIs). While some projects require staff to integrate gender concerns and report on their achievements, this was found to be disconnected from the existing incentive mechanisms thus missing the opportunity to motivate staff development. As part of the changes since the start of the data collection and implementation phase of the gender audit, steps have been taken to address this. For example, sex-disaggregation in relation to surveys, participatory research activities, and germplasm development has since been included in the formal staff KPI system.

3.3.3 Resource allocation for gender integration in MAIZE

Source of funding: Bilateral donors are increasingly funding gender related activities in MAIZE, which is cited as a major impetus for the tackling of gender issues. However, donor requirements can sometimes be restrictive and respondents describe an emphasis on quantitative reporting, which serves to reinforce the quantitative understanding of gender that already exists. Another issue concerns lack of flexibility, e.g. with regards to changes in budgets to accommodate for gender concerns in implementation as projects progress. Also, MAIZE allocates Window 1 and 2 resources to implement its gender strategy, including gender-related research.

Allocation of resources for gender activities at project level: Most sampled projects did not have specific allocations in their budget for gender-related activities. The gender audit encountered a tendency of

gender-related activities being under-resourced, and respondents identified this as a key challenge for addressing gender concerns. Under-resourcing creates unrealistic expectations and undermines the ability to realize outputs. Measures to address this are currently under development.

Allocation of resources for gender expertise: Few projects had made allowances for resources for in-house gender experts in their budgets. At the level of CRP MAIZE, the number of gender experts has increased since the launch of the CRP, which was appreciated by many respondents but still considered to be too limited.

Low priority for resourcing gender work: Episteme biases affect the allocation of resources, which means bio-physical science research is given priority over social science research. As a general trend this is not surprising given the overall primary focus of MAIZE. However, considering SEP's remit within CRP MAIZE and social science as a cross-cutting agenda-setting theme, under-funding is not commensurate with expectations. The level of priority afforded to social science is not only visible within the CRP projects themselves, but also with the counterparts, such as the National Agricultural Research and Extension Systems (NARES). While efforts to break down the divide between bio-physical and social science by integrating objectives are seen to be promoting inter-disciplinarity, gender-focused work needs to be prioritized.

3.3.4 Organizational learning, knowledge management and communications

Many respondents stated that they have neither the means nor the opportunities for thinking and learning about gender concerns. This is not specific to gender issues, and finding time for sharing and learning appear to be a general challenge in the busy agendas of many MAIZE staff. Furthermore, projects were found to be without guidelines for creating communications that both women and men can access. Nevertheless, the Audit *did* find evidence of awareness of gender and representation issues, including in terms of medium - how messages are communicated – where some projects have taken steps to be gender-aware, which includes being sensitive about how women and men access information. In the corporate communications team in CIMMYT, staff was found to be overloaded with tasks related to public relations. Their expertise in supporting projects seems underutilized, which represents an untapped potential for promoting gender-aware communications, particularly two-way and participatory communication processes. In both cases of knowledge management and communications, plans for reviewing and improving systems and functions in CIMMYT were found to be in process. Findings indicate that specific efforts need to be made to consider how these communication and knowledge management functions can specifically support the integration of gender in MAIZE's research for development.

3.4 Findings re: Gender at the level of program implementation

Generally speaking, where there is evidence of integration of gender concerns in CRP MAIZE projects, it is often happening in the implementation of activities at the interface between project and partner staff with communities and farmers. There are several examples of positive results from personal initiatives to

integrate gender concerns, but leaving the operationalization of gender policy intent to the interpretation of individuals generally limits the scope of gender integration.

3.4.1 Gender knowledge, skills and attitudes among staff

The MAIZE Gender Strategy was found not to be sufficiently well-known amongst CRP staff and it is therefore not fully effective in guiding or providing direction on the day-to-day work of staff. There is a considerable level of understanding about gender in MAIZE but in many cases that understanding is primarily limited to the appreciation of the specific gender roles of men and women. Moreover, in general the audit found relatively limited knowledge on gender analytical tools. The overall capacity was found to be insufficient in terms of the knowledge and skills needed to explore the *why* and *how* in gender roles and relations in order to explain and understand *what* differences do exist and *what* to do (cf. section 2.2.3 Epistemologies matter). Nevertheless, the Audit found an increasing acknowledgement of the need to improve staff capacity for gender-aware research, and much interest in gender capacity development among CRP staff. There is clear evidence of motivation among the staff to address poverty and hunger in the world, but the extent to which this motivation extends to addressing gender equality varies between staff in the CRP, among others because of the diverse social, cultural and disciplinary backgrounds of CRP staff.

3.4.2 Gender considerations in MAIZE partnerships

Gender knowledge and capacity of existing partners: CRP MAIZE now collaborates with a multitude of partners, including national governments, their National Agricultural Research System (NARS) and NARES and universities, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and private sector actors, which potentially could facilitate bringing in partners with gender expertise, especially NGOs. In practice, however, only in limited instances did projects deliberately choose a partner because of its gender expertise. Partner choice is often based on the promotion of technologies, which seems to reflect an understanding underpinned by the bio-physical episteme. A recurring theme in Audit interviews was a concern about the gender knowledge and capacity of existing partners, which sometimes led to decisions in projects that have adverse consequences for how gender concerns are addressed. Still, there are some examples of partnerships with other international research organizations through which projects are able to rely on gender expertise.

Extending and broadening partnerships: Responses from key respondents suggest that there are staff who are keen to extend the scope of current partners beyond that which focuses on technology-oriented partners alone. Extending partnerships is not merely a question of changing partner institutions, but also one of broadening partnerships within the existing institutions. Projects can extend their collaboration to units within existing partners that work with social sciences. Also, there seems to be a potential to extend the type of relationship that the CRP has with the private sector, such as seed companies; one in which it can have a more defining role in forwarding CRP's Gender Strategy. In addition to providing critical socio-economic information, seed companies can also be ideal partners for testing different gender-aware adoption approaches.

3.4.3 Gender results: the views of women participants

The audit team was able to gain an impression of the changes women experienced as a result of participating in CRP MAIZE projects in terms of two interrelated areas: a redistribution of agricultural resources and benefits, and greater recognition of women as farmers. The scope of the Audit does not allow it to confirm any attribution between project activities, increased income and greater independence. Nevertheless, the many testimonies do reflect timely and appropriate interventions.

Redistribution: Women spoke of experiencing greater access to agricultural resources, particularly new knowledge, as a result of their participation. Women participants also referred to increased yield, which, in several cases, has been translated into increased incomes. For some women, this has meant increased financial independence and independence from their husbands. Participants also spoke of reduced labor thanks to the technologies introduced by the projects.

Recognition: The changes described by women participating in MAIZE projects also point to shifts in their social status, whether perceived by themselves or by household and community members. One major reported change concerns women being recognized and recognizing themselves as “farmers” as an identity unto itself. Also, working with groups of women increased collective confidence and offered women a safe place to discuss their problems. There is some evidence that women experienced greater control over resources as a result of their participation in MAIZE projects, such as gaining greater bargaining power from participating in decision-making fora, such as local government committees.

3.4.4 Initiative and innovation at the level of implementation

The links between the formal MAIZE Gender Strategy, statements and objectives in CRP MAIZE and the actual gender efforts at the implementation level, were found to be in need of strengthening. As an implication hereof, the operationalization of policy is often left up to individual discretion and interpretation. This, in turn, can limit the intention of integrating gender concerns, as illustrated in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

However, there are many examples of good practice and initiatives taken to promote gender concerns, also in projects where formally stated gender strategies or objectives do not exist, as exemplified for example in the following quote by an informant of the gender audit:

As I said we don't have a specific gender strategy to try to integrate women or something like that. But on a day-to-day basis we try to support women in our work so that they don't get sidelined. We involve them in the discussions as much as we can. If we do evaluations we let males and females evaluate cropping systems. If we have field days we integrate them as much as we can in the discussions so that they don't end up in the kitchen or cooking the meal while the males hear the technical expertise.

Similarly, while another project's proactive targeting approach (i.e. minimum of 60-70 % women's participation in all activities) is not operationalized in formal project strategies or guidelines, project staff have included a minimum target as a requirement for partners. In the words of one respondent:

We have no formal document on how to approach gender equity and social inclusion. Our approach is very simple. We have what we call a small grant projects scheme...where local partners are invited to submit proposals... [we] inform [applicants] that we would like them to put more emphasis on women and disadvantaged groups and we tell them more than 50% should be women and 50% should be from disadvantaged groups.

Yet another example, where in the case of one project manager, the interpretation of project intent in implementation provides an opportunity to extend formally stated aims. The respondent personally instructed staff to incorporate 30% of female members in the farmers' group. However, the approach taken to gender integration is not just about group inclusion but is more ambitious in that it tries to enable women to take up non-conventional roles in agricultural work and by helping them forge new identities and futures in agricultural work as mechanized tiller operators and service providers.

3.5 Meta Findings

The gender audit of CRP MAIZE was designed to provide answers to four questions (2.1). However, the Audit also brought to light a 'meta-finding' that goes beyond answering those questions: The insufficiency of administrative systems and procedures for supporting and guiding staff and holding them accountable to gender integration means that dominant understandings and practices of gender are not challenged, but rather are at risk of being reproduced throughout the CRP MAIZE research cycle. This, in turn, undermines the intent of the CRP MAIZE Gender Strategy, as explained in the following and in Box 1 below).

An example of dominant understandings and practice of gender is the understanding of gender as counting the number of men and women participating in project activities (3.1.1 b), which draws on reductionism and quantitative reasoning. Another example relates to the tendency to create binaries such as male-headed households as the norm and women-headed households as an anomaly. The man is understood as the farmer and the 'knower', which is related to an underlying bias regarding women who are often seen to belong to the private sphere of the household (Box 1). These understandings are often based on assumptions as opposed to empirical evidence.

Box 1: The man is the farmer and the knower

“We collect farmers’ views about the technology tested in the field, why they choose this one and not another. Sometimes we also collect the views of the women, the farmers’ wives; their information related to these activities.”

This quote exemplifies the dominant understanding of gender in MAIZE underpinned by the bio-physical episteme, i.e. men are considered the ‘knowers’ and male-headed households are the norm.

Examples of the effect of this understanding at the level of administration and planning of research:

- Bias in the design of socio-economic surveys, in that the ‘knowers’ often are assumed to be men and women’s views are not always required.
- Resources are often insufficiently allocated to surveys/studies that advance knowledge on production relations between individuals in different households (female-headed households and women in male-headed households).
- Staff not expected to integrate gender concerns or report on gender results.

Examples of what happens because of this understanding at the level of project implementation:

- Socio-economic formats for trials might require the collection of gender-disaggregated data but this does not necessarily always happen because of the limited understanding of women’s roles in agriculture.
- Socio-economic household surveys might suggest interviewing women and men but often it is only men who are consulted because it is assumed that women do not know the answers.
- Staff assume that men who participate in project activities will share knowledge with female household members while this is often not the case.
- There are cases where staff are reluctant to work with women farmers.

What are the implications?

- Achieving the outcomes of the MAIZE Gender Strategy is jeopardized because:
 - ❖ Women continue not to be recognized as farmers and women’s knowledge continues to be undervalued.
 - ❖ Women’s views are not sufficiently informing technology development and delivery.
 - ❖ Women are not involved in training, demonstrations or trials, i.e. provision of knowledge to men further supports the understanding of men as knowers/farmers and reinforces men’s privileged control over resources.

4. Conclusion

All people have a perception of gender, whether they are aware of it or not. This perception is shaped by the many different experiences and contexts we are exposed to throughout life.

The MAIZE CRP represents large diversity both in terms of people from many diverse cultures and from many different disciplines, working together. As such it is not surprising that the gender audit found a wide range of understandings of gender within the CRP. This ranges from considering gender as irrelevant or unchangeable, onto seeing gender as a question of counting male and female participants in trainings and data collection; as a question of men and women having different roles and needs, and different access to and control over resources; and finally understanding gender equality as a development goal in itself.

For the CGIAR and CRP MAIZE gender equality is an objective in itself and defined in the Immediate Development Objective for Gender & Empowerment: “Increased control over resources and participation in decision-making by women and other marginalized groups”.

The gender audit also identified a strong commitment among staff and partners to food security and poverty reduction, as well as widespread recognition of the importance of gender in CRP MAIZE. As such

there is potential for shifting the perception of gender towards the objective of increasing control over resources and participation in decision-making by women and marginalized groups. Achieving this will require initiatives on a range of issues:

- Broad and diverse communication on gender and on the strategies for enhancing gender in CRP MAIZE
- Elaboration of policies, procedures and tools to help operationalize gender in maize research-for-development, and in particular to ensure opportune incorporation of gender considerations in new projects
- Strengthen accountability and incentives for research teams work on gender
- Strengthen gender competencies among staff by providing training, practical guidelines and backstopping

All of this should lead to enhanced gender awareness and capacity, where MAIZE staff and partners have a combination of knowledge, attitudes and skills that allow them to employ gender responsive practices in their work. This, in turn, should facilitate interdisciplinary, gender aware work which will enhance the impact of CRP MAIZE for the benefit of both men and women in maize-based systems.

5. Gender Audit Recommendations

The recommendations of the gender audit have been developed using the framework of the MAIZE Gender Strategy (2012-2015) and its five outputs to ensure alignment with ongoing efforts to integrate gender into MAIZE.

Output I: Gender audit

- Undertake a supplementary CRP MAIZE gender audit of organizational aspects that were not covered in the current Audit (human resources management and career and capacity development; work environment, such as family-friendly policies and practices; and organizational culture).

Output II: Consolidation of maize gender knowledge base and initiation of strategic gender research related to known gaps in the knowledge base

Analysis and systematization of current maize and gender knowledge base

- Develop case studies for activities and projects that exemplify the different understandings of gender found by the Audit. In particular, these case studies should include examples of: i) work that challenges prevailing assumptions about gender roles and relations in maize farming systems; ii) work that promotes transformative approaches; and iii) a focus on counting women and men.

Plan for strategic gender research / Strategic gaps in maize knowledge

- Include in the plan for strategic gender research topics related to strategic stand-alone gender research and topics related to gender-aware research that can be integrated into on-going projects, and specify cost and funding source.
- Continue the allocation of resources for gender specific research from Window 1 and 2 funds. Make the costing of gender specific research and gender integration an integral part of project designs and a new gender screening process (linked to Output III).
- Plan for strategic gender research into⁵
 - the gendered consequences of male migration and the feminization of agriculture on maize farming systems in different geographical contexts, focusing on how Research for Development (R4D) should respond;
 - gender analysis to support gender integration in agricultural innovation systems; and
 - 'reverse-engineering' with seed companies that have social enterprise agendas in order to establish demand-driven research agendas that seek to understand the value chain from the consumer's point of view.

Output III: Gender mainstreaming of the Research Management Framework

- Design a gender screening process that can be applied from the very beginning of proposal development and emphasize budgeting for gender integration. Develop a support tools for scientists and project leaders as a practical guideline for gender-aware project design aligned with the gender screening process.
- Develop processes and procedures that ensure proposal development includes advice and inputs from gender specialists from the beginning and throughout the development of proposals.
- Pilot the gender screening process and guidelines for gender-aware project design in proposal development processes in 2014. When possible, pilot the process and guidelines when flagship projects are up for extension.
- Document experiences with piloting the gender screening tool and guidelines and disseminate learning. On that basis, establish process and guidelines as new standards.
- Develop quantitative as well as qualitative gender-aware indicators with staff in flagship-projects. Pilot, document experience and disseminate as appropriate. Use initiatives for engendering M&E as participatory learning exercises.
- Review current staff performance monitoring mechanisms (including the KPI-based staff appraisal scheme) to identify entry points where gender can be included (and link to learning accountability system as clarified under recommendations for output IV).

⁵ These research ideas have been identified by participants as well as by KIT. The Audit team has not vetted them for feasibility or relevancy as research topics.

Output IV: Basic tools, policies and capacity strengthening for gender integration in MAIZE

Development and adoption of gender policy for MAIZE and CIMMYT

- Explore a re-framing of agricultural research that starts with people and their realities and works backwards to identify research processes that retain this focus.
- Explore a new articulation of multi-disciplinary research that allows for equitable and mutually beneficial relationships between disciplines.

Develop and implement protocol for gender-disaggregated data collection / Develop and implement protocol for social inclusion in Participatory Research

- Develop and agree to an overall framework for conducting Participatory Varietal Selection (PVS) and the collection and analysis of gender-disaggregated data.
- Draft and pilot protocols in selected projects
- Undertake awareness raising to generate support for gender-aware PVS, e.g. by using case studies developed under Output II.
- Finalize and roll out protocols, including development of guidance notes, guidelines and training (can be included in gender training, see next recommendation)

Gender capacity strengthening planning & implementation (training, tools, methods)

- Raise awareness of the MAIZE Gender Strategy among CRP staff at all levels. Develop dissemination material (short written summary, PPTs or Audio-visual materials). Find ways for field staff, in particular, to engage in discussion about the main aim and rationale of the MAIZE Gender Strategy. Clarify how different staff can contribute to its implementation.
- Develop a gender equality competency framework that maps out a minimum level of gender-related knowledge, attitudes and skills (KAS) competencies that are applicable to staff working in MAIZE, as well as specific to different staff positions and areas of work. Such a framework focuses on what particular groups of staff should know, do and believe and serves as a basis for staff performance development.
- Develop self-assessment capacity assessment tools to allow staff to develop individual gender learning objectives linked to personal career development planning.
- Identify appropriate and relevant available learning materials and curricula and develop others as needed, including gender analysis tools and guidelines to support gender-aware R4D.
- Design different and complementary learning approaches (workshop, virtual, learning groups, mentoring, on-the job-training) that allow individuals to develop their own learning strategies and be responsible for achieving minimum competencies.
- Pilot learning approaches in flagship projects supported by communication strategies to raise overall support for gender integration (drawing on in-house expertise as well as new dedicated resources). Document experiences with new learning approaches, disseminate learning and scale-up as appropriate.

- Develop a learning accountability system, linked to performance monitoring mechanisms/appraisals (see Output III), that allows staff and supervisors to monitor learning progress.
- Design a modular gender equality training program to support the development of required staff gender equality competencies by level and area of work (as set out in the competency framework). Key areas to cover in training include: gender as social relations, intra-household relations and decision-making in different types of households, gender and participation, gender analysis (particularly gender needs and access and control), transformative potential and the capacity to support participatory and multi-stakeholder processes. This would need to be linked to the recommendations under Output IV on agreed minimum standards for gender analysis and could be primarily web-based so as to manage costs. Interest in collaboration with other CGIAR centers should be explored.
- Pilot gender equality training program in flagship projects. Finalize and roll out as appropriate.

Output V: Gender integrated in SIs and projects

- Identify, prepare inventory of and network with regional and national level organizations with strong track records in gender and agriculture and/or gender mainstreaming with which CRP MAIZE can align itself. Establish standing-offers and other mechanisms that enable flexible and efficient mobilization of expertise if and when needed by CRP projects.
- Invest in the gender capacity development of key partners, in particular NARES and seed companies.
- Set up a learning group with representatives from bio-physical scientists and social scientists, with support from Corporate Communication and the Knowledge Management Department, to develop:
 - quality standards for “gender research” and for “gender-aware research”, and
 - quality standards for gender analysis, including core elements to be assessed and required methods.
- Integrate standards in the design of a modular gender equality training program (recommendation under Output IV, Capacity strengthening).

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Annex 1: Bios of gender audit team members

Franz Wong, PhD, is the Royal Tropical institute (KIT) Gender Senior advisor and Team coordinator. He first started working in gender issues in 1991 and has been a gender specialist for over 10 years with work experience in East and South Asia, East and Southern African and the Middle East. He has demonstrated experience in designing and implementing gender research and in providing gender and rights policy and technical advice as well as capacity building support in a variety of social and economic development areas including education, sustainable livelihoods, small and micro enterprise development, gender and rights, child rights and gender-based violence. He specializes in gender mainstreaming policy and practice, including organization assessments (such as gender audits) and strategy development, for research centres, multi-lateral and bi-lateral development agencies and NGOs.

Katrine Danielsen, KIT's Senior Advisor Gender and Rights, is a social geographer with more than twenty years of experience in program development, advisory work and qualitative research on gender equality and women's rights in sustainable development.

Evelien Kamminga, KIT's Senior Advisor Gender and Rights, is a social geographer and anthropologist with more than 30 years of experience in program development, advisory work and qualitative research on gender equality and women's rights in sustainable development.

Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, PhD, KIT's Senior Advisor, is a social anthropologist specialised in social development with a focus on gender and development. She has 30 years of experience in gender and development research, advisory work, teaching and training.

Chris Hunter, former Advisor at KIT, has more than 30 years' experience working to advance gender equality and human rights through policy analysis and advice, programme design and research. She has provided technical assistance on mainstreaming gender and rights in development for government departments and officials from local to national level, public sector organizations, development agencies and advocacy groups. As an experienced trainer, with extensive knowledge of capacity development and institutional strengthening, she has developed manuals, tools and training to assist development organisations to integrate gender equality approaches with rights-based approaches to development and to apply this 'gender and rights approach' to their daily work.

Netsayi Noris Mudege, PhD, former Advisor at KIT has background on social anthropology and sociology. Over the past 12 years she has gained expertise in gender studies (including gender mainstreaming and analysis), rural development and agriculture, development, health, migration, as community based development.

Annex 2: List of Participants in MAIZE Gender Audit⁶

CIMMYT HQ

Tom Lumpkin, Director General (KII)

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Kevin Pixley, Program Director, Genetic Resources Program (KII, WS)

Olaf Erenstein, Acting Director, Socio-Economics Program (SEP) (KII, WS)

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IITA

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Felix San Vicente García, Maize Breeder (KII)

Natalia Palacios Rojas, Maize Nutrition Quality Specialist (KII)

⁶ Denotations on brackets indicate form of participation: KII – Key informant interview, FGD – Focus group discussion/group interaction and WS – Workshop.

Cereal Systems Initiative for South Asia (CSISA)

Frederic Rossi, CSISA-Bangladesh Coordinator (KII)

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Afrina Choudhury, Gender Specialist, WorldFish (KII)

Kamala Gurung, Gender Specialist, International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) (KII)

Women and men maize farmers from Shobna, Khulna district (FGD)

Women and men maize farmers from Chandana group, Raghunathpur village, Sheikh Matia Union, Nazirpur Upazilla, Pirozepur Zilla (FGD)

Women and men maize farmers from Rambhadra village, Azalibaniya with three groups Poornima, Karmaphuli and Shapla group (Barishal) (FGD)

Women and men farmers from Charpash village four groups i.e. Suryamukhi, Golap, Kalogolap and Jaba (Barishal) (FGD)

Drought Tolerant Maize for Africa (DTMA)

Tsedek Abate, Project Leader DTMA (KII)

John McRoberts, Senior Scientist Seeds Systems Specialist (KII)

Cosmos Magorokosho, Maize Breeder (KII)

Peter Setimela, Maize Breeder (KII)
Jill Cairns, Leading Maize Physiologist (KII)
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Members of Shivashakti Maize Seed Producer Group, Palpa District (FGD)
Members of Tilottama Community Based Seed Production Group, Palpa District (FGD)

Sustainable Intensification of Maize-Legume cropping systems for food security in Eastern and Southern Africa (SIMLESA) and the Sustainable Intensification of Maize-Legume Systems for the Eastern Province of Zambia (SIMLEZA)

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Frailasca women farmers (Chiapas) (FGD)

Agua Dulce women farmers (Chiapas) (FGD)