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**TAKING THE *BULL* BY THE HORNS:  
GENDER ANALYSIS IN A CATTLE PROJECT IN INDONESIA**

**FEBRINA PRAMESWARI**

**APRIL 2022**

**A Master's Paper**

**Submitted to the faculty of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts,  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in International Development  
in the Department of International Development, Community & Environment (IDCE)**

**And accepted on the recommendation of**

**Professor Cynthia Caron, Chief Instructor  
Professor Denise Humphreys-Bebbington, Second Reader**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Cynthia Caron". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'C' and 'C'.

## **ABSTRACT**

### **TAKING THE *BULL* BY THE HORNS: GENDER ANALYSIS IN A CATTLE PROJECT IN INDONESIA**

**Febrina Prameswari**

Women play a crucial role in agriculture, especially in cattle farming. However, gender inequality in livestock production remains a critical issue, as women usually have less engagement with livestock production, less control over finances, and less access to markets. The IndoBeef program in Indonesia was one of the first livestock projects to incorporate gender-specific activities in its implementation. The project used women-only focus groups, utilizing the Women's Empowerment in Livestock Index (WELI) combined with farm production data to address women's needs in the cattle industry. I conducted a gender analysis of one of IndoBeef's subsidiary projects, CropCow. The project did not manage to achieve its stated goals. I conclude that this was because it failed to properly account for a patriarchal society. Better knowledge of local culture in the project area of implementation, its history, and legislation, along with the implementation of a gendered analytical framework, Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR), would have benefitted the project architects in accomplishing positive outcomes for women farmers. I assert that using FPAR with Gender and Development (GAD) tools can aid in creating more effective advocacy for women within the global agricultural sector, and increase their access to commons.

**Cynthia Caron, Ph.D.**  
**Chief Instructor**

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## **ACADEMIC HISTORY**

Master of Arts Degree: International Development Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, USA	May 2022
Bachelor of Animal Science Degree: Animal Nutrition and Feed Technology Bogor Agricultural University, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia	March 2015

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

<b>ACIAR</b>	Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research
<b>AIAT</b>	Assessment Institute for Agricultural Technology
<b>DFAT</b>	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
<b>FPAR</b>	Feminist Participatory Action Research
<b>GAD</b>	Gender and Development
<b>ICARD</b>	Indonesian Center for Animal Research and Development
<b>IVMS</b>	Integrated Village Management System
<b>NTB</b>	Nusa Tenggara Barat (West Nusa Tenggara)
<b>MoA</b>	Ministry of Agriculture
<b>UNE</b>	University of New England, Australia
<b>WELI</b>	Women's Empowerment in Livestock Index



## **Preface**

Plato said that “No man's nature is able to know what is best for the social state of man; or, knowing, always able to do what is best.” We are always presented with opportunities to provide critique and guidance in the hopes of bettering both our own lives and the lives of our communities. Through my formative years studying and working within the field of agriculture and livestock, I gained tremendous insight into the social dynamics and interactions that exist where research organizations and cattle intersect within local cultures. I was inspired to write this paper not to condemn anyone as having done wrong, but in the hopes that we can steer our actions toward a more inclusive and equitable future.

Before I started graduate school, I worked for an agribusiness consultancy company, PT. Mitra Asia Lestari, as Senior Program and Research Officer for almost four years. My biggest role in this position was to help manage the IndoBeef program for one of our clients, the University of New England Australia, who won the tender from the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) Australia for this program. I served as the point of communication between Indonesian and Australian researchers in implementing the program in five provinces in rural Indonesia.

Within four primary research groups, specifically Cattle/Crop Production, Market Chain, Socioeconomics, and Scale-out, I was responsible for implementing the research and supporting cross-cutting gender activities. Quantifying and understanding how gender played a crucial role amongst cattle farmers was the most interesting and promising part of the project. We used cutting-edge tools such as the Women’s Empowerment in Livestock Index (WELI) to understand social and economic imbalances. However, a significant limitation to this was the fact that other than the gender team, project staff, such as executives or livestock experts did not receive any

gender training, and as a result, did not properly account for gender imbalances when pursuing the project goals. To understand the efficacy of IndoBeef's strategies and provide insights to future development practitioners, I felt it was important to deepen my understanding of the project's use of gender.

## **Introduction**

Women working in agriculture or livestock, especially in rural areas, face many challenges, such as limited access to financial resources, lack of close social support, and pressure from patriarchal figures to conform to traditional roles like child-rearing and domestic duties. This often leaves women with no options but to follow local or regional cultures which silence them and prevent them from voicing their needs to their household, community or local government. This state of affairs has become cause for concern and is a top goal for the United Nations. According to Francesca Distefano (2017),

Inclusive livestock development can greatly advance the achievement of SDG5 [United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Number 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls] and foster gender equality and the empowerment of women, particularly in rural areas. Without taking into account gender issues in livestock development we risk to leave behind a big part of the agriculture labor force: rural women. (FAO, 2017)

In this paper, I examine one IndoBeef project, the CropCow project, through the lens of gender. CropCow was one of the first livestock projects in Indonesia to incorporate gender-specific activities into project design and implementation to improve rural livelihood. Although both CropCow and PalmCow experienced budget reduction, CropCow managed to gain supplemental funds to conduct gender activities. The CropCow project used women-only focus

group discussions to collect qualitative data and utilized the International Livestock Research Institute's 'Women's Empowerment in Livestock Index' (WELI) survey. The project blazed a trail in its approach to livestock production development, by considering and addressing the underlying needs of female farmers. However, patriarchal norms and practices were difficult hurdles for the architects of the IndoBeef program to take into account. Because of this, gender analysis is important in understanding what the project did, how it did it, and whether or not it succeeded.

With CropCow's high-minded goals and big promises, I seek to answer the following three questions:

1. How did gender influence project implementation?
2. Did the project benefit women across the district and province?
3. What aspects proved valuable to its proposed beneficiaries, and where did it fall short of its goals?

In answering these questions, I will begin by outlining the conceptual framework, origins of the project, and interrogating CropCow's assumptions of women and their needs. I believe that CropCow could have done better, my goal is to examine *how* the project could have done better. I seek to plant seeds of recommendations in the hope that women may bloom in future Indonesian agricultural projects. I believe that my gender analysis of CropCow contributes to and can improve development practice.

### **Conceptual Framework**

In this section, I discuss why gender analysis is important to the design and implementation of a development intervention. Knowing how social and cultural norms

influence women's work and their lives is important to changing their lives and improving gender equality.

Gender and sex are not interchangeable. Sex is a classification assigned to a person based on the physical appearance of their genitalia at birth. Sex acquires the status of gender through the influence of society and culture and the process of gender socialization. Communities associate values and traits with each gender category such as names, clothing, colors, and many other facets of personality or action (Lorber, 1994). Thus, gender is a social construct that does not flow automatically from genitalia and reproductive organs. However, gender is deeply rooted in most aspects of our lives, which influences our perceptions of ourselves and others.

This construction emerges from individuals, groups, and societies' interactions with one another and with their environments. Dominant social norms ascribe particular traits, statuses, or values to individuals based on human biological differences (male and female). These ascriptions have accumulated and created gender roles, which establish and reinforce different expectations of what behavior men and women should have (Blackstone, 2003, p. 335). For example, in livestock production, women are often considered to be best suited to feeding animals and cleaning animal pens in addition to performing domestic duties like family care, while men are considered to be more fit for public duties such as selling animals and crops at the market, and being a point of contact for local government, extension agents, or traders. In other words, "gender roles are the roles that men and women are expected to occupy based on their sex" (Blackstone, 2003).

What are the implications of gender roles? Gender roles inherently shape different ways of knowing. The ideal way of utilizing natural resources and preserving the earth is for men and women to take on active and equal duties. As Shiva (1989) stated, "ecological ways of knowing

nature are necessarily participatory” (p. 41). This essential idea means that if women are prevented from participating in nature, they will be disenfranchised from the process of knowing. Shiva (1989) implies that gender roles are unfortunately determined by sex, that women are framed as ‘sustainers’, while men, contrastingly, are more productive in extracting short-term wealth from commons.

Members of society have lived with the idea for so long that they are blind to the problematic implications and consequences. Even though in reality, our social ascriptions differ broadly across and within societies and cultures (Blackstone, 2003, p. 335), the roots of gender roles are embedded. It is a challenge to question and deconstruct gender roles. Moreover, the negative effects of gender roles are not equally distributed between men and women. Women are disproportionately disadvantaged by a “triple burden” (March et al., 1999). First, women are expected to perform the lion’s share of reproductive work, handling family care from childbearing to housekeeping maintenance, including collecting water, shopping, and preparing food. Men rarely take responsibility for this time-and-labor-intensive work, foisting the tasks onto women. A second role expected of women is to handle work related to the “production of goods and services for consumption or trade” (March, et al., 1999 pp. 56-57), however, compared to men’s productivity, women’s productivity is often more invisible and undervalued (March, et al., 1999 pp. 56-57; Rahman et al., 2020). Thirdly, women are obliged to be involved in community work, where they participate in social and political activities to improve or maintain community cohesiveness. Men are also involved in community politics, but women's involvement here is often perceived as voluntary rather than being valued economically. The above gender roles shape a division of labor that disproportionately detriments women (March, et al., 1999 pp. 56-57). The goal of this paper is not to change the existing gender roles, but to

provide a deeper understanding of the importance of analyzing how gender roles influence the design and implementation of development projects so that the practitioners may better target program participants.

### **Gender inequality in Indonesia**

Despite Indonesia's vast economic growth in the last few years, gender relations across the country remain patriarchal. Indonesian society puts men above women, which gives priority and opportunities to men and limits women's human rights (Sultana, 2012). This is due in part to the influence of religion, the history of colonialism, and a culture based around patrilineal succession. However, it is not simply a self-perpetuating culture of masculinity that represents the worst slices of the patriarchy, in fact the roots are sunk in the law itself. *Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 Tentang Perkawinan*, or Law No. 1/1974 on Marriage, states in Article VI that men are definitionally the head of the family (UU Republik Indonesia, 1974). When a society is fundamentally structured along such explicitly unequal lines, it poisons the entire system. When men and women disagree with each other, they go to the courts. The courts go to the law, and the inequality is reinforced.

There are many social problems resultant from patriarchal culture such as high rates of domestic violence, forced early marriage, divorce stigmatization, and sexual harassment. As highlighted in Sakina & Siti (2017), there were 259,150 reported cases of domestic violence in 2016. Two million out of 7.3 million Indonesian women under 18 years old had to discontinue school, and were forced into early marriage with men over 30 years old, which grants Indonesia the dubious honor of being the country with the second-highest number of early marriages in Southeast Asia in 2015. The country also maintained the highest divorce rate in Asia Pacific, accounting for 212,400 cases in the last three years—75% of it proposed by women. These social

problems are reinforced by societal victim blaming where women are held at fault for actions perpetrated by men, such as rape, catcalling, and other heinous acts (Sakina & Siti, 2017).

The implication of these gender problems, including legal regulations that discriminate against Indonesian women, is vast as they restrain women's freedom to have a role in the public sphere. For instance, there has historically been less than 10% female representation in the Indonesian parliament in Formal Political Institutions at any given time (Parawansa, 2002).

Women's limited access to government reduces their ability to self-advocate, improve conditions for women, and progress society. Religion poses a problem for women seeking to enter into government as well. As a majority-Muslim country, Fatwas, or religious edicts have interfered with the attempts of women to campaign. For example, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) stated in their 2006 gender report:

In 2004, the first opportunity to directly elect the president combined with one of those candidates being a woman brought the issue of fatwa to the fore. In June 2004, a few weeks prior to the first presidential vote, a number of religious leaders of NU [Nahdatul Ulama] of East Java announced that it was forbidden for Muslims to vote for a woman candidate, adding that a woman could only be made leader if the country was in great danger (p. 50).

Moreover, when women *are* elected, their roles as lawmakers tend to fall in line with the gendered expectations of women within a family structure. From the ADB's (2006) report,

Female politicians emphasized that male politicians were still regarded as the main decision maker in "important" cases. Female politicians also felt that they were being expected to improve the daily life situation for their constituency, more so than of their

male counterparts in the local legislature. It was not uncommon that women supported some of their constituency in terms of paying for health services. (p. 47, Box 4.3)

These societal gender problems are intensified in rural farming societies due to existing gender roles and gendered division of labor. As Caron (2020) stated:

A gendered division of labor characterizes agriculture with women assumed to be ‘naturally better’ at performing particular agricultural tasks than men. Such assumptions play into contemporary notions of masculinity and femininity. (p. 185)

### **Women in Indonesian Agriculture**

Despite being beset from all sides, women still play a crucial role in Indonesian agricultural production, especially in rural areas. The government acknowledges the importance of agriculture, and seeks to boost the prosperity of agricultural producers in rural areas where 23.6 million people live under the poverty line (FAO, 2019). Seeking to capitalize on the ‘untapped’ female labor market, the government added gender equality and women’s empowerment goals into national policies. For instance, *Law No. 6/2014 on Village Development* and *Law No. 18/2012 on Food* attempted to incentivize women to participate and gain access to development resources as well as food security programs (FAO, 2019, p. 20).

However, the concept of women’s empowerment is fraught with gendered expectations, rolling over for the very patriarchal system the words purport to resist. Hyunanda et al. (2021) impute the state of affairs in their critique of the concept of ‘empowerment’ in Indonesia:

Indonesia’s development language is frequently associated with “gender mainstreaming policies” that intend to increase women’s participation through “empowerment” and subsequently have them contribute to national growth. As a result, there is perceived to be an urgent need to insert “women” into the strategic national agenda by



institutionalizing “women’s empowerment” as a gender mainstreaming strategy, conceiving “women” as a weak economic unit to be enhanced through “empowerment”.

(p. 1)

This approach trivializes the complex social dynamics underpinning the reasons *why* women were seen as lesser contributors to the rural and national economies, leading to a line of thinking where, according to Hyunanda et al. (2021), “...empowerment is now seen as a “magic bullet” for the alleviation of poverty rather than a way of interrogating the complex dynamics of a social process” (p. 3).

Indeed, the Indonesian government also co-opted the term “empowerment” and instilled it with traditionally gendered values such as homemaking, child-rearing, and domestic duties through the creation of the concept of the *Ibu*, or “Mother” as a goal for rural Indonesian women to aspire. Hyunanda et al. (2021) affirms this paternalistic perversion: “...the controlling aspect of State *Ibuism* as the official construction of Indonesian womanhood has normalized society’s expectations for women’s empowerment as a productive exercise” (p. 3).

Women working in agriculture are often in charge of livestock family farming, including cleaning pens and feeding. However, in many rural areas of the global south such as Ghana, Bangladesh, and Indonesia, their contributions are still under-appreciated (FAO, 2019; Rahman et al., 2020, p. 2). In 2013, women accounted for 25% of the total work contribution to livestock farming in Indonesia. As 75% of the actors in livestock are men, this is a huge gap in participation that the government was attempting to address in their rulemaking (FAO, 2019). Akter et al. (2017) also find that compared to Thailand and the Philippines, women have a less active role in agriculture in Indonesia. For instance, in the majority of household farms, although women have control over chickens and ducks, they have little to no ownership of large ruminants

such as cows or horses (Wardani, 2017 in FAO 2019; IFAD, 2020). Livestock collect and concentrate resources and energy from the earth. Cattle represent a stable, appreciating investment upon which people can build the foundations of financial independence. Breeding and building a herd are a way of building wealth. Cattle can be sold for profit, or left to children, preventing poverty in the circumstance of a parent's death. However, the initial investment in cattle is prohibitive to women in patriarchal rural cultures with limited access to financial means. Another factor curtailing the efforts of women to liberate themselves is in the home. Once the daily farm work is finished, women are expected to shoulder the burden of house chores and family care (Shiva, 1989, p. xiv; Agarwal, 1992, p. 136), while men tend to rest and chat (FAO, 2019, p. 27). This double burden leaves them drained of time and energy which could be used for education, training, or other methods of self-strengthening.

Despite the herculean tasks completed by rural women, they are still disadvantaged compared to men in their own communities. Even though local staple farm owners who employed women laborers perceived women as more diligent workers than men, their daily wage was 50-100% lower than men (Hilmiati et. al, 2021). Moreover, across provinces, women are rarely present in village level weekly or monthly farmers' group meetings. When they come to the meetings, they primarily cook or perform domestic chores and are not involved in the discussion—it is perceived as “helping the husband” (My field observation and FGDs conducted with the IndoBeef Program, 2017-2019).

### **Gender and Development Relations with Women and Livestock**

Information and assessing progress within development projects is not accurate enough if it is not disaggregated by gender. As discussed above, the lives of women and men within a community or household are structured in different ways. Women are often left out or are less

involved in development program design and analysis, which results in their benefitting less from the projects, as the projects may not be tailored to their needs or interests. Rathgeber (1990) explains that the Gender and Development (GAD) approach factors in observations of the responsibilities of men and women, in gender analysis. GAD emphasizes that women are an integral part of household, community, and society with the goal of having effective project intervention and sustainable interventions. According to Rathgeber, “GAD projects would examine not only the sexual division of labor, but also the sexual division of responsibility, and recognize that the burden carried by women is one not only of physical labor but also of psychological stress” (p. 499). This approach is important because it allows Indonesian feminists to start focusing their analysis on gender relations rather than simply gender roles (Hyunanda, et al. 2021, p. 2).

The information on division of labor that the GAD framework offers is ‘policy-maker-friendly’ in the sense that it works harmoniously with political thinking oriented around economic benefits (Razavi and Miller, 1995, p. 15). However, the Indonesian government is working primarily to boost economic productivity of women within their traditional gender roles rather than re-examine the relationship between men and women, or attempt to address the social dynamics, instead filtering their efforts through the lens of “empowerment.” The term ‘pemberdayaan’ translates directly as ‘empowerment,’ but the government’s definition does not explicitly emphasize a ‘change in power relations’ between men and women which would result in a more equitable situation (Anitasari et al., 2010 p. 5).

In the developing project sphere surrounding agriculture, women have to be afforded special consideration, as Caron (2020) highlights: “Women’s access to and control over resources and the means of agricultural production, such as land, labor, technology and other

inputs, affects their ability to succeed in agriculture, ...” (p.188). Specifically with regards to livestock, gendered issues surrounding who does what and who benefits within livestock productivity are very distinct. GAD is very important because when livestock are perceived as a household asset, women family members generally lack ownership compared to men. As highlighted in IFAD (2010):

In many societies, cattle and larger animals are owned by men, while smaller animals – such as goats, sheep, pigs and backyard poultry kept near the house – are more a woman's domain. When the rearing of small animals becomes a more important source of family income, ownership, management and control are often turned over to the man. (p. 2)

The Indonesian government has not addressed this, instead leaning into their traditionalist viewpoint of women as the doting “Ibu [mom],” who focuses only on her family and does not concern herself with farming or raising cattle. As the World Bank noted in their 2020 report on gender, “...to date, the government’s policy and institutional framework has largely prioritized protecting women and improving women’s contribution to family welfare through their role as wives and mothers” (World Bank, 2020, p. 76).

The Food and Agricultural Organization (2009) added, “male livestock keepers have far better access to training and technology. Although female extensionists do exist in Indonesia, extension programs are usually oriented towards men’s livestock farmers, and extensionists lack the incentive and communication skills needed to work with often illiterate women” (p.16).

Therefore, incorporating the GAD framework within development projects in rural areas, using it to break down power imbalances between the genders, and support women’s access to assets would greatly improve gender equality in farming communities.

The negative impact of gender discrimination on productivity is more obvious in the livestock sector than in most other areas of agriculture. But the potential benefits of gender equality have made the sector a privileged entry point for gender mainstreaming (pp. 16-17) ...livestock projects were mainly oriented towards production issues such as breeding, feeding and animal health. More attention is needed to incorporate women farmers into project design to guarantee women's active participation and involvement in the different project phases and activities. (IFAD, 2010, p. 4)

As Resurrección and Elmhirst (2021) explained on their interview with a gender expert in ILRI, For land you need a title deed and usually for a lot of businesses you need actually some title and you need some collateral. Well with livestock, it's there and no deed is needed. ...You can take it with you if you get divorced, or if you're in a conflict area. It self-perpetuates. It gives you some money constantly, either through milk or through eggs. ...It gives you some independence, so it gives you some empowerment. It gives you some decision-making power. (p. 180)

### **Project Description: IndoBeef Program**

The IndoBeef program was a research-for-development program initiated by the Indonesian and Australian governments in 2012 with the goal of improving the livelihood of Indonesia's poor farmers through strengthening the community-based livestock sector. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade funded IndoBeef to support the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture's program, *Beef Sufficiency 2014*, and the Indonesian Ministry for Economic Affairs' program, *Economic Acceleration 2011-2025*. IndoBeef started operating in 2017 with a program targeting geographical areas with the potential to develop a beef value chain to bolster local consumption and reduce the country's dependency on imported beef. Part

of the mission was to support research on the production of livestock commodities and gather data for socio-economic research. However, a large focus of the program was in cross-cutting activities, which consisted of gender, capacity building, and communications. In this paper, I only focus on gender activities.

The subsidiary projects of IndoBeef comprised two parts: 1) CropCow, or *Improving cattle production and smallholder livelihoods in crop-based farming systems in Indonesia* in West Nusa Tenggara and South Kalimantan and 2) PalmCow, *Improving smallholder beef supply and livelihoods through cattle-palm system integration in Indonesia* in Riau, South Sumatra, and East Kalimantan (ACIAR, 2021a; ACIAR, 2021b). The project values were \$5,142,731.00 and \$4,762,91.00 AUD respectively (ACIAR, 2021a; ACIAR, 2021b).

### **Program Stakeholders**

There were several stakeholder groups with interest in the IndoBeef Program. The first group consisted of cattle farmers (majority men) who participated on the ground level working on the key innovation objectives framed by the program, and stood to benefit directly from it. The next group, cattle traders (almost all men), were also important, as the farmers relied on them for access to income, selling cattle in local markets. Making up the first public key stakeholder group was the provincial government, which sent field officers to monitor project activities at farm sites, collect data and maintain operational budgets. These officers were also responsible for reporting issues and progress to Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) researchers. MoA researchers and Australian researchers, divided along the lines of their area of specific research, architected project activities based on site and baseline survey results. These researchers then reported on-ground progress and results to the IndoBeef leaders, consisting of Indonesian and Australian high-level decision makers, who allocated Australian Department of Foreign Affairs

and Trade (DFAT) funds to each province. The executives then reported results back to DFAT, which as the primary financier was at the top of the hierarchy due to its ability to cancel or defund the project at any time.

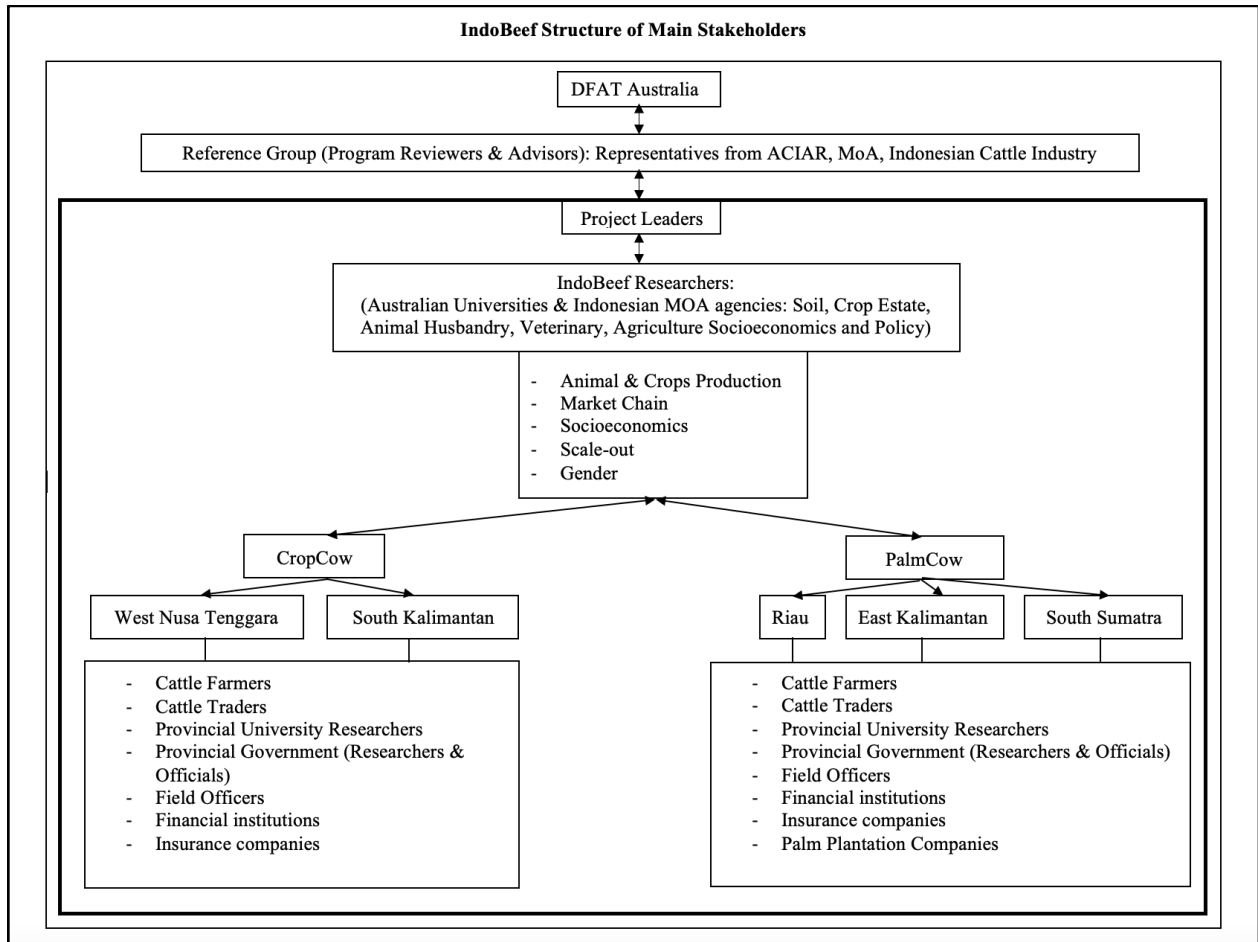


Figure 1. IndoBeef Structure of Main Stakeholders

Similar hierarchical management structures were shared across projects, combining Australian and Indonesian research project leaders from each country's institutions: The University of New England/UNE from Australia, and the Indonesian Center for Animal Research and Development/ICARD for the latter. Researchers from Australia's PalmCow and CropCow led on a range of themes research, which included socioeconomics, market chains, animal production, scale-out, and most importantly, gender (IndoBeef, 2018).

Outside actors were considered for potential investment into the project in order to help sustain its innovations, especially once the program timeframe was completed. Outside actors included palm plantation companies, local financial institutions, and local insurance companies. The palm plantations were interested to know whether the IndoBeef proposed business model of community-based cattle integration would be more profitable. Local financial institutions would provide crucial access to credit. Insurance agencies were considered extremely important in helping improve financial security, for example, when a farmer's cow was lost, stolen, or died.

<b>Stakeholder Group</b>	<b>Interest in IndoBeef</b>	<b>Influence in IndoBeef</b>	<b>Gender</b>
Smallholder farmers	High interest	Medium influence	Majority men
Cattle traders & market actors	Low interest	Low influence	Majority men
Provincial government	High interest	High influence	Mix of men and women
Indonesian Universities	High interest	Low influence	Mix of men and women
Indonesian MOA Researchers	High interest	High influence	Mix of men and women
DFAT Australia	High interest	High influence	N/A
ICARD, Indonesian MOA decision makers	High interest	High influence	Mix of men and women
Australian Researchers	High interest	High influence	Majority men
Palm Plantation Companies	High interest	Medium influence	Majority men
Financial institutions	Medium interest	Low influence	Majority men
Insurance companies	High interest	Low influence	Majority men
NGOs	Medium interest	Low influence	N/A

Table 1. IndoBeef stakeholder groups and their roles and responsibilities, interest and influence around the IndoBeef Program

### **CropCow Project**

The CropCow project was initially formulated due to the success of previous Australian funded projects in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), namely 'Improving smallholder cattle fattening systems based on forage tree legume diets in eastern Indonesia and northern Australia' (Bell et



al., 2020, Dahlanuddin et al., 2017). The initial pilot project in NTB, which was also funded by the Australian government, proved to increase cattle production, weaning rate, and therefore profit for farmers, due to the application of Integrated Village Management Systems (IVMS) in cattle breeding. This consisted of early calf weaning, improved bull selection, controlled natural mating, and better food for weaned calves (Dahlanuddin et al., 2017; Hilmiati et al., 2016). After this success, the Australian government wanted to further increase the adoption of these now-proven farming practices at least throughout NTB and “provide the evidence and conditions that will enable the broader use of the technologies by a far wider group of smallholder farmers (scaling out)”. The Indonesian government also wanted to test IVMS innovations in South Kalimantan province as a pilot to see if there was community and market potential, and whether whole or part of the system was adaptable by this emerging local cattle sector (ACIAR, 2021a). The aim of CropCow was “to increase the supply of beef from smallholder mixed crop-livestock farming systems to the growing domestic market demand” (Burrow et al., n.d., p. 10) and the specific objectives were:

- Improve the competitiveness of existing smallholder beef cattle market chains and explore/develop new markets.
- Increase the weaning and growth rates of cattle by smallholder farmers in mixed crop-cattle systems.
- Identify and evaluate approaches to improve adaptation, adoption and scaling out of proven production-based approaches.
- Improve the livelihoods of smallholder farmers in mixed crop-livestock systems (Burrow et al., n.d.).

Briefly put, CropCow focused on expanding IVMS adoption across NTB and South Kalimantan province. The CropCow project examines scheduled cattle mating, the weaning and growth rates of cattle in mixed crop-cattle smallholder farming systems, and potential engagement with institutions at a district and sub-district level.

### **PalmCow Project**

PalmCow was a pilot project that aimed to support the Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) initiatives of introducing business integration opportunities to palm plantation companies and cattle farmers who live nearby. The concept was to raise cattle within the same area as the oil palm plantation business. This farming practice was initially developed and deployed in Malaysia where companies utilize such integration for cost savings on maintenance, to cut labor costs, and to control weeds (Ayob & Kabul, 2009; Aman et al., 2004).

Thus, PalmCow focused on exploring business models for raising cattle and growing fodder under palm-oil plantations in the South Sumatra, Riau, and East Kalimantan provinces. The aim of *PalmCow* was “to significantly improve beef supply and livelihoods of smallholders and other beef market chain participants in palm-cattle systems in Indonesia” (Ackerman et al., n.d., p. 13), and the specific objectives were:

- To identify constraints and opportunities for improving beef cattle productivity and profitability in association with palm systems.
- Develop strategies to address constraints to successful palm-cattle integration.
- Identify potential business models for improving smallholder beef cattle productivity and profitability in palm systems.
- Provide a strategy for scaling out palm-cattle integration. (Ackerman et al., n.d.)

PalmCow involved different research activities, including comparing trees, soil, and cattle performance between palm-cattle integrated and unintegrated grazing sites; measuring forage production under plantation, and introducing new forage species; and mapping farmer

groups' existing and improved scenario business models. This data was important for the MoA, as they had been trying to assuage palm plantations' reluctance to have cattle under their trees due to unproven claims that cattle could potentially bring disease to their forests.

### **Gender in IndoBeef**

The IndoBeef Gender Team argues that IndoBeef was a gender-inclusive program, as women in rural Indonesia are actively involved in cattle farming and household finance. Their aim was to support IndoBeef's overarching goal of improving rural livelihoods by increasing women's income. The project's gender goal was to increase women's involvement within cattle farmer groups, more specifically to: 1) enhance learning; 2) increase motivation for livestock farming; 3) create new cattle production and marketing opportunities; 4) bolster community support for women in livestock, and 5) increase social capital and resilience. IndoBeef used a team of Indonesian and Australian gender researchers and claimed that its program would lead 'by example' by mainstreaming gender through using the following foundations:

- Gender-sensitive language, ensuring women and men are equally visible in all program documentation.
- Gender-specific data collection and analysis, whereby program data will be collected, analyzed and presented by gender and other demographic variables such as age, ethnicity and level of education.
- Equal access of women and men to, and utilisation of, services provided by *IndoBeef*.
- Equal involvement of women and men in *IndoBeef* program decision making.
- Equal involvement of women and governance with a 50:50 representation of women and men in the 20-person cross-country (Indonesia and Australian) and cross-project (*CropCow* and *PalmCow*) team. (IndoBeef, n.d.)

The leading researchers formed these foundations based on their research in Ghana where integration of women’s empowerment into financial literacy training for farmers of both genders resulted in 165% improvement of the household welfare indicator and 121% improvement for female-beneficiary households (Koomson, Villano and Hadley, 2020). These findings emphasized the importance of women’s participation through the IndoBeef Gender Framework (Figure 1.). This framework narrows into two strategies below that may vary in each province depending on social and economic contexts:

- Ensuring women’s active participation in all relevant program and project activities, including tailoring the project’s adoption and scaling research and capacity building interventions to target women-specific needs and interests.
- Encouraging women to form co-learning groups to collectively better identify and meet their knowledge, production and livelihood needs. (IndoBeef, n.d.)

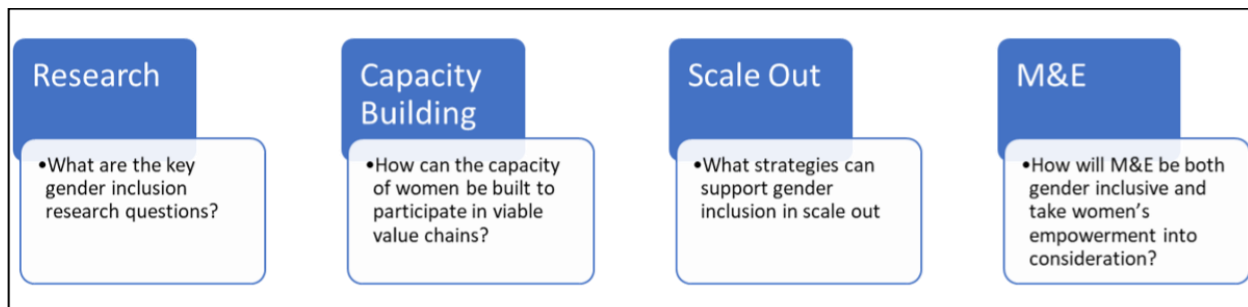


Figure 2. IndoBeef Gender Framework (IndoBeef, n.d.)

Besides these strategies, the program also used DFAT’s and Building Effective & Accessible Markets (BEAM Exchange)’s guidelines on increasing women’s inclusion in market systems, emphasizing five dimensions of access and agency:

- Increased income or return on labor.
- Access to and control over opportunities such as jobs and market access.
- Access to and control over resources and services including training and finance.

- Decision-making authority from productive activities to financial control.
- Manageable workloads where women can balance their various responsibilities. (DFAT, 2015; Jones, 2016)

As gender was a cross-cutting activity within the program, the gender team took those principles and goals and collaborated with the other research teams, such as Scaling Out and Market Chain. They combined family-farm production data with the Women's Empowerment in Livestock Index (WELI) to develop suitable scaling out strategies. Furthermore, they analyzed factors affecting farm productivity and efficiency to examine the effects of gender roles in the market chain. The gender team's hypothesis was that through impact monitoring, their gender strategies would not result in additional burden on women outside of an initial investment of time and money, and would lead to greater personal satisfaction.

### **Methodology: My Analysis Using FPAR**

I used a systematic literature review to address my research questions by finding relevant sources in English and Bahasa Indonesia. I also employ techniques of reflective practice, as I served in a professional role in IndoBeef as an intermediary between the Indonesian and Australian IndoBeef researchers. Thus, I had access to both project documents and observations of the project staff's interactions with communities and beneficiaries. The analysis and outcome of this paper may also be influenced by my perspective as an internal participant. My analytical framework in this paper uses feminist gender analysis. Specifically, I analyze the IndoBeef program through the lens of Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) and examine IndoBeef's use of the Women's Empowerment in Livestock Index (WELI) as their primary tool for collecting gender data. I assert that my reflective practices are a useful tool for organizational learning and in monitoring and evaluation. Specifically, this method contributes to the

advancement of gender equality in development projects as it creates space for reflection and offers the possibility of transforming gender power relations and systems within the program.

### ***Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR)***

Within the broader scope of GAD, Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) is a gendered analytical framework emergent from Participatory Action Research (PAR). Although PAR is a useful analytical framework, its breadth poses challenges for those seeking to use it in practical projects. It requires greater specificity of target groups, whereas in reality, those able to participate are not often clear and well-defined communities, and sometimes the intersection of community traits such as socioeconomic status, gender, and race complicate the process and make it more difficult to choose the greatest need.

Godden et al., (2020) highlighted that in many developing countries, FPAR is often superior at affecting social change, since it not only incorporates social justice approaches, but also uses feminist viewpoints to critically examine power structures. There are nine principles of FPAR, highlighted below on Figure 1.

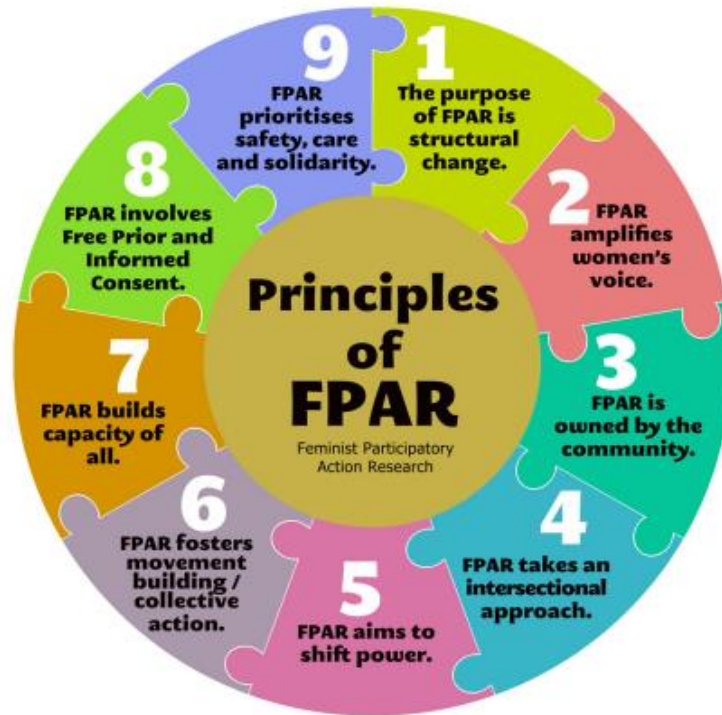


Figure 3. Principles of Feminist Participatory Action Research (APWLD, 2020 in Godden 2020, p. 596)

For instance, FPAR asks users to become an agent of social change, and build a better future for incumbent generations of children “as demonstrated by the empowerment of grassroots women’s movements in the struggle for climate justice in the nine study countries” (Godden 2020, p. 597). Godden praises FPAR for its effectiveness and explains its importance for the installing a foundation of feminism in political work around the world. Through the use of FPAR, stakeholders involved are not limited to heads of district governments, heads of farmer groups, and heads of hamlets. They can give program recommendations to local governments or communities, and inherently include women, going beyond quantitative data and statistical analysis.

### ***Women’s Empowerment in Livestock Index (WELI)***

WELI is a survey-based index tool developed by the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) to measure the impact of women’s empowerment in agriculture, focusing on livestock production. It also includes questions about crops framed through broad elements of the Family Farm Production and Business nodes of the livestock value chain, for example: decision making in farm and family nutrition, access to and control over livestock, crop assets, credits, income, market, and working hours. WELI is adapted from the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)’s Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) as a standardized tool of agriculture-specific survey-based indexes to measure women’s empowerment in USAID funded projects. WELI aims to help project designers and implementers of agriculture and rural development programs facilitate assessments that determine what livestock interventions work best to impact women’s empowerment.

<b>WELI Quantitative Index:</b>
Time Allocation
Role in Household Decision-Making, Production, and Income
<i>Role in Household Decision-Making With A Livestock Focus</i>
Access to Productive Capital
Access to Financial Services
Group Membership
Physical Mobility
Intrahousehold Relationships
Autonomy in Decision-Making
Self-Efficacy Scale
Life Satisfaction
Attitudes Towards Domestic Violence

Table 2. WELI Quantitative Index (Galiè et al., 2018)

WELI was piloted in Tanzania which found that 83% of women spent time on activities that have no monetary value, and very few women had adequate access to credit, opportunities for non-agricultural income, or control over non-farm activities (Galiè et al., 2019). The research reported that women’s empowerment correlates with improved access to information, training,



groups, control over own time, and nutrition—although it did not show a correlation with food security, because the research participants associated food security with men. In the project description section, I have outlined the project structure of IndoBeef (see Figure 2.), a project which used WELI to frame its assessment of gender and understand women’s participation in livestock and agriculture work.

### **Outcomes of IndoBeef Program**

Based on the Aid Program Performance Report 2017-2018 for Indonesia by DFAT Australia (2018), the Aid Quality Checks (AQC) rating on of IndoBeef gender equality was 4 out of 6, which means “adequate; on balance, satisfies criteria; does not fail in any major area” (p. 36). However, there is no further background information of how the rating was generated. The report also emphasized that there were “issues that have slowed the progress of these program”, as the report stated:

In 2018-19, a renewed effort will be made to address issues that have slowed the progress of these programs. Key steps to getting the programs on track include improving Government-to-Government coordination mechanisms and addressing other implementation issues such as subsidiary agreements, aligning risk management approaches and updating the scope of monitoring and evaluation. (DFAT, 2018, p.23)

Although the issues were not fully explained in the DFAT report and Projects’ Final Report, the project documents emphasized that DFAT cut the funding for both CropCow and PalmCow in the middle of project timeframe and curtailed the implementation of project activities. The budget reduction caused the PalmCow project to end early, and they did not successfully perform any of their gender activities. The reason for PalmCow’s early termination was blurry and not specifically listed in any of the project documentation, but it suffered from a

confluence of factors, including bureaucratic overhead, slow acquisition of data, and limited support. This was exacerbated by challenging logistics for farmers to manage such an operation, ultimately resulting in the cancellation.

With its budgetary concerns, PalmCow was not able to implement most of the gender-inclusive activities at the farmer level, namely the WELI survey and focus group discussions with groups of local women. One reason for this was because the Indonesian Government's partnering agencies had to conduct other research priorities with the limited budget (Ackerman et al., n.d., p. 31). The PalmCow project did collect a baseline level of survey data through the Household Survey in the three pilot provinces, which concluded that farm labor within the family, such as feed collection, feeding, cleaning animal pen, and grazing cattle were conducted by one to three male family members over 90% of the time, while female family members did less than 10% of each cattle farming activity (Ackerman et al., n.d.).

Here I will focus on examining gender in CropCow primarily because CropCow continued with supplemental funds from the local Indonesian government, University of New England, and NGOs, such as ACIAR. Furthermore, the project successfully conducted WELI surveys in addition to running Focus Group Discussions with women despite the reduction in budget (Burrow et al., n.d.). I will begin by addressing the results of these focus groups. My gender analysis here is based on project documents and final reports of CropCow and PalmCow.

According to Burrow et al. (n.d.), the women in the focus groups had strong views on how the project could best support them. Many of them were interested in participating in the CropCow project in groups separate from male farmers. However, a contingent of women believed that mixed groups of farmers were more ideal. These women were also less interested in participating in the project, either because they were not interested in producing more cattle, or

because they thought that mixed groups would help them achieve a better outcome. These women were already engaged in agriculture in mixed settings already (p. 27).

The groups of women who wanted to take advantage of the training program CropCow offered were enthusiastic about ideal training times, but worried about their overall workload, language barriers with trainers, and their own shyness (Burrow et al., n.d., p. 27). They suggested alleviating a component of the latter by having female trainers, external facilitators to organize the groups, and to be trained separately from groups of men. Overall, most of the participants were excited to learn about cattle innovations, such as technology and techniques for processing cattle manure, due to the fact that women are often given the task of cleaning the cattle pens (p. 27).

Drawing from the secondary source, CropCow Final Report, I found the results of the WELI survey were surprising, given the demographics: women indicated a higher percentage of participation in joint decisions than decisions made only by the husband regarding topics such as horticulture, food crops, non-agricultural income-generation activities, wage jobs, large and infrequent expenses such as land, vehicles, or other goods, and the goings-on at home, such as deciding on meals, or choosing domestic products. (p. 27)

Less surprising is the fact that over 75% of women did not make decisions regarding the quantities of products retained for home use versus the quantity brought to market, nor did they participate in the decision-making process regarding which cattle should be sold or slaughtered. Another notable piece of data is that over 50% of the surveyed women engaged in informal microfinance for their capital (pp. 107-122).

## Discussion

IndoBeef emerged into an Indonesia that had seen a long trend of women's economic participation increasing and decreasing as a percentage of the labor force. The segment of women working in agriculture had steadily been declining for the better part of two decades, backgrounded by a general increase in women as wage-earners, albeit in low-wage positions (World Bank, 2020, pp. 20-21). Socially regarded as lesser entities, women have also suffered a lack of legal protections as workers, with legal frameworks that both curtail their freedom and codify the patriarchal hierarchy.

This is most starkly outlined in *Law No. 1/1974 on Marriage* establishing men as the head of the household (World Bank, 2020, p. 27). The trend has continued in recent decades, with *Law No. 13/2003 on Labor* reinforcing notions of women as substandard workers, adding provisions for "menstruation leave," whilst simultaneously failing to protect women from termination after maternity leave (p. 26). The controversial *Law No. 6/2014 on Village Development* was ostensibly created to increase women's participation in government by allowing greater autonomy and self-governance of villages, however, the situation led primarily to male village heads dominating local politics (Kushandajani & Alfirdaus, 2019).

Over the years, the government co-opted the language of burgeoning social movements calling for "Women's Empowerment," perverting the meaning of "Empowerment" away from a critical examination of masculine hegemony and power structures (Anitasari, 2010, p. 5), instead redirecting the term toward idealized concepts of women as "Faithful Wives," characterizing "the state as the patriarchal social order and women as the subjects to be governed" (Hyunanda et al. 2021, p. 15). They stripped away the political project of empowerment and limited it to

increasing income, assuming that “once women have access to economic resources, they will be able to make changes in other areas of their lives” (Cornwall, 2016, p. 356).

The program staff of IndoBeef, working within this social and political milieu, needed to be cognizant of the ongoing rhetoric of state, culture, and customary laws in implementing their gender-affirmative policies within the project. The overall gender goal was to increase the economic output of women, and therefore their independence. However, the methods and outcomes imply that project staff on all levels were making many assumptions about how gender operates in rural Indonesia. The involvement of the Indonesian government in the project compromised the results with its “Empowerment,” and “Gender Mainstreaming” definitions.

One goal of the CropCow project within IndoBeef was to implement “Integrated Village Management Systems,” to boost cattle production by teaching villagers how to effectively breed cattle. Though women suggested single-gender training in focus group discussions, the training groups were exclusively mixed-gender. This is a fundamental issue, because although “mixed groups can make the most of men and women's strengths, they may be more difficult to organize because of the constraints women often face in participating in the “public space” of resource governance, such as forest or water user associations” (Doss, 2018, p. 73). Despite significant useful gender data being collected, and research surveys analyzed, the project exhibited a trend of failing to inculcate this information and incorporate it into the activities of the project. Worse still, according to the project outcomes no efforts were made to structurally create space for women in the livestock sector, financially, or politically. Women face a much larger barrier to entry due to their lack of generational wealth and financial assets.

The breeding training alone is not enough to benefit women if they are fundamentally unable to participate in the space due to a lack of resources. Furthermore, a large number of

women surveyed for the project were reluctant to participate when faced with the increased commitment that the project would have demanded. As Doss et al., (2018) highlighted:

When new opportunities arise, through changes in markets or technologies, the social norms and traditional patterns of labor will shape who is able to take advantage of them. In particular, women's labor burdens in household work and food production may limit their ability to take advantage of these opportunities. (p. 71)

Thus, women were not incentivized to participate further, despite the project having a distinct goal of improving this gap.

The second major project goal was to implement the planting, growing, and harvesting of a new *Leucaena* crop species, Tarramba, from Australia. As in the breeding activity, surveys were conducted to determine the desires and goals of local women, many of whom said that they would like female trainers. However, even though this was accomplished, the training groups were once again composed almost entirely of men. At the end of the training, the women went back to households where over 75% did not have the freedom to choose how resources are utilized (Burrow et al., n.d., p. 27).

I argue that three themes are consistent between the project activities: First, that the project did not question the power structure between men and women within the village. Second, that the project did not successfully actualize the women's desires as they expressed them, and third, that the project primarily benefited only men, successfully improving their livelihoods by a modest amount, and by extension, making it more difficult for women to succeed in the market by enhancing men's competitive advantage and capital.

This capital gap was a huge problem for the women. The project data indicated that 50% of the women were receiving most of their capital from microfinance, i.e., small-scale local

lending. This represents a particular challenge for women in the first place, as most men have assets to use as collateral for larger loans. As Hyunanda et al. (2021) explains,

...Women are expected to play a crucial role as a secondary breadwinner by engaging in economic activity in a productive and responsible way, as they now have better access to financing. Consequently, this model perpetuates their marginalization and exclusion by forcing them to take responsibility for their poverty, rather than questioning the unequal structures of society as well as the exploitative mechanism of the capitalist market. (p. 15)

IndoBeef project officers reached out to local institutions in an attempt to garner financial assistance for the project, and received some financial support from a few local governments, but it was not enough money in the first place. In the second place, the project did not make a special consideration for the economic disadvantages of women when dealing with funding and resource allocation. Project researchers thought they were succeeding in addressing gender bias because men and women claimed joint decision-making authority more often than they indicated being a male-dominated household on the WELI survey. However, their own data regarding control over household resources contradicts this idea, indicating that while perhaps rural families liked to think that they were participating equally, there was a gap in the *quality* of participation.

A case study in Timor-Leste found that although their statistical results showed that a high number of households have joint livestock ownership and joint decision-making on production and income, follow-up interviews revealed that for many women joint does not mean equality; joint decisions still require consent from their husband, without which they would not proceed in selling livestock or purchasing animal-source foods (Bonis-Profumo et al., 2022, p. 222). Another example is found in the pilot deployment of WELI in Tanzania. ILRI researchers

discovered through their analysis that empowering women in dairy farming does not correlate with increased food security, through the follow-up qualitative analysis they found out that the research participants associated the term, 'food security' with the actions of men, while women associated themselves more with the term 'nutrition' (Galiè, 2019). This difference in association is one of the examples of how the 'work' that men and women do, as determined by gender roles, shapes different ways of knowing.

In other words, the WELI index potentially hides the fact that women still face constraints on participating both within household and in public space of resource governance, and also are more likely to be led by men due to their patriarchal influence over family units. This is aligned with Browne's (2018) finding on a program conducted in Indonesia:

Women are more visible in decision-making processes but the quality of their participation remains low, and power remains within traditional structures. Women are instrumental for reaching the programme objectives, so they are included by programmers, but their participation has not addressed underlying empowerment issues. (p. 7)

WELI is a useful research tool, but it is useless to use WELI, and perform no structural changes to the activities of a development program. IndoBeef follows in the footsteps of other uses of WELI, where the index revealed a problem, but developers did not implement a successful solution based on its results. As with all gender tools, WELI informs project architects of what imbalances are, but does nothing to affect the balance. Such tools are best at focusing on the elements of a problem which can be quantified. However, this can often have the unintended consequence of reducing social problems between men and women down to numerical figures such as income or capital, ignoring dynamics that are purely mental, non-fiscal, or otherwise



intangible. Thus, these frameworks and tools primarily focus on the logistics of distributing resources, assets, and services, ignoring the crucial work of challenging norms and changing power structures in favor of a simpler financial approach (Cornwall, 2016, p. 356).

Broadly speaking, IndoBeef’s gender team promised to deliver solutions based on their efforts in “Gender Mainstreaming.” It is my analysis that their rough strategy lines up with what Moser (2014) calls “Twin-Track Gender Mainstreaming” (p. 16). Moser’s diagram (Figure 4.) corresponds to an understanding of IndoBeef where “Integration of women’s & men’s concerns in all policies and projects” can be understood in terms of the activities of the gender team. For example, the gender team’s internal goal of using gender-sensitive language, and “ensuring women and men are equally visible in all program documentation” (IndoBeef n.d.). Using WELI as part of the gender strategy is a way of accounting for the concerns of women. A component of Box No. 2. Moser's diagram is found in the use of women’s focus groups, clearly an activity designed to empower the women and help their voices reach authority figures both within the project and outside of the project.

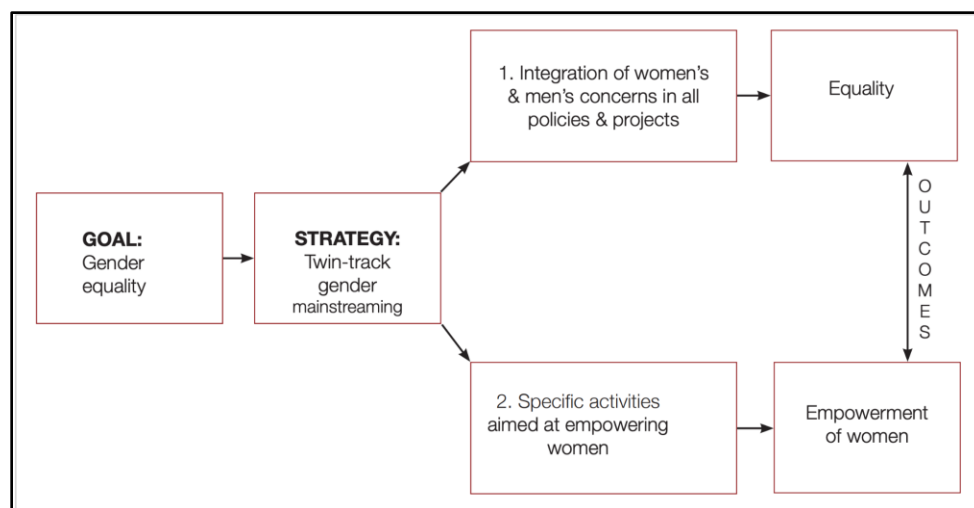


Figure 4. Components of a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy (Moser, 2014, p. 16)

In my analysis, the IndoBeef team failed to successfully satisfy the conditions of both tracks of this gender mainstreaming framework. While they worked hard to fulfill their internal

goals of gender representation within the management structure, and some gendered data collection activities, they neither succeeded at either fully integrating gender concerns into the project activities, nor in creating activities that genuinely empowered women.

Firstly, though they integrated women's concerns into their own policies, the architects of these policies did not integrate the concerns of women into the actual activities of the project. As stated earlier, many of the women desired single-gender training groups, this concern was ignored. Secondly, although activities were designed to hear women, and to let them voice their desires for empowerment, no activities were designed to actually *achieve* this empowerment.

There are two underlying causes for this. The immediate cause is the lack of funding to design and maintain empowerment activities. As Moser (2014) notes in her example of twin-track mainstreaming, "...The twin track approach was soon eroded when only modest resources were allocated to it" (p.16). The systemic, and more insidious cause for the failure of IndoBeef to accomplish empowering gender activities lies in the participation of the Indonesian government, and its particular brand of "empowerment" which undermines efforts to reform patriarchal culture.

In the case study of the minority Chinese *Benteng*, "The notion of "women's empowerment" inspired a governmental operation aimed at these women, promoting the particular qualities of the dutiful housewife, devoted mother, and socially active member of Indonesian society" (Hyunanda, et al., 2021, p. 1). The Indonesian government holds a traditionalist view of the actions of women, where "explicit feminist language" is regarded as a "western concept" (p. 2). This is reinforced by Jenderedjian & Bellows (2021), who noted that compared to international organizations, local leaders tended to react negatively to terms like

“gender mainstreaming,” assuming that it has a strong association with western feminism, which they consider problematic (p.10).

It is clear from the history of legislation, state action, and rhetoric from male and female politicians, that the government has no great desire to alter the social and political hierarchy. For them, an overall increase in economic output by the majority male farmers is likely just as positive an outcome as an increase in the participation of women. “The state has used [the] women to undertake jobs that used to be the state’s responsibility, such as taking care of the poor and the marginalized citizens” (Syukri, 2021, p. 7). As long as the government sees women as the *Ibu [mother]*, there is no incentive toward equality.

## **Recommendations**

Although challenging Indonesian patriarchal culture and legal frameworks is a herculean effort, I recommend that program designers need to explore more suitable frameworks and apply active approaches after doing gender analysis. I believe that the organizers of IndoBeef could have benefitted from several techniques:

- Incorporating Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR).
- Utilizing GAD Checklist as an analytical framework.
- Conducting gender training for project staff.
- Acquiring a better understanding of Indonesian patriarchal culture and laws.
- More secure sources of funding to ensure the project achieves all of its goals.

These recommendations should be standard fare for international development practitioners, NGOs, humanitarian agencies, international organizations, and government agencies, and I will expound further upon their use.

Firstly, I would recommend that the designers of the IndoBeef project incorporate FPAR. FPAR has been used in various environmental and indigenous projects in Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Cambodia (Godden et al., 2020,

pp. 600-602). The concept of FPAR reinforces a ground-level structure, where the program is owned by the community. Women would occupy a position in the stakeholder circle not solely as beneficiaries but also as co-researchers, which would allow them to function as local knowledge owners giving them their own agency to educate and influence their community.

By incorporating the nine principles of FPAR (Godden, 2020), the project would empower women to advocate for themselves in ways more material than simple one-way communication during training, surveys, or interviews. It would also empower the project organizers to think in a more feminist way. For example, adult cattle in Indonesia can be worth 10 million IDR (\$700 USD) per head, or higher before religious festivals such as Idul Adha. Meanwhile smaller livestock for consumption such as goats, ducks, and chickens are worth approximately up to two million IDR (\$140 USD), 100,000 IDR (\$7 USD), and 75,000 IDR (\$5 USD) per head respectively. This difference in the monetary value of livestock shows that women are disproportionately impacted if they are excluded from accessing commons such as cattle. Understanding the material reality of women's relationship with natural resources (Agarwal, 1992, p. 123 & p. 126) is a must for project staff.

A large problem for the gender goals within IndoBeef was that project staff and subject matter experts did not receive any gender training. Incorporating the fourth principle of FPAR, intersectionality, would ensure that gender is taken into account by all facets of the project. Those who have the authority and strategic resources to create active assistance and opportunities for women, would be motivated to do so.

Other than conducting WELI surveys and single-gender focus group discussions, project staff should engage in activities, such as documenting women's lived experiences in farming and with social power relations. This approach could create dialogue and increase the participation of

rural women in local government meetings or farmer association meetings. By ensuring this communication, project staff could not only provide aid and advice in one direction to communities or local governments, but would also be able to learn what women need to improve their access to and control over commons. This would allow them to help design activities and work to bridge the gap between women and the state. Creating a self-sustaining benefit to women in agriculture is extremely important, and that benefit cannot exist without cooperation.

I also recommend using the GAD checklist (see Appendix 1 & 2) employed by the Government of the Philippines. Although at first glance, it might seem simplistic in covering the complexities of the heterogeneity of women and men, it would help project staff ensure they are incorporating GAD approach across all areas of the project. The checklist is a great tool for self-reflection on a program's key performance indicators and could allow the architects of IndoBeef to do valuable metacognition regarding their impact on women. Further, the GAD checklist can also be a useful guide, signaling whether the project needs to alter its gender mainstreaming strategies when data collected does not match the expected results.

My third recommendation is for the IndoBeef gender team to train the whole project staff on gender mainstreaming and how to address colonial power hierarchies within the program. As the IndoBeef program is a form of bilateral partnership, the organization itself needs to “reflexively and intentionally tackle power and inequalities within their own culture and structures” (Lokot, 2021). My fourth recommendation is for project managers to study the history of Indonesian legislation and culture from a feminist perspective. In general, the project staff should have a deeper understanding of local culture and customary laws. Indonesia is a very diverse nation (Bazzi et al., 2017) and the project should not treat Indonesian rural women as if they are all the same. The program worked with at least five different ethnic groups in five

different provinces in Indonesia. IndoBeef staff could have acknowledged that each project site might have different customs, different ideas regarding women's roles in the household, or different practices for women's use of land and livestock.

I have established the obstacles facing Indonesian women at length, and understanding these hurdles is key to successfully performing development work in the nation as a whole. Involving the Indonesian government in a project needs to be undertaken with an understanding of the government's perspectives, desires, and goals for women. The non-governmental architects of IndoBeef, when partnering in this way, allowed the government to focus solely on income generation within existing demographics of farmers, when they might have increased women's participation in farming in general.

Lastly, I would strongly urge the sourcing of secure funding, which would ensure proper gender mainstreaming. As Moser explained, the style of twin-track mainstreaming employed in IndoBeef is an economically dependent method of capacity building. The project donor brought in significant amounts of money, but staff overhead and a subsequent reduction in their budget crippled their ability to create real change for the women farmers that desperately needed it. Finding a way to create efficient, self-sustaining projects will ensure that women are continuously supported in rural communities and have a chance for real empowerment.

## **Conclusion**

I acknowledge in this paper that the gender approach used by the project team is underdeveloped and ineffective. Gender programs within a project can be so much more than tracking survey answers. Gender mainstreaming is supposed to produce equitable results. The results of IndoBeef show that the program worked within the outmoded Women in Development (WID) framework rather than taking the Gender and Development (GAD) approach. IndoBeef

showed great promise in improving gender equality in rural areas. However, their project outcomes did not reflect their goals of improving the livelihood of rural women. This is because they lacked a comprehensive feminist understanding of Indonesian culture and society. They were unknowingly working against the Indonesian patriarchy itself within a nation that considers women to be lesser than men, socially, legally, and systemically. Societal change will only come with time as generations change, and younger, more progressive ideas take hold, laying down a framework of new legislation that reinforces the equality and sanctity of femininity. There is a lot of work to be done, hopefully incorporating the suggestions I have outlined in this paper. I am grateful that IndoBeef attempted to account for the disadvantages women face. I wish it had been more successful. I am excited for the future.

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## Appendix 1. Guide for Accomplishing GAD Checklist

(The National and Economic Development Authority Republic of the Philippines, 2020, p. 3-4)

1. Put a check in the appropriate column (2a to 2c) under ‘**Response**’ to signify the degree to which a project proponent has complied with the GAD element:
  - Under column 2a *if nothing has been done*;
  - under column 2b *if an element, item, or question has been **partly answered***; and
  - under column 2c *if an element, item, or question has been **fully complied*** with.
2. A partial and a full yes can be distinguished as follows.
  - a. For Element 1.0:
    - A ‘partly yes’ to Question 1.1 (or **Q1.1**) means meeting with male officials and only one or a few women who also happen to be officials of the proponent or partner agency or organization; or with male and female officials and some male beneficiaries.
    - A ‘full compliance’ involves meeting with female and male officials and consulting with other stakeholders, including women and men that may be affected positively or negatively by the proposed project.
    - A ‘partly yes’ to **Q1.2** means inputs or suggestions may have been sought from women and men beneficiaries but are not considered at all in designing project activities and facilities.
    - A “partly yes” to **Q1.3** means only certain groups of women and men are viewed as stakeholders and agents of change.
  - b. For Element **2.0**:
    - ‘partly yes’ means some information has been classified by sex but may not help identify key gender issues that a planned project must address. In contrast, a full “yes” implies that qualitative and quantitative data are cited in the analysis of the development issue or project.
  - c. For Element **3.0**:
    - ‘partly yes’ means superficial or partial analysis has been done by focusing on only one or two of the concerns (gender roles, needs, perspectives, or access to and control of resources).
  - d. For Element 4.0:
    - A ‘partly yes’ means women are mentioned in the project objectives but only in connection with traditional roles (**Q4.1**); or the project has token gender equality outputs or outcomes (**Q4.2**).
    - A full “yes” to Q4.1 signifies that women’s nontraditional roles are also recognized, while a full “yes” to **Q4.2** denotes that gender equality outcomes and outputs are consistently pursued in the logical framework analysis.
  - e. For Element 5.0:

- A ‘partly yes’ means having gender equality strategies or activities but no stated gender issues to match the activities (Q5.1).
  - A full ‘yes’ means there is an identified gender issue and there are activities seeking to address these issues.
  - In the case of Q5.2, “partly yes” means the project builds on women and men’s knowledge and skills as a token, or not in a serious way.
- f. For Element 6.0:
- A ‘partly yes’ response to any of the items and questions is associated with superficial or partial effort to address a specific issue or question.
  - A ‘full yes’ involves a coherent, if not a comprehensive, response to the question.
- g. For Element 7.0:
- A ‘partly yes’ means the project monitoring plan includes indicators that are sex-disaggregated but no qualitative indicator of empowerment or status change.
- h. For Element 8.0:
- A ‘partly yes’ means the project requires the collection of some sex-disaggregated data or information but not all the information will track the gender differentiated effects of the project.
  - A ‘full yes’ means all sex-disaggregated data and qualitative information will be collected to help monitor GAD outcomes and outputs.
- i. For Element 9.0:
- A ‘partly yes’ means there is a budget for GAD-related activities but this is insufficient to ensure that the project will address relevant gender issues (Q9.1), or build GAD capacities among project staff or the project agency, or tap external GAD expertise (Q9.2).
- j. For Element 10.0:
- A ‘partly yes’ response to Q10.1 means there is a mention of the agency’s GAD plan but no direct connection is made to incorporate the project’s GAD efforts to the plan;
  - A ‘partly yes’ to Q10.2 means there is a mention of other GAD initiatives in the project coverage but no indication of how the project will build on these initiatives;
  - A ‘partly yes’ to Q10.3 means the project has a sustainability plan for its GAD efforts but makes no mention of how these will be institutionalized within the implementing agency or its partners.
3. After ascertaining whether a GAD requirement has been fulfilled or not, enter the appropriate score for an element or item under column 3.
- a. To ascertain the score for a GAD element, a three-point rating scale is provided:

- “0” when the proponent has not accomplished any of the activities or questions listed under an element or requirement; a score that is less than the stated maximum when compliance is only partial; and
  - “2” (for the element or requirement), or the maximum score for an item or question, when the proponent has done all the required activities.
- b. The scores for ‘partly yes’ differ by element.
- The score for **“partly yes” for Elements 2.0, 3.0, 7.0, and 8.0 is “1”**
  - For elements that **have two or more items or questions** (such as Element 1.0), **the rating for a ‘partial yes’ is the sum of the scores of the items or questions that fall short of the maximum “2.”**
- c. For Elements **4.0, 5.0, and 9.0**, which have two items each, the **maximum score for each item is pegged at “1.0” and for “partly yes” is “0.5.”**
- If a project scores a full “1.0” in one question but “0” in the other, or if a project scores “partly yes” (or “0.5”) in each of the two items, the total rating will be “partly yes” with a score of “1.0.”
  - If a project scores “partly yes” for one item but “no” for the other, then the total rating for the element will be “0.5.”
- d. For Elements **1.0, 6.0 and 10.0**, which have three items each, the **maximum score for each item is pegged at “0.67” and for “partly yes” is “0.33.”**
- The rating for the element will be “partly yes” if the total score of the three items is positive but less than “2.0,” the maximum for the element.
4. For an element (col. 1) that has more than one item or question, add the scores of the items or questions and enter the sum in the thickly bordered cell for the element.
5. Add the scores in the thickly bordered cells under column 3 to come up with the GAD score for the project identification and design stages.
6. Under the last column, indicate the key gender issues identified (for proponents) or comments on the proponent’s compliance with the requirement (for evaluators).

**Appendix 2.** GAD Checklist for designing and evaluating agricultural and agrarian reform projects with ten requirements for a gender-responsive agriculture project (The National and Economic Development Authority Republic of the Philippines, 2020, p. 5-7)

Element and item/question (col. 1)	Response (col. 2)			Score for the item/element (col. 3)	Result or comment (col. 4)
	No (2a)	Partly yes (2b)	Yes (2c)		
<b>Project identification and planning</b>					
<b>1.0</b> <i>Participation of women and men in project identification</i> (max score: 2; for each item or question, 0.67)					
1.1 Has the project consulted women and men on the problem or issue that the intervention must solve and on the development of the solution? (possible scores: 0, 0.33, 0.67)					
1.2 Have women’s inputs been considered in the design of the project? (possible scores: 0, 0.33, 0.67)					
1.2 Are both women and men seen as stakeholders, partners, or agents of change in the project design? (possible scores: 0, 0.33, 0.67)					
<b>2.0</b> <i>Collection of sex-disaggregated data and gender-related information prior to project design</i> (possible scores: 0, 1.0, 2.0) Has the project tapped sex-disaggregated data and gender-related information from secondary and primary sources at the project identification stage? OR, does the project document include sex-disaggregated and gender information in the analysis of the development issue or problem?					
<b>3.0</b> <i>Conduct of gender analysis and identification of gender issues (see box 3)</i> (possible scores: 0, 1.0, 2.0) Has a gender analysis been done to identify gender issues prior to project design? OR, does the discussion of development issues in the project document include gender gaps that the project must address?					
<b>Project design</b>					
<b>4.0</b> <i>Gender equality goals, outcomes, and outputs</i> (max score: 2; for each item or question, 1)					
4.1 Do project objectives explicitly refer to women and men? Do they target women’s agricultural production and marketing needs as well as men’s? (possible scores: 0, 0.5, 1.0)					
4.2 Does the project have gender equality outputs or outcomes? (See text for examples.) (possible scores: 0, 0.5, 1.0)					
<b>5.0</b> <i>Matching of strategies with gender issues</i> (max score: 2; for each item or question, 1)					
5.1 Do the strategies match the gender issues and gender equality goals identified? That is, will the activities or interventions reduce gender gaps and inequalities? (see examples in the text) (possible scores: 0, 0.5, 1.0)					
5.2 Do the project activities build on women’s and men’s knowledge and skills? (possible scores: 0, 0.5, 1.0)					



Element and item/question (col. 1)	Response (col. 2)			Score for the item/ element (col. 3)	Result or comment (col. 4)
	No (2a)	Partly yes (2b)	Yes (2c)		
<b>6.0</b> <i>Gender analysis of the designed project</i> (max score: 2)					
6.1 <i>Gender division of labor</i> (max score: 0.67; for each item or question, 0.33)					
6.1.1 Is the project addressing the array of women's agricultural activities, including subsistence- and cash-crop activities? (possible scores: 0, 0.17, 0.33)					
6.1.2 Has the project considered how women and men fit their agricultural activities with their other productive, reproductive, and community tasks in scheduling project activities? (possible scores: 0, 0.17, 0.33)					
6.2 <i>Access to and control of agricultural resources</i> (max score: 0.67; for each item or question, 0.22)					
6.2.1 Will women and men have equal access to credit, extension services, information, training, or technology to be introduced by the project? (possible scores: 0, 0.11, 0.22)					
6.2.2 Will the project involve female extension officers? Woman farmer leaders? (possible scores: 0, 0.11, 0.22)					
6.2.3 Will the training of agency / project personnel capacitate them for gender-responsive development? (possible scores: 0, 0.11, 0.22)					
6.3 <i>Constraints</i> (max score: 0.67; for each item or question, 0.33)					
6.3.1 Has the project devised strategies to overcome the constraints (including mobility and time constraints for women) to project participation by women and by men? (possible scores: 0, 0.17, 0.33)					
6.3.2 Has the project considered that the constraints to women's participation may require separate programming (by way of separate groups, activities, or components)? IF SEPARATE PROGRAMMING IS NEEDED: Has the project addressed this? (possible scores: 0, 0.17, 0.33)					
<b>7.0</b> <i>Monitoring targets and indicators</i> (possible scores: 0, 1.0, 2.0) Does the project include gender equality targets and indicators for welfare, access, consciousness raising, participation, and control? For instance, will the following gender differences be monitored:					
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Adoption rates of technology</li> <li>- Membership and leadership in farmers' organization or similar groups created by the project</li> <li>- Participation in training and similar project activities, by type of training or activity</li> <li>- Dispersal of project inputs (animals, seeds or planting materials, credit)</li> </ul>					
<b>8.0</b> <i>Sex-disaggregated database</i> (possible scores: 0, 1.0, 2.0) Does the proposed project monitoring framework or plan include the collection of sex-disaggregated data?					

Element and item/question (col. 1)	Response (col. 2)			Score for the item/ element (col. 3)	Result or comment (col. 4)
	No (2a)	Partly yes (2b)	Yes (2c)		
<b>9.0 Resources</b> (max score: 2; for each item or question,1)					
9.1 Is the budget allotted by the project sufficient for gender equality promotion or integration? OR, will the project tap counterpart funds from LGUs and other partners for its GAD efforts? (possible scores: 0, 0.5, 1.0)					
9.2 Does the project have the expertise to integrate GAD or to promote gender equality and women's empowerment? OR, does the project commit itself to investing project staff time in building capacity for integrating GAD or promoting gender equality? (possible scores: 0, 0.5, 1.0)					
<b>10.0 Relationship with the agency's GAD efforts</b> (max score: 2; for each item or question, 0.67)					
10.1 Will the project build on or strengthen the agency/ PCW/ government's commitment to the advancement of women? (possible scores: 0, 0.33, 0.67)					
10.2 Does the project have an exit plan that will ensure the sustainability of GAD efforts and benefits? (possible scores: 0, 0.33, 0.67)					
10.3 Will it build on the initiatives or actions of other organizations in the area? (possible scores: 0, 0.33, 0.67)					
<b>TOTAL GAD SCORE – PROJECT IDENTIFICATION AND DESIGN STAGES</b> (Add the score for each of the 10 elements, or the figures in thickly bordered cells.)					

### Interpretation of Total GAD Score:

- **0-3.9:** GAD is invisible in the project
- **4.0-7.9:** Proposed project has promising GAD prospects (proposal earns a “conditional pass,” pending identification of gender issues and strategies and activities to address these, and inclusion of the collection of sex-disaggregated data in the monitoring and evaluation plan)
- **8.0-14.9:** Proposed project has promising GAD prospects (proposal earns a “conditional pass,” pending identification of gender issues and strategies and activities to address these, and inclusion of the collection of sex-disaggregated data in the monitoring and evaluation plan).
- **15.0-20.0:** Proposed project is gender-sensitive (proposal passes the GAD test). Proposed project is gender-responsive (proponent is commended).