



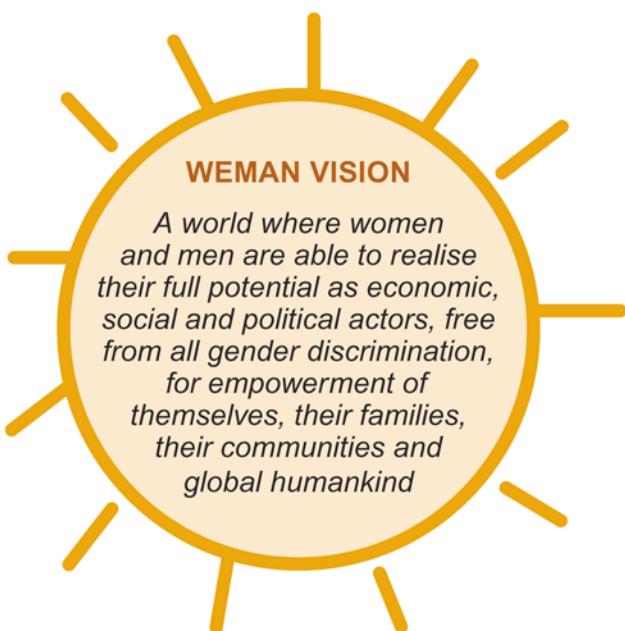
Balanced Trees Grow Richer Beans: Promoting Gender Justice through Value Chain Development in Western Uganda

Gender Action Learning System Case Study 1



Spearheaded by
Oxfam Novib

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November 2012



WEMAN stands for
Women's Empowerment Mainstreaming Advocacy Network
for gender justice in economic development.

Spearheaded by
Oxfam Novib

Pictorial version of CEDAW used by women and men in the Uganda coffee GALS process.



Photography by Linda Mayoux.

Front cover: Impact trees for land, division of labour and coffee quality aggregated from group to parish to organisation level for 3,500 members, Bukonzo Joint Cooperative, Uganda

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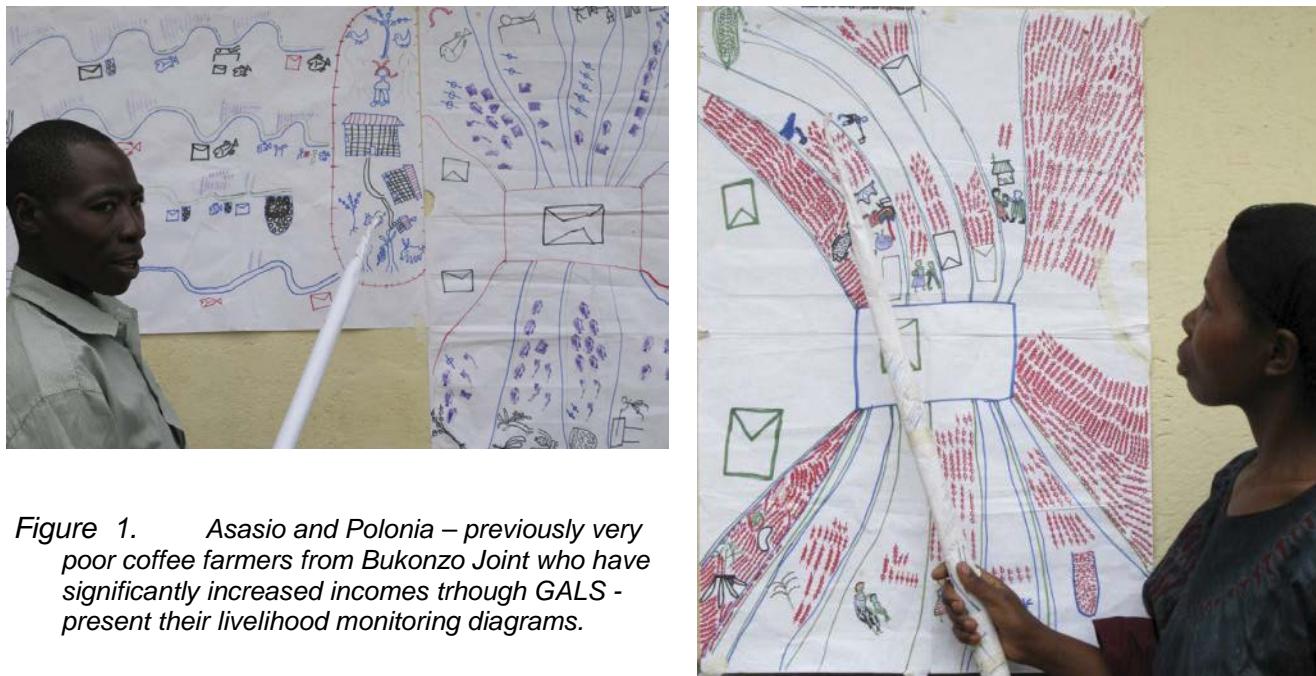


Figure 1. Asasio and Polonia – previously very poor coffee farmers from Bukonzo Joint who have significantly increased incomes through GALS - present their livelihood monitoring diagrams.

Introduction

This paper is the first in a series of Implementation Case Studies for Gender Action Learning System (GALS).

GALS originated in a generic methodology: Participatory Action Learning System (PALS) developed from 2002 by Linda Mayoux for livelihood development and participatory impact assessment with organisations in Western Uganda. From 2004 PALS tools were used for gender analysis and gender planning in India, Pakistan, Sudan and Kenya¹. The systematisation of this experience as GALS to promote women's rights in CEDAW started in December 2007 funded under Oxfam Novib's Women's Employment Mainstreaming and Networking (WEMAN) programme. GALS was then adapted specifically for mainstreaming gender justice in value chain development (VCD) from August 2009 as part of a joint IFAD and Oxfam Novib (ON) pilot project in Uganda (GENVAD), focusing on coffee, maize, fruits and beans. The methodology itself is discussed in more detail elsewhere².

This Case Study focuses on the experience of two organisations whose farmer members (called entrepreneurs) and staff have been at the forefront of development of the PALS livelihoods methodology since 2004/5 as part of their savings and credit and poverty-targeted grant programmes. They were have been lead partners in developing GALS as part of the WEMAN programme since 2007 where GALS was piloted on a small scale. But most of the widespread changes discussed here date from the VCD project in August 2009.

Bukonzo Joint Cooperative Microfinance (BJ) is a successful member-managed cooperative with a well-established savings and credit programme, and profitable coffee

¹ The resources and Manuals for this earlier work can be found on the wemanresources website. Funding for PALS as a livelihoods and participatory impact assessment methodology came from Hivos, Trickle-Up US and Kabarole Research Centre (KRC) in Western Uganda in 2002 and DFID's Enterprise Development Information Assessment Information Service (EDIAIS). Adaptation for gender planning was mostly funded by Southern NGOs: ANANDI in India, Learning for Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) in Sudan and Aga Khan Foundation for work with Pakistan Microfinance Network. PALS tools were also used in gender training with ILO's GOWE project (Mayoux and Mackie 2009).

² Mayoux 2012b, Mayoux 2012c.

marketing. As part of the GENVAD project it focused on coffee and maize chains. In July 2012 BJ had 3237 members of whom 2399 were women and 838 men and all of whom were using GALS in some form. BJ has organisational regulations on gender balance in senior as well as other positions on the staff and the member-board, and also gives preferential conditions to women members in share dividends and savings and credit. Gender awareness is a key consideration in staff recruitment and under constant review by the member board, but there is no written gender policy or gender focal staff.

Green Home Women's Development Association (GH) is a local Community-Based Organisation (CBO) with neither an effective microfinance or marketing organisation. In the GENVAD project, GH focused on fruits and beans value chains. In 2009 GH had around 1,000 members of whom the majority were women. Gender issues were prominent in organisational documents and at one point there was a written gender policy in English. But most senior staff were men and member involvement in the board was minimal. By the time of writing in 2012 GH was in the process of trying to reinvent itself in the face of allegations of mismanagement and malpractice by some senior management and staff. However, a core of 100 members were in the process of setting up a new organization 'New Home Network' (NHN) and expand membership using the GALS methodology.

The experience discussed here has demonstrated that:

- **Gender inequalities are a cause of poverty for men as well as women.** And not only for those currently most vulnerable, but at many levels of the chain. They do not make 'business sense' for households, or enterprises, or ultimately the national economy.
- **Gender inequalities can be changed.** Many profound changes in areas like gender-based violence, land ownership, decision-making, division of labour and women's access to health and education can occur for significant numbers of people in a short period of time. Moreover this can be done with support from men, not conflict.
- **Addressing gender inequalities at all levels of the chain forms a 'win-win strategy'** which increases incomes at all levels, while benefitting those at the 'receiving end of the chain' most.

What is Gender Action Learning System? overview of the value chain process

GALS is a flexible but structured community-led empowerment methodology which works with both women and men to help them gain more control over their lives. It is based on, and continually reinforces, underlying principles of equity, inclusion and gender justice and women's human rights as stated in international agreements like Convention Against All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). GALS works with women and men to develop their visions for change, appreciate their strengths and achievements and analyse and address gender inequalities within the family and community as challenges which prevent them from achieving their vision. It adapts very simple diagramming tools: Diamonds, Road Journeys, Trees and Circles to specific gender issues, contexts and organisational needs. It aims from the very first meeting to bring about immediate and tangible positive improvements in lives and livelihoods of women and men participants, particularly the poorest and most vulnerable⁵. It empowers women and men, as individuals and collectively, to collect, analyse and use information to improve and gain more control over their lives at the micro- and macro- levels. Use of diagram tools and participatory principles enables full and equal inclusion of very poor people who have not had the opportunity to learn to read and write as informed and respected partners in participatory planning processes. The methodology also develops the analytical, participatory, listening and communication skills of institutions and policy-makers to increase the effectiveness of their pro-poor interventions – as well as staff's own personal reflection planning. Using the same diagram tools and drawing provides a universal language for communication between stakeholders and increasing stakeholder participation.

GALS participatory processes and tools can be adapted for promoting gender justice on any issue. In this Case Study the focus is on promoting gender justice in value chain development. The methodology as it was developed and implemented in the organisations discussed here is summarised in Box 1⁶. In addition to issues like women's land ownership, division of labour and economic decision-making which are central issues in VCD, many other issues have also been discussed including violence and family planning and reproductive rights.

The first stage of the GALS VCD process is scoping the chains with priority stakeholders, followed by use of adapted value chain mapping tools to identify other key stakeholders and key priority starting points based on a gender analysis of existing information. In BJ and GH value chains were selected through existing meetings with entrepreneur members because of significance in terms of income (coffee, maize and some fruits), numbers of farmers (coffee and beans) and/or potential for profitable upscaling (maize). BJ and the process consultants already had considerable experience with these chains through other work and their clear mandate was to promote their members within these chains. The preliminary mapping was therefore done very quickly through informal meetings with a few key people before moving on to the more participatory and in-depth action learning in Stage 2.

⁵ GALS is the adaptation of a generic methodology Participatory Action Learning System (PALS) first developed in 2002 by Linda Mayoux with Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC) with its partner organisations in Kabarole and Kasese Districts, and then supported by Trickle-Up US as a methodology for participatory monitoring and evaluation and livelihood development. Bukonzo Joint and GreenHome entrepreneurs were among those trained and innovating with PALS. From 2007 under Oxfam Novib's WEMAN programme Gender Action Learning System (GALS) specifically to analyse and address gender issues, drawing on both the Uganda experience on livelihoods and use of the tools and processes for gender planning and assessment in India and Pakistan.

⁶ At the time of writing the manual for the process Mayoux, L., P. Baluku, J. Biira and T. Reemer (2011). [Growing the Diamond Forest: Community-led action learning for gender justice in wealth creation](#)
[Gender Action Learning System Manual 3](#). The Hague, Oxfam Novib. is still in draft form and being revised in the light of further implementation under GENVAD in North Uganda, Rwanda and Nigeria.

Box 1. : Overview of the GALS Value Chain Process

Gender Justice Vision

A world where women and men are able to realise their full potential as economic, social and political actors, free from all gender discrimination, for empowerment of themselves, their families, their communities and global humankind.

Approach to pro-poor value chain development

- Value chain upgrading to improve incomes for those most vulnerable within the value chain through improvements in quality and/or productivity and/or relations with others in the chain.
- Livelihood diversification for those most vulnerable in the chain to improve negotiating power and, if necessary, to enable them to leave the chain.
- Focus on underlying gender inequalities in access to power and resources at all levels which constitute discrimination and violation of women's human rights as well as leading to inefficiencies in household livelihoods at all levels of the value chain.

GALS Stages and Tools

Stage 1: Preliminary scoping and mapping to select the value chains, and then for each chain to map the main chain activities, stakeholders, value distribution, governance and gender inequalities in all these based on existing knowledge and secondary source material.

Stage 2: Participatory action research with vulnerable stakeholder groups, and where feasible more powerful stakeholders, to identify poverty and gender issues at each level, identify immediate change strategies and strengthen collaboration and peer sharing.

Tool 1: Gender balance tree (individual/collective)

Tool 2: Market map (individual/collective)

Tool 3: Income challenge action tree (individual/collective)

Tool 4: Gender challenge action tree (individual/collective)

Tool 5: Individual livelihood and gender road journeys with monitoring calendar

Tool 6: Stakeholder collective road journeys

Stage 3: Identification, planning and negotiation of multi-stakeholder win-win strategies through value chain multi-stakeholder events, resulting in a multi-stakeholder strategic plan towards a vision of common interests.

Tool 7: Multi-stakeholder win-win tree or diamond

Tool 8: Multi-stakeholder win-win road journey

Stage 4: Sustainable action learning process through peer upscaling and integration in other interventions. This includes monitoring change through integration of individual and group level learning into management information systems as the basis for policy advocacy and establishment of participatory planning in Annual General Meetings, value chain fairs and local government.

Stage 2 is a longer process with different stakeholder groups who are then brought together to identify win-win strategies in Stage 3. The initial focus is on the most vulnerable stakeholders, particularly women. The aim from the very first session is for individuals to identify immediate strategies which can bring about tangible positive improvements in their lives and livelihoods to start to progress towards their visions. The individual-level tools are also designed to identify immediate steps to address inefficiencies and unnecessary unhappiness caused by gender inequality - for men as well as women. In BJ and GH those trained in initial workshops learned and applied the GALS methodology over a period of about 6 months for the chain/s in which they were most involved. They then used the same tools to develop strategies in other value chains where they saw potential for profitable livelihood diversification in production and/or trade. Stage 2 involved the range of local chain stakeholders from the beginning because members already knew these people as members of the same families and communities. In the case of coffee Bukonzo Joint had already made contact with traders up the chain as they were setting up the marketing cooperative. Relationships were characterised by lack of trust and communication, and exclusion of women from more profitable activities and trading relationships. This meant that it was easier to bring stakeholders together and discuss common interests in removing misunderstandings and inefficiencies than might be the case initially in other more conflictual chains.

The core of the upscaling process in Stages 2 and 3 is voluntary peer training within families and existing support networks – people those receiving training have a personal interest in helping. This includes integration into group meetings and any supply chain training by traders. In both BJ and GH outreach targets through peer training were consistently exceeded. Many members had trained other members in their households and communities so although outreach to organisation members has been tracked, total outreach is much greater, but not known. The main role for organisation staff is to support for emerging collective actions on gender issues like land ownership and gender-based violence, and assigning value to the process through aggregation and dissemination of monitoring information for advocacy. This involves making links as soon as possible with local leaders, local government and other powerful chain actors in order to promote communication and speed up the development of ‘win-win strategies’ between stakeholders.

GALS is self-monitoring at individual level up to organisation-level as an ongoing learning and reflection process⁸. Capacity-building and planning workshops are structured to produce reliable quantitative as well as qualitative information for all participants on context, strategies and changes. Baseline information is collected on the individual diagrams for later aggregation and analysis. Further information on issues where respondents are likely to know and verify information is collected retrospectively. The information is then tracked over time in ways most useful for the empowerment process at individual and group levels. Information from a number of sources is combined in this paper:

- Quantitative and qualitative impact information in Bukonzo Joint on women's land ownership, division of labour and coffee quality collected since 2009 and which is now regularly collected for over 3,500 members and reported back through Board meetings as part of their routine planning process.
- Quantified diagram outputs and qualitative information on gender relations and strategies from a series of 10 stakeholder capacity-building and planning workshops 2009-2010.
- A participatory survey in BJ in February 2010 as part of the peer capacity-building collected information on literacy levels and changes in landholding for 204 men and 296 women.

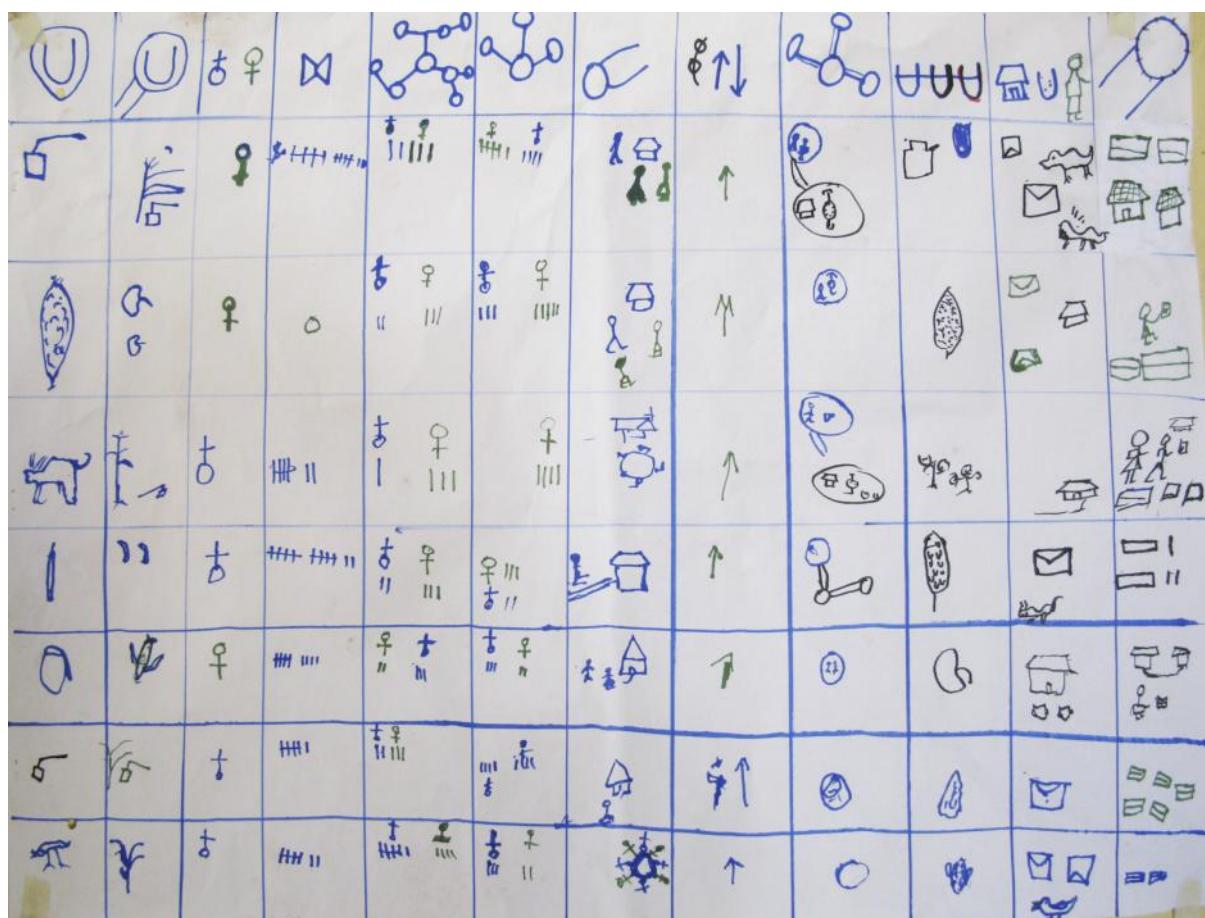
⁸ A description of the GALS information system can be found in Mayoux 2012a.

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- Participatory pictorial surveys of changes in income, livelihood diversification and peer training conducted for 476 participants in the four multistakeholder meetings in September 2010.
- Interviews conducted by BJ in 2011 for 2717 households as part of the organic and Fair Trade certification processes
- Qualitative information from a short 8-day qualitative external study of BJ for Oxfam Novib and GIZ in October 2011 (Farnworth and Akamandisa (2011)).
- Qualitative and quantitative research using GALS tools with GH as well as BJ members in July 2012.

Undoubtedly much of the information is incomplete and many unanswered questions remain. In what follows the author analyses this available information in the light of contextual understanding and in-depth qualitative questioning alongside her long-term support role, together with that of her co-contributors. The A4 diaries and quantified workshop outputs provide the basis for more rigorous qualitative and quantitative research by the organisation or external agencies if and when funds are available for such a study.

Figure 2. Pictorial change monitoring sheet for incomes and markets collected and discussed in groups of 5 as empowerment process, then aggregated onto an excel sheet for macro-analysis.



Changing gender inequalities makes business sense

Participatory analysis with men as well as women using GALS tools at the initial stakeholder workshops in 2009 identified a clear gender division of tasks, roles and power. Use of the Gender Balance Tree to analyse work input and expenditures highlighted the conclusion that women did the majority of cultivation work in all crops. In crops like beans women did all the work apart from preparing land. In coffee producing households women did about 70% of the main cultivation work and processing tasks like hulling alongside cultivation of foodcrops and unpaid household work.

In about 70% households men migrated to town in search of work. Men were typically only involved in very occasional heavy tasks, coming back to harvest and market the coffee beans when they wanted cash. They “took” any coffee from the trees, drying on the ground or stored in a sack around the house around the house, sold it to local buyers (near bars) and use for their own purposes (often alcohol or women in town). 70% of 495 men followed up through individual research at the time of capacity-building openly admitted to taking all the money from coffee, and even stealing their wife’s money, wasting much of this on drink and other women. Polygamy (59% men interviewed in 2009) increased the level of dependency on increasingly fragmented plots of land and also reduced men’s income and labour input into any one household. There was a high level of marital instability, domestic violence (40% of 887 men interviewed), male alcoholism (58%) and drug addiction. In some households men’s expenditure on alcohol in one month was equal to the costs of the school fees for a term.

Women had no power over decision-making because of their economic and social dependence on men and vulnerability. Typically women drew themselves kneeling down in front of their husbands to hand over all their money. Women had the main responsibility for their children and making sure that there was food for the family, including the husband when he was there. This limited their time and mobility to earn an income. When children (or other members of the extended family) were sick, women often had to take care and pay for hospital bills or medicines. Women were the main ones interested in education for their children and could not count on the husbands to pay the school fees. Relations between co-wives were often very competitive because typically husbands favoured one wife over the other. One wife might work more hours but the husband would tell the other wife to pick the coffee and sell it to buy a nice dress and go to hairdresser. This instability meant women were also keen to use any means they could to retain control of crops or cash for healthcare and education as well as food.

The market maps showed how women’s role varied between the different crops. In fruits and beans women were involved in marketing, especially from their homes, along the road and in village markets. In some households the men took the fruit and/or beans to market or sell them to male middlemen and shopkeepers (mostly male) from neighboring trading centres also came to buy fruits from the village. Shops for beans and groundnuts were often owned by women. In coffee all traders were men except very smallscale women barter traders, because women had insufficient capital. Their ability to move up the trading chain was seriously constrained by their lack of control over income from the coffee, and lack of savings and access to credit because they did not own land. They also had limited time to spend away from the household to seek out the best prices.

Participatory analysis using the Increasing Incomes Challenge Action Tree concluded that gender inequalities were not only a problem for women, but a key cause of low productivity, low quality and prices at the farm level. In the case of coffee, unripe beans or beans which were not fully processed/still wet were frequently sold by both husband and wife even though they fetched a lower price in order to prevent each other from taking it. Men took any coffee

they could when they wanted money – including unripe and unprocessed coffee before women were able to sell it. Men even sold non-harvested coffee, and even the coffee flowers before beans were formed, in advance to get cash. Much of the cash was spent in bars conveniently located next to the trader shops. In some cases men did not even tell their wives and the trader simply came and took the coffee. Women, who did most of the work, had little power over decision-making or investment in production or efficient processing like hulling. Much of the coffee was dried in the dust on the ground leading to mixing with impurities which further reduced the quality. Women said that because their benefits from the work or any investments were limited, their motivation to produce/pick/process good quality was small.

It was therefore concluded that gender inequalities were key causes of household poverty for farmers and small traders – reducing resources available to women and putting pressures on men to act in ways which were harmful to themselves and their households. Multiple household inequalities in work, resources and power were analysed as both interlinked and mutually reinforcing. In particular, from the first workshop the participatory analysis identified women's lack of land ownership as a key reason why they did not have power in other spheres. This analysis emerged from the discussion – it was in no way imposed from outside⁹. It was also clear from the first workshops that gender inequalities at the base of the chain were then replicated in households further up, and caused further inefficiencies and low prices for medium and larger traders as discussed below.

Addressing these inequalities through ongoing use and dissemination of GALS has been a significant contributory factor in increasing incomes, as can be seen from the examples in Box 2 which are only a small selection from many similar statements. Assessing impact on incomes is inherently challenging, given the ad hoc nature of most farmer records for their very diverse livelihoods, price fluctuations and inflation which affect perceptions and also the trade-offs between market and non market incomes. Information on perceived impact on incomes was collected as part of the participatory pictorial survey in September 2010. From this it was estimated by participants from Bukonzo Joint that of the 184 women members attending the workshops all except 15 maize farmers (where crops had failed) had increased their incomes between 2 and 8 times as a result of the GALS process. In Green Home all 163 women members at the workshops had increased their incomes by 1 to 5 times. 21% of total participants at all workshops had already increased their savings. Although this cannot be assumed to be a representative sample – the workshop was open to anyone interested and biased on the one hand towards those who wanted to know more - many of the workshop participants who had increased incomes had been part of the GALS process for less than 3 months.

Part of the increase in incomes is due to the business development component of GALS which facilitates collective sharing of information on improved production techniques alongside the gender analysis. Identifying how much improvement can be achieved through sharing information then enables external technical support to be focused on those areas where it is really needed. The bean and fruit producers in GH had used GALS to exchange technical information between themselves, remove many bad practices and improve the quality and increase prices of their products. In BJ members identified some technical gaps in coffee production which were then investigated by staff and addressed in training. The initial focus on information sharing then increases the likelihood that additional information will also be disseminated through the same channels.

There is also an emphasis on developing marketing strategies and livelihood diversification. Individual market maps are combined into collective maps to help people develop new products and markets without leading to market saturation or concentrating competition in just a few products. 65% of participants at the 2010 workshops had diversified their businesses to new products and/or markets alongside the coffee as a result of the market

mapping. Women had started to think about selling in other places apart from just outside their houses. They now no longer travelled anywhere empty handed, but increased incomes through taking goods from the village to market, and bringing things back from market to sell. Many members have now become very experienced at assessing what to buy and sell when and where. In GH members had also started informal collaboration in marketing to reduce transport and other costs and there had been collective action to improve prices for groundnuts and some other products.

Box 2. Individual instances of changes for women producers after 1 year

“Before the GALS process I had no idea how much my husband was earning. He was spending his income anyhow. Now we have a joint household vision and we are sharing our incomes. This means that our household income has doubled.”

“I experienced an increase in income of four times. This was because I found two new markets when we shared the marked mapping in the group. Things I needed to buy were cheaper there, and products I have been selling fetched a better price.”

“I used to barter fish for coffee: I brought cash to the Congo market to buy fish, with I bartered for coffee in my own village. The coffee I sold for cash. From the GALS process, I tried a new strategy. Instead of bringing cash, her new strategy was buying poultry in her village at a lower price, selling it in the Congo market for a higher price, and using that money to buy fish in the same market. I then come back with a quantity of fish, which she barters for coffee in her village. The coffee she sells for cash. There is now equal decision making in the house and I do joint planning with my husband. This has made me more flexible: when the cash is not enough for the business, my husbands adds money so that I can make a feasible trip to the Congo market. This strategy has increased her income three-fold, with the remark that the coffee prices have increased in the past couple of months. We used the additional income to make bricks for improving the house.”

“The main cause for the change in income is unity between me and my wife. I have a small shop that I used to manage alone. When I was not there, the shop was closed. But now my wife takes over when I am out. I have also been training others in GALS, and Bukonzo Joint paid me for that. Instead of spending the income on alcohol, I have re-invested it. This gives us more flexibility. When we supply coffee to Bukonzo Joint we don’t need to ask for direct payment, which gives a lower price than waiting for payment after the bulk sale. All this has led to a six-times increase of income for the household.”

“Previously, my husband used to spend his money on alcohol. He was even taking items from the house to sell around the bars. Now we are using GALS, he reduced alcohol. He started a very small shop, which occupies him, and distracts him from the temptation to go to the bar. I no longer need to buy everything for the house. This, plus the increase in coffee price, has increased our household income.”

man: Before I did not even carry water to the house. From the discussions in the group about division of labour I started using the GALS tools. It helped me to see that if we work together/ share the labour burden, it benefits us all. I therefore now help in the household chores.

Gender inequalities can be changed

The main aim of the GALS process is gender justice and women's human rights as stated in CEDAW, rather than improved quality or productivity of crops per se. As in other methodologies like the household approaches of IFAD and ACDD/Voca, enabling women and men to analyse clearly the negative business consequences of gender inequalities for themselves was a key factor in enlisting broad stakeholder support for a gender justice process. The combination of gender analysis with value chain development promotes the involvement of men as well as women, and this can lead to very significant changes in dimensions of gender inequality which are often considered too 'culturally embedded' or personally sensitive or conflictual to address.

Significant reductions in gender-based violence and increases in women's participation in many areas of decision-making are reported in member diaries, workshop presentations and testimonies as well as external studies (Farnworth and Akamandisa 2011). Both women and men now typically draw themselves sitting on an equal level at a table making decisions instead of the earlier images of women kneeling in front of men and handing them all the money. There have been significant reductions in male alcoholism with men now having their own savings or contributing to those of women. Interactive theatre role plays where couples explore the most significant changes from GALS highlight a change from conflict and mistrust between couples to a relationship of love and affection.

There have been significant changes in division of labour. These changes have only been monitored for Bukonzo Joint, but anecdotal evidence suggests they have also occurred for members of Green Home. In 2009 of 887 men interviewed by BJ, 55% thought men should not help their wives because of culture. By June 2012, out of 3568 members and non-members using GALS¹¹ 40% (1435) reported working together across the full range of productive and reproductive tasks, 29% (1041) reported sharing at least 3 tasks which had not happened before and 30% (1092) were unchanged. These percentages are similar to those in 2011 for 2717 households interviewed as part of the certification process, indicating a possible leveling off of impact once the receptive households have changed. It may also be that women overstate some of the changes, and men understate changes in work allocation (Farnworth and Akamandisa 2011).

What is distinctive about GALS is its ability to bring about very tangible changes in more sensitive and/or conflictual areas like land ownership. As noted above, the fact that women did not own land was identified early in the GALS VCD process as a cause of family disunity and hence poor quality coffee. In short-term low investment crops like beans, maize and some fruits land ownership was less of an issue because women could hire in land and thereby have more control over the proceeds. But in all households because men owned or controlled the land and had paid dowry of 12 goats to the woman's father they considered themselves entitled to control any money in the household and decide how much work they want to put into what activities. Increasing women's ownership and control of land was therefore identified as a high priority, particularly by women.

However land ownership is a complex issue with differences between clan land (about 80% land) which is governed, but not owned, by male family elders, and land registered to individual through customary or formal legal arrangements or purchase¹². There are also differences in a woman's entitlement to her husband's property depending on religion and

¹¹ In the same 8 out of 13 parishes.

¹² See detailed discussion in Farnworth and Akamandisa 2011.

type of marriage, with the highest status and entitlement for the minority of women having a church or civil marriage where women in theory have an equal right to all their husband's property from the day of marriage. In other cases women have customary access to land for cultivation through their relations with men, who subdivide their plots between wives. On divorce, in theory, women can go back to cultivate land on their parents' house though some remain on their husband's property, particularly if many children are involved. There is increasingly intense pressure on land with rapid population growth leading to a trend to formally register plots from the clan land as government leases (encouraged by the government). But there is continuing resistance from many clan elders to fragmentation of clan land as it is supposed to be a safety net for future spouses and generations and they insist that their children buy their own land rather than taking family land. Local leaders and traders made frequent reference to cultural norms and also fears that if women can get land from their husbands in their own right, this would lead them into serial marriages with men just to get more land.

This already complex set of rights is further complicated by the fact that each of the land arrangements are interpreted in different ways by local land officials and actual implementation is very varied and subject to various forms of corruption. Although regulations state that there must be at least 2 women on local land boards, many of the male land officials were of the (incorrect) opinion that it was illegal for women's names to go on any land agreements, despite the fact they were supposed to have had gender training. Local landboards have no records of women owning land before the start of GALS in 2009, and land officers said that before the lobbying by BJ they had not thought of this. Women owned land in only 2 households out of 419 interviewed by BJ at the beginning of the GALS process in 2009. A number of women had purchased land with loans from GH or BJ, but the land had been registered in the man's name.

As a result of the GALS process combined with other interlinked strategies by BJ, there have been significant increases in women's land ownership in the area. Firstly use of the GALS Challenge Action Trees for individual and collective analysis of the potential benefits of joint ownership of land by men as well as women started the change in attitudes and behaviour at household level for a significant number of lead households. Secondly, sustained lobbying of the local authorities and clan elders by staff and members of Bukonzo Joint through the thematic meetings convinced members of the local land board that change was desirable – and even led to dismissal of members of the board judged to be ineffective. Thirdly in 2011 as part of the Fair Trade certification process BJ decided to encourage including women's names on certification documents – not a legally binding document but as a form of awareness-raising to boost the more formal registration process. The passing of the long-awaited Domestic Relations Act in late 2011 may have also boosted the process with some people, though at the time of writing there was very little publicity for the Act in this area, the land official still had no copies and there had still not been any training for land officials in what it means.

By July 2012 out of a total 3,057 members monitored by BJ¹⁴, 102 had fully signed joint or individual women's land agreements, 1,362 had applications in process which had been signed at local level or by family elders. So a total of 1464 or 48% households had some form of document on women's or joint ownership of land. Joint ownership was further encouraged as part of a certification process in which out of 2,717 households visited, 2,068 had signed joint certification documents and 66 women had individual ownership – a total of 76%. The process was also dynamic with members seeking new solutions where they encounter resistance. For example, in Kanyatsi parish members discovered that many of them had problems obtaining a land lease. If they applied alone it was difficult to deal with

¹⁴ This covered all members and some non-members reach by GALS in 8 out of 12 parishes covered by BJ. At the time of writing the other 4 were due to report.

the local government and they had to pay UGS 180,000 for any size of land, because of costs related to documents, forms, processing time etc. They decided to apply for the land lease as a group (10 people) and negotiated with the local government. In the end they paid only UGS 67,000 each. In Green Home there were also significant changes and impact trees used in June 2012 indicated that in one group 6 out of 24 members had signed land agreements following GALS, one had already signed at an earlier sensitization meeting and the others were on family land.

Surprisingly these changes have received increasing support from men. The GALS diagrams and testimonies of men analyse why they have changed and men assert that they are much happier now. Many men are also at the forefront of working with other men to change, having set up men's groups to address issues of alcoholism. Male elders and also members of the local land boards are now promoting joint registration on land agreements.

Rather than seeking to displace traders (male or female), the GALS process aims to harness their skills, energies and resources to develop the markets and chains. From this process it is expected that the traders will themselves gain, and thus be motivated to continue. But through increased demand and competition coupled with removal of discrimination, benefits will go disproportionately to those most vulnerable in the chain ie in this case women producers. As noted above, in all four value chains local traders, trade associations and traders from Kasese town were involved in the GALS process very early on.

Men and women traders have voluntarily given up their time to attend the GALS trainings. It quickly became clear from the initial capacity-building workshops with traders that gender inequalities were fundamental to gender inefficiencies not only in their supplier households through affecting the quality of supply, but also in their own households and businesses. In the case of coffee traders' access to capital to buy coffee and time to negotiate with buyers up the chain are necessary to get the best prices are the main determinants of income. Small traders buy coffee with credit from traders higher up the chain. Much of the reason why they sold bad quality coffee and could not earn so much was because they did not have sufficient savings to invest and buy quality coffee in bulk. In order to bulk up the coffee they then mixed in impurities which further added to the bad reputation and low market price of coffee from this area on global markets. The other issue was poor measuring scales which meant they are often cheated. But they also agreed that decreasing their own expenditure on alcohol (in some cases 10 bottles a day costing UGX 2000 each) would go a long way to boosting the necessary savings to get them out of the chain of debt to middlemen higher up the chain and invest in more reliable weighing equipment and better storage. Between initial workshops in September 2009 and follow-up workshops in December 2009 significant changes had occurred in the households of all 14 traders attending the workshop. Some examples are given in Box 2, but these are not unique. All the traders agreed that they would like more gender training, and also training in business for their wives so that they can all do business together and save to improve their income.

Box 3. Changes in gender relations in trader households

Mr A: He has 3 wives and 4 gardens and 2 commercial premises. Before the workshop he just bought and did everything without consulting them. After the workshop they all had a meeting – the wives and also other clan members – and they made a family agreement that from that time on they would all be sharing. He signed an agreement for one plot for each of two wives, and is now getting a plot for the third wife. He used to treat his wives like children, people who can't think. Now it is much better for him – if there is no money, they understand. He also thinks it is a mistake not to put a wife's name on the land agreements because if he

dies then not only his wife, but also his children will suffer because his brothers will take the land. He feels now he has much more freedom. Before he had responsibility for everything and his wife would complain. Now they have their own responsibilities and trust.

Mr B: When he was in the September workshop he was in the process of buying land, as a result of the workshop he decided to put some of the land in his wife's name.

Mr C: After the September workshop he has started to help his wife with the cooking and sharing housework.

Mr D: Before the September workshop he thought that if he left money with his wife she would waste it. After the workshop he started to come straight back from selling the coffee and leaving the money with her at home. That way their savings have increased, and also their mutual understanding and trust.

Mr E: Since the workshop he has started going with his wife to their garden. His wife is a member of Bukonzo Joint and he is now giving her money to contribute to her own savings.

Mr F: He has two wives and after the workshop was worried about how to help them equally so as not to cause problems between them. He wants all of them to be able to participate in these trainings.

Mr G: He has two wives who are always arguing. Before the workshop he was frightened that if he gave either of them any assets in their names, they would just take it and go away and boast about their power in the family. He had an animal project and after attending the September workshop he gave that project to one of his wives. None of his fears materialised. And is now thinking of how to help the other one.

Mr H: (very young) Before the workshop he would not let his wife handle the animals – she had to wait for him or discuss with other family members. He was frightened she would just kill the animal if any visitor came. But now they have discussed and he trusts her to do as she feels fitting with the animals.

Mr I: He has two wives. Before the September workshop he was not helping the women in their coffee garden. Each wife could cultivate coffee independently in their own garden, but the land belonged to him and he stayed in town. Now he is thinking if either of his wives do well he will buy them some of their own land.

Mr J: Before the September workshop he did not allow his wife to pick or handle coffee, only cassava, beans and other food crops. He controlled all the money and spent part of it himself in town. Since the workshop he discussed with his wife to work together. They both take the coffee to the store and his wife now knows exactly how much they have. 90% of the income is now with her, he does not spend so much in town and they have been able to buy a goat (but in his name).

Mr K: His wife is a teacher. He has 3 plots of land for cultivation and 1 commercial building. Since the workshop the plots are in both names and he brings his salary back to her.

Mr L: He lives with his wife on clan land with his other brothers and sisters who he is educating from his own resources because his parents are ill. Already before the workshop he used to share with her and they made decisions together.

Working with multiple stakeholders has benefitted not only participants in the process, but also led to improvements in the local economy. Before the GALS value chain process the quality of coffee and other products in the Bukonzo area were extremely low and could only

command low prices on the market and productivity was also low. As the result of combined work to reduce the gender-based inefficiencies in decision-making, work allocation and expenditures at household level through GALS and the related promotion of technical improvements and Fair Trade linkages, Bukonzo Joint coffee is now ranked third in Uganda for unwashed coffee (druga). Kampala traders are now coming direct to farmers and prices to farmers have significantly increased relative to the world coffee prices. In 2012 BJ was looking to diversify its marketing strategy to include maize and possibly other value chains alongside its successful strategy for export of Fair Trade and organic certified coffee – having succeeded in combining funding from a range of sources to purchase and instal all the coffee processing equipment planned in the organisational Road Journey at the beginning of the GALS project. Members of NHN were joining with Bukonzo Joint's Fair Trade marketing in coffee and maize.

Using the same diagram tools and drawing provides a universal language for communication between stakeholders and increasing stakeholder participation, as well as cutting through verbose and lengthy definitions and concepts at higher levels. The participatory methodology also develops the analytical, participatory, listening and communication skills of institutions and policy-makers to increase the effectiveness of their pro-poor interventions – as well as staff's own personal reflection and planning. The GALS process has led to a mushrooming of information sharing and informal forms of collaboration and a strengthening of member associations, some of which have been established as a result of the GALS process itself. This is particularly noticeable in the reorganization of GH members as New Home Network which brings together both producers and traders in beans and fruits. They have developed not only their own individual plans, but also organizational plans.

Some remaining challenges and wider implications

!!!However the precise way in which each stage is conducted and timing of moving from one stage to the next depends on the characteristics of the particular value chain concerned, particularly the length of the chain, types of power relations involved, the amount of knowledge at different levels and the purpose of the particular intervention.

The experience with GALS therefore reinforces the conclusions of other methodologies that changing gender inequalities and discrimination makes 'business sense' for households, enterprises, and ultimately the local and national economy. Some profound and easily monitored changes in gender inequality can take place relatively quickly even in households where men have been violent, alcoholic and committing frequent adultery. The explicit and very graphic nature of much of the pictorial information around issues of gender-based violence, alcohol and prostitution makes it very difficult for people at any level to dismiss gender strategies as externally-imposed or 'culturally inappropriate'. Men who are able to address negative dimensions of their 'masculine' role like violence and alcoholism are happier and feel more valued in their families and community. Male as well as female community leaders can become important promoters of change. Working first with those who are most vulnerable constitutes a powerful start for improving communications between chain actors and chain efficiency, and demonstrates the business case for gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment. Addressing the gender inequalities that cause inefficiencies in livelihoods at many levels of the chain can make a significant contribution to upgrading the whole value chain and development of the local economy.

A distinctive advantage in GALS is that once learned, use of the tools in individual diaries and group meetings to analyse, plan and track progress is cumulative and ongoing. In Stage

4 the methodology becomes organisationally and financially self-sustaining and self-upscaling at different levels - adapted as needed to different purposes, integrated as far as possible into other activities. The same processes and skills can also be integrated to mainstream gender and increase effectiveness in other interventions. In Bukonzo Joint all the costs of all GALS capacity building are now covered by the increased profits from micro-finance and/or coffee. In NHN there is very little external funding. The considerable skill and initiative which very poor people who cannot read and write demonstrate during this process, and the constructive strategies they propose, are often an eye-opener to other chain stakeholders. Organisational replication is also occurring between CBOs in the local area, generally without external funding, as a result of peoples' interest in the success cases.

This is not to say there are no challenges to be addressed. Firstly there may be some leveling off of impact in any one community once the members most receptive or in need of change have been reached. A particular challenge is to address the needs of the large numbers of women in polygamous relationships, not only discouraging men from multiple relationships but helping existing polygamous families to reconcile differences and work out a way of working together where all the wives benefit. Some work has been done on this, but this needs to be more widely upscaled through some readjustment of tools. This may also require some counselling adaptations and newer techniques like interactive theatre and participatory video¹⁸ may also be useful to regain peoples' interest¹⁹. There is a need to further extend and deepen the GALS analysis over the full range of CEDAW rights. Now members and staff are confident with the basic tools, they can use the more advanced diagrams for much more detailed analysis and tracking and advocacy research²⁰.

There are also signs that commercial success has led to increasing participation of men, leading in turn to changes in governance. There is a need to revisit BJ's original PALS poverty analysis now that many previously poor members have become better off, to ensure that poorer people in the community are not being left out and develop strategies for inclusion. There is anecdotal evidence that where men are elected to leadership positions in primary cooperatives, women are leaving. And also that men are favouring men in allocation of loans, and failing to observe the differential policy on shares whereby currently women get 60% and men get 40%. It is increasingly considered unfair that men should be penalized in this way, but the equalization could be made conditional on men producing a legal joint land agreement ie equality at home is required before equality in the organisation. Similar requirements could also apply to any man standing for elected office within the organization. The earlier idea of a women's coffee cooperative as a specific niche brand could also be reconsidered as a way forward to assist single women – particularly the new roasted coffee BJ is able to produce with its new processing equipment.

Some of these challenges are a consequences of constraints under which BJ and NHN are operating rather than GALS *per se*. Some of these challenges are now addressed in the revised versions of the methodology being used elsewhere.²¹ Evidence from replications so far elsewhere in Uganda, Rwanda and Nigeria indicate that significant changes can occur in some peoples' lives from the first sessions. Peer training is also occurring at a significant rate. It is estimated that in new organisations where there is some sort of group activity through microfinance or cooperatives, adapting and implementing the methodology as it now stands would take about two years. This does however inevitably depend on the levels of organisational commitment to both gender justice and a community-led process and their willingness to follow up on governance and advocacy issues on issues like land which emerge from the GALS process.

¹⁸ See video to be uploaded on www.wemanresources.info

¹⁹ http://www.wemanresources.info/5_MakingGenderFun/5_0_MakingGenderFun.html

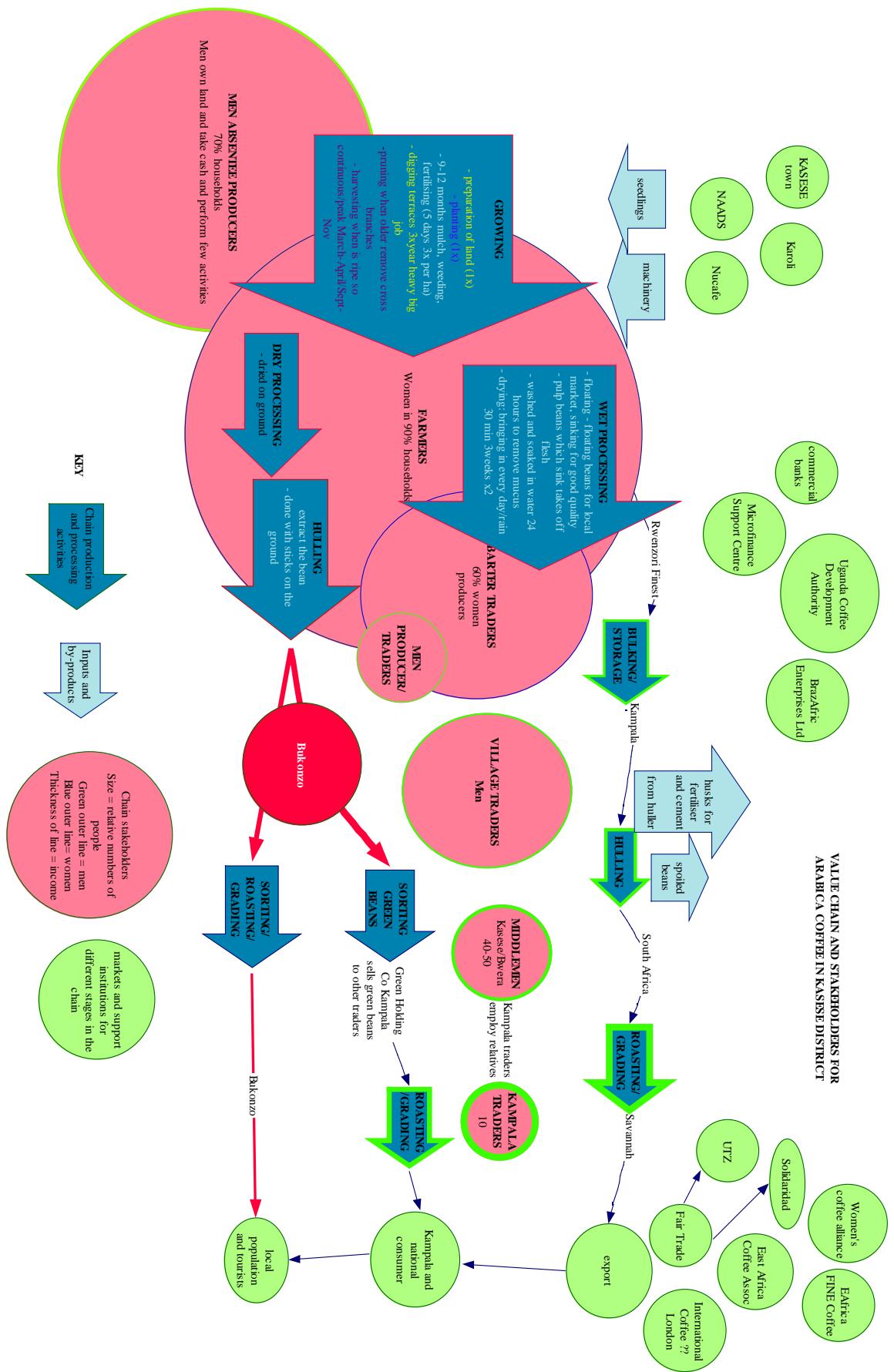
²⁰ See Mayoux 2012a,b and c forthcoming.

²¹ Updated Manuals will be available by December 2012 on the WEMANresources website.

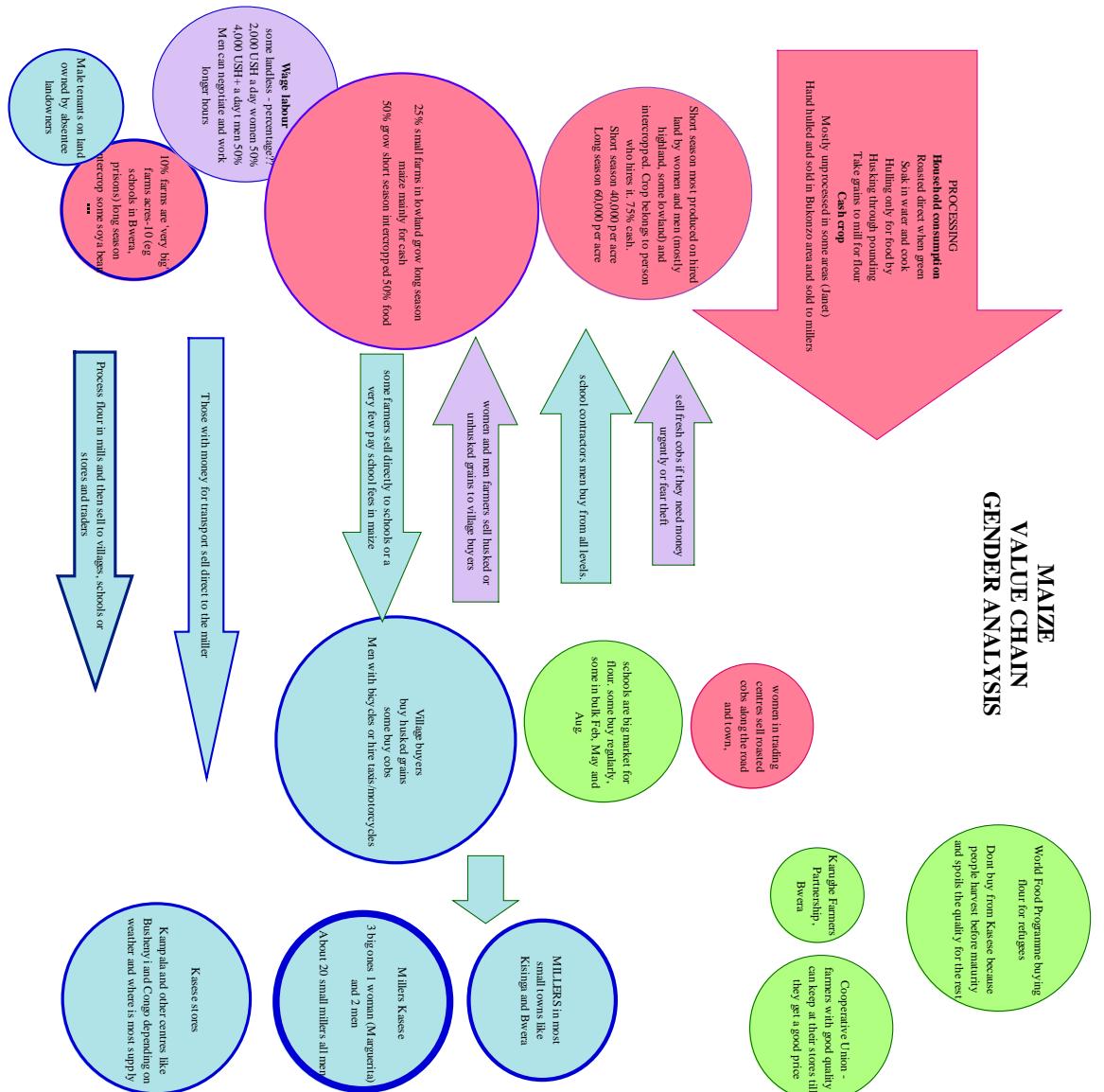
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Annex 1: Value Chain Maps



Balance Trees Grow Richer Beans



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