



Understanding circulations of  
dominant gender discourse in  
development interventions:  
The case study of Zimbabwean  
agricultural extension services

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

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## **DECLARATION**

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Luisa Ciampi

For Grandma, Mum and Dad who have given me a love for learning, a passion for Zimbabwe and the drive to make a difference.

## **ABSTRACT**

Social inequalities between women and men, found throughout the globe, have recently started to narrow, yet critical gaps remain. These persistent, multi-dimensional gender disparities lie at the heart of global inequalities and poverty, directly limiting development interventions due to income, opportunity, access, and agency inconsistencies. The lack of progress on dealing with structural issues that underpin gender inequality are noted as a primary obstacle in achieving the fifth Sustainable Development Goal. This is particularly evident in developing nations undergoing multiple structural challenges that perpetuate poverty such as in the focus country of this study: Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is a highly patriarchal society, struggling to develop for a myriad of systemic issues including political, economic, and societal problems. Widespread gender inequality hinders overcoming the extensive poverty levels throughout the country, particularly in the highly gendered agricultural sector of which 70% of the population rely on.

One of the main reasons that gender inequalities persist is that norms or expectations based on gender (commonly referred to as the dominant gender norms) are continually circulated through and reinforced by social structures and institutions implying a need to examine them in a holistic manner. To sustainably alter the course of gender disparities and improve the effectiveness of development interventions, there is a need to be able to identify dominant gender narratives across society. An integrated examination of the role that communication plays in enabling and sustaining gender norms is essential to successfully examine this phenomenon.

Rooted in the conceptual understandings behind the phenomenon of the circulation of dominant gender discourses, this study presents a novel framework called the Dominant Gender Discourse Deconstruction Framework (DGDDF) which embraces conceptual understanding and transforms it into an applied methodology. The DGDDF has been designed to enable contextually positioned institutional analysis that systematically identifies and evaluates the interconnected nature of gender and communication approaches being implemented, and the effect that these approaches have on their target audiences. By engaging in the structural context, the institutional functionality and the effects of this on institutional target audiences, the DGDDF exposes how and why dominant gender discourse is being reinforced throughout society.

Given this, the application of the DGDDF on the Zimbabwean agricultural extension institutions supports vital research to improve gender equality in the agricultural arena, and generates findings that add to development theory, practice and policy in rural

communication and wider agricultural development – a fundamental pathway to sustainable development.

Working alongside research participants affiliated with three case study institutions, primary qualitative data was collected via a mixed methodological approach and analyzed using discourse analysis. The findings from this show that the DGDDF successfully identifies the gender and communication approaches used by agricultural extension institutions enabling a systematic evaluation of these on gendered access and engagement. This evaluation presents nuances between different intervention approaches, illustrating how dominant gender discourses remain largely unchallenged by current development institutional arrangements, thereby directly affecting information access and experience for male and female farmers. It also demonstrates that the framework exposes the complex, interconnected cycles of dominant gender discourse throughout different levels of societal structures and that these directly dictate institutional gender and communication structures. Finally, the study shows that agricultural extension institutions are in a primary position to alter the course of dominant gender discourses by incorporating a more complex understanding of gender structures and actively challenging dominant gender discourses which are hindering effective development.

The findings presented in this study add to national Zimbabwean policy recommendations, but also to wider discussions about the effectiveness of development interventions which provide a starting point for opening discussions about how to make meaningful changes to deal with the persistent gender inequalities found throughout the globe.

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## List of Acronyms

AEI	Agricultural Extension Institution
AEZ	Agro-Ecological Zones
AGRITEX	Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
CDO	Community Development Organisation
CTC	Commercial Tobacco Company
CTF	Communication Typology Framework
DGDDF	Dominant Gender Discourse Deconstruction Framework
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FPOC	First Port of Call
FTLR	Fast Track Land Reform
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MLO	Market Linkage Organisation
MoWAGCD	Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender, and Community Development
QDAS	Qualitative Data Analysis Software
RBZ	Royal Bank of Zimbabwe
RQ	Research Question
SRF	Social Relations Framework
TA	Target Audience
TRMB	Tobacco Research Marketing Board
UZ	The University of Zimbabwe
WKII	Wider Key Informant Interviews
WUA	Women's University of Africa
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwean African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers Union

## **PREFACE**

Because this study took place in Zimbabwe, it is important to make the reader aware of my personal connection and, therefore, positionality with the country. Zimbabwe is my home country. I lived there with my family in the urban city centre of Harare. Although residing in Harare, I spent a lot of my childhood on my cousin's farm which is called Mountain View in Bindura. This is where my interest and experience in agriculture began, and one of the primary reasons for my choice of Agriculture in this study. My cousins still live on their farm, but sadly lost their house during the Land Reform. However, the farm is still operational, and I was able to conduct my trial sessions there.

I was fortunate enough to attend private schooling for both junior and senior education so can speak a very basic level local language Shona. My junior school was a mixed small private Jewish school, my middle school an all-girls Christian school, and I was one of 30 girls in a school of 500 boys during my sixth form at another Christian school. My schooling played a large role in surrounding me by ridged understandings of religion, gender, discipline, and punishment. These experiences are at the roots of my passion and fascination of gender theory. Having grown up in the highly structured and gender ridged society that Zimbabwe is, when I came across gender studies in my masters degree, my whole perspective was challenged and changed.

I have lived through some of Zimbabwe's most extreme political and economic difficulties, and so have seen the devastation and severe poverty caused by the ongoing economic and political crises in the country. Although I was fortunate enough to have had a happy, full childhood, the poverty and inequality I have seen throughout my life in Zimbabwe is the reason I study development. I don't believe the levels of inequality are acceptable, and I want to be part of the fight against poverty. This being said, I have lived a lot of my life in Zimbabwe being perceived, perhaps correctly, as a privileged white Zimbabwean; a perception that is very hard to rid of and, unfortunately, shapes how people behave around you. This perception has also shaped who I am, and what I am aware of, and often presents me with difficulties in many areas of my research, and my current line of work.

I immigrated to the UK to begin my Undergraduate and have been here for almost a decade now working professionally in climate change and developmental research. Whilst the move has been the right thing for me, it has presented me with lots of questions about my identity as a White, British-looking, and increasingly British-sounding, African. I am still getting to grips with the complexities of this part of my identity.

There are two key things here that need to be made clear which must be openly acknowledged as influencers on this study. Firstly, being a white Zimbabwean means that I am biased. I have personal, first-hand experience of many of the challenges that Zimbabwe has faced, and this may curb my viewpoints and interpretations of data collected, although I have tried as much as possible to avoid this through multiple strategies detailed throughout the methodology. Being a white Zimbabwean also means that, as is found in many development projects, people behave differently around me. I found that I regularly had to make it very clear that I was not there to teach participants anything, but that I wanted to learn from them, and that I would not be paying any participants to undertake interviews and workshops. Operating in the agricultural space as a white Zimbabwean adds another layer of tension to the data collection because of the racial conflicts around land distribution. These ongoing tensions and suspicions at the time placed barriers in the way of the data collection process when people felt unable to speak freely to a white person, and this compounded access difficulties. To overcome these barriers as much as possible, I carefully selected, trained and used my research team ensuring that my team members were local Zimbabwean's who were fluent in the relevant languages and contextual courtesies. I strongly feel that by using a local research team to support the data collection, the data collected and presented in this study is as transparent as possible.

Finally, being a white Zimbabwean woman should also be acknowledged. As this study is concerned with the study of gender constructions, it is important to acknowledge that, as a woman, I also hold my personal preferences and perceptions. Another part of this is that because I am a white woman, there is a complicated mixture of respect, suspicion and even contempt that sometimes surfaced during the data collection. This is due to the complex historical and cultural gender and race systems that are still in place in parts of the country which are detailed in Chapter 4. The research team I put together again was carefully designed so that we could gain true, unmasked insight from both males and females, and because of this, I believe the data collected was as unbiased as it possibly could have been.

Despite these limitations, I was able to tap into networks and systems that outsiders may have had difficulty in reaching, and I have a good understanding of the cultural norms and differences throughout the county being a product of that society myself. Although my positionality may have limitations that I have acknowledged and tried to mitigate, my deep understanding, passion, and comfort of operating in and studying Zimbabwe also allows me to provide informed insights and observations throughout this work.



## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

In a world where income inequality has sharply risen since the 1980s (Alvaredo *et al.*, 2018), the global gender equality gap remains at 31.4% (World Economic Forum, 2020), and nearly 736 million people are still living in extreme poverty (The World Bank, 2020b), global development must continue to improve to reach a stage where everyone has equal opportunities and freedoms (Sen, 1999). Fundamentally, development projects seek to make a change to improve people's lives (Potter *et al.*, 2008), however the efficacy of many of these projects is eroded by a complex set of factors, amongst which are gender inequalities (United Nations, 2020; World Economic Forum, 2020) and inadequate communication (Mefalopulos, 2008).

Many societies have substantial gender inequalities that are deeply engrained into societal norms and cultural values. Many of these undermine equality and overall progress of societies (Kabeer, 1994; Cornwall, 1997; World Economic Forum, 2020) indicating that reducing gender inequality is essential (ISSC, IDS and UNESCO, 2016). Gender inequality presents difficulties for development work because it is an overarching social structure that plays a role in determining how people behave and the social power they wield. Despite recent approaches that call for structural change and focus on individuals rather than homogenous groups, success in this area remains limited (Kabeer, 1994; Wilkins, 1999; Singh, 2007; United Nations, 2018; Bhandari, 2019; Heise *et al.*, 2019). This is largely due to the failure of changing social structures that inhibit societal gender transformations (United Nations, 2020). Whilst differences at individual levels cannot be ignored, examining trends in gender constructions (social obligations and normatives based on gender identities) through exploring discourse can start to identify how such discourses are perpetuating gender inequalities. This evaluation provides the necessary understanding of the multidimensional complexities surrounding gender relations and inequalities.

In order to examine discourse, the arena of communication must be addressed. Whilst an independent academic arena, development encompasses communication through the lens of Development Communication. This is a broad field (Mefalopulos, 2008) which means that the term 'Development Communication' can cause confusion. To orientate this study, the term 'Development Communication' will be used to refer to a broad

process of 'supporting sustainable change in development operations by engaging key stakeholders', which can deliver relevant information and induce social and behaviour change (Mefalopulos 2008b, p. 5). This study will concentrate on the 'information dissemination' processes found within development, which will be referred to as 'information exchange'. One of the key gaps in the development sphere is that many information exchange processes fail to sufficiently include, question, or challenge gender inequalities and understand how gender affects communication processes (Wilkins, 1999).

In the field of development communication, it is widely accepted that, whilst there is innovative thinking around communication strategies, few have been evaluated in a systematic way (Torres *et al.*, 2017) and many development communication initiatives are using one of two models (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009). They are using either top-down communication models, which concentrate on persuasive message delivery (Quarry and Ramirez 2009, p. 19) or participatory models, which encompass the right to participate in the formation and production of media content (Servaes and Malikhao 2005, p. 22). Quarry and Ramirez (2009) argue that development communication is stranded in this polarization and say that there is a need to develop a theoretical framework for an alternative, and more holistic, approach to development communication. Manyozo (2012) supports this by arguing that theory and practice remain focused on the media, and that those individuals who have lived are not part of this process.

Supporting the call for a more holistic approach to development communications, Wilkins (1999) argues that the constructions of communications and the audiences they target are inseparably linked to the institutional and structural context communications are designed and implemented within. This junction is where communication and gender constructions meet, because gender and associated power constructions (Wilkins, 2000) are key structures that dictate how and what communication processes happen. This notion is supported by recent work by Gamble and Gamble (2021) who explores the indistinguishable links between gender and communication processes explaining that communication becomes gendered communication when your gender or sex affects both what and how communication are altered. These understandings imply that any novel approach to development communication must engage with the entities that design and facilitate the communication. Wilkins (1999) acknowledges this, by suggesting that there is a need to address the consequences of specific communication strategies to understand if they are perpetuating dominant gender discourse, and how this can be altered.

This concept of the circulation of dominant gender discourse is central to the structure and theoretical positioning of this study.

With 65% of poor working adults making a living through agriculture (The World Bank, 2020a), it is well documented that the improvement of the agricultural sector is imperative to fight poverty effectively, and is seeing a recent resurgence in development agendas (Christiaensen and Martin, 2018). It is also well-documented that the small-scale agriculture sector in developing countries clearly displays gender issues around roles, responsibilities, and access (FAO, 2011), and that women are increasingly at higher risk of negative impacts from climate change (Jost *et al.*, 2016). With the drastic changes and challenges that the agricultural sector is facing due to factors such as climate change, political instability, and population increase (Lio and Liu, 2008; FAO, 2009; Jost *et al.*, 2016), there is also a fundamental need to identify and develop more sophisticated and adaptive knowledge access and transfer mechanisms to enable the required sustainable farming improvements (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004). It is also vital that such services are equipped to deal with gender inequalities that are entrenched in much rural agricultural practices dictating access, power, and decision making processes that hinder female progress, and necessary agricultural innovations processes (Shibata, Cardey and Dorward, 2020) which are needed to overcome poverty. To do this, the gendered nature of information exchange processes in the highly gendered space of small-scale agricultural production for their livelihoods must be considered. This involves emphasising two-way communication models that alter social organisation (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004; Norton and Alwang, 2020). This means that there is a need to work with differing agricultural extension mechanisms including private suppliers, public suppliers, and NGOs to understand how current trends of pluralistic extension (Norton and Alwang, 2020) (a mixed economies approach where public and private sectors co-operate more closely) and inherent gender imbalances within this sector (BenYishay *et al.*, 2020) are limiting effective and efficient information exchange to male and female farmers. It is also important to work with the diverse range of extension providers so that national extension services can be supplemented by other institutions which can provide farmers with the increasingly necessary diverse stakeholder needs required for poverty alleviation (Chowdhury, Odame and Leeuwis, 2013). Overcoming these barriers in information exchange can increase farmers resilience, improve gender relations and support pathways out of poverty.

Based on this vital need in the area of rural agricultural development, this study will use pre-existing theory from the schools of gender and communication to develop a

transferable and applied framework rooted in conceptual theory, that will assess the interlinked aspects of gender and communication and their effect on development information exchange initiatives. The framework will be tested in the arena of small-scale agricultural information exchange (more commonly known as 'agricultural extension') in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe provides the prime opportunity to apply the framework presented by this study, as it remains a highly patriarchal society (Parpart, 1995; Manyonganise, 2015; Reliefweb, 2015) which is currently undergoing arguably one of the worst economic crises in the past decade (BBC News, 2019a). The levels of poverty within the country are high, with 62.6% of Zimbabwean households being classified as poor (ZimStat, 2013), and 34% of Zimbabweans living in extreme poverty (The World Bank, 2019). Agriculture is the main livelihood for 70% of the Zimbabwean population, most of which is subsistence agriculture (FAO, 2017). This set of factors presents the opportunity for a critical examination of agricultural communication processes, and the potential role they could play in supporting people out of poverty and improving gender equality.

The framework will be applied to analyse three different case study institutions currently providing agricultural information services to small-holder Zimbabwean farmers. Each case study institution will represent the one of the three primary agricultural development types; including governmental, commercial, and non-governmental agricultural support. The case studies will be selected based on their geographical location, the type of extension services they provide, and their institutional driver. These types of institutions vary in their information delivery approaches; therefore, this study will not focus on what knowledge is being communicated, but **how** the information exchange process is taking place and **why** organisations adopt these approaches, and the effect of the chosen information exchange process upon male and female farmers. The results will be used to inform national agricultural and gender policy and contribute to wider discussions in the field of international development.

Whilst this study is using the Agricultural Extension Institutions (AEIs) as case studies, it is essential to acknowledge that they do not operate in an isolated manner but are part of a wider structural system. This implies that it is vital to explore the multiple societal layers that play a role in determining how and why the AEIs operate. Although, in reality, these societal layers are intertwined, this study will split the analysis of the information exchange process into three layers. These are namely:

- the **structural** layer, which is the societal influence in any given context that produces existing institutional structures and determines how they operate,

- the **functional** layer, which is the institutions are performing a given function,
- and the **ground-level** layer which is where the individuals that the functional institutions effect are found.

While separated out for analysis purposes, these layers will additionally be analysed in conjunction with one another to understand how they connect and function as a larger system that affects agricultural development interventions.

This study ultimately aims to generate a framework that has a set of ‘travelling principles’ that can be used to promote proactive deconstruction of the gendered nature of all communication interventions, approaches, and structures; so that all development interventions can identify, assess and, challenge gender discourses that are inhibiting gender equality and wider development.

## **1.2 Research aims, objectives and questions**

The research aim of this study was to understand the role of circulations of dominant gender discourse in development interventions through using the case study of Zimbabwean agricultural extension services.

To achieve this, the following objectives were met:

Objective 1: Establish a systematic understanding of the theory and processes underpinning the phenomena of the circulation of dominant gender discourse.

Objective 2: Analyse this phenomenon within Zimbabwean Agricultural Extension Institutions.

Within Objective 2, the following research questions have been answered:

- a) What context do Zimbabwean AElS have to operate in?
- b) What gender approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AElS?
- c) What communication approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AElS?
- d) What is the effect of these approaches on the TAs?

Objective 3: Evaluate how this understanding adds to improving gender equality in developmental interventions.

## **1.3 Study Outline**

Based on the research aims, objectives and questions the structure of the thesis is as follows:

**Chapter 2** responds to Objective 1 by reviewing relevant literature from gender theory and development communication theory which creates the foundations of the Conceptual Framework. After presenting the Conceptual Framework, this chapter then proceeds to identify current applied approaches being used in the field of development that deal with communication and gender issues and draws on two frameworks to translate the Conceptual Framework into the Applied Framework. Finally, this chapter justifies the application of the DGDDF to the development agricultural sector.

**Chapter 3** presents the methodology used to collect data to answer the research questions outlined in Objective 2. This includes the epistemological approach, study locations, data collection methods, data quality assurance, and logistical and administrative processes.

**Chapter 4** supplies a contextual overview of the study area by reviewing dominant gender, political, economic, and agricultural structures in Zimbabwe.

**Chapter 5** assesses the gender approach of Zimbabwean AEs using the Applied Framework.

**Chapter 6** assesses the communication approaches used by Zimbabwean AEs using the Applied Framework.

**Chapter 7** discusses and assesses the effect of the AEs gender and communication approaches on the target small-scale farmers (referred to as the Target Audience (TA)).

**Chapter 8** speaks to Objective 3 by providing an assessment of key linkages between the findings of Chapters 5, 6 and 7, and the implications of these findings on future development interventions. It then provides the conclusions of the effectiveness and further application of the DGDDF.

## **CHAPTER 2      LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This section will begin by providing an overview of literature that defines the challenges presented by systemic gender inequality. It will review how this issue hinders development interventions, and present current gender and development and development communication literature to define the gap and associated needs for a conceptual understanding of how gender structures are maintained and can be challenged to overcome systemic gender inequalities. It will also present key literature around the area of Agricultural Extension, which is the arena in which the framework will be applied to. The chapter will then present the theoretical grounds for the conceptual framework by reviewing key theory from the wider fields of gender and communication studies. Having established the conceptual framework, this section will then present the relevant literature that transforms the conceptual framework into an applied framework. Finally, this chapter will present the rationale for the application of the framework in the area of agricultural extension. The contextual overview of Zimbabwe is not included in this Chapter as it will be conducted as part of the analysis process. This can be found in Chapter 4.

### **2.2 The problem: Systemic gender inequality**

Gender inequality, or inequality between men and women, is noted as one of the primary and persistent global inequalities (United Nations Development Programme, 2013; United Nations, 2020). These inequalities mean that women are more likely to live in poverty than men (Hazel and Kleyman, 2019) Gender inequality is perpetuated through control over and access to material resources and through gender stereotypes and norms that reinforce gender identities and constrain the behaviour of men and women (Ridgeway, 2011; United Nations Development Programme, 2013). Gender inequality operates within systems of racial and classist inequalities, each of which reinforce or contradict one another making it a complex area to examine (Acker, 2006) and therefore requiring intersectionality studies (Walby, Armstrong and Strid, 2012). Processes and practices which qualify such inequalities can be referred to as inequality regimes, and are found in all organisations (Acker, 2006). These inequality regimes are difficult to alter and attempts to change them often fail. This is because surrendering advantage or privileged positions can be difficult to do, and improving the equality for devalued groups can be seen by those in positions of privilege as an attack on dignity, and in many cases masculinity (Acker,

2006). Whilst these aspects of the perpetuation of gender inequality will be examined in more detail later in this chapter, it is important to make the point here that the persistence of gender inequality is problematic, complicated, and situated within and alongside multiple inequality regimes, but none-the-less remains vital to overcome to fight poverty effectively. Having established that gender inequality exists, it is important to provide some insight into what current gender inequalities look like throughout the globe.

The World Economic Forum Report of 2020 (World Economic Forum, 2020) suggests that globally, there remains a 31.4% average gender gap (relative gaps between men and women in education, health politics and economy) that still needs to be closed, with the largest gender disparity gap being in the Political and Empowerment sub-index with only 24.7% of this gap being closed in 2020. The second-largest gap is on the Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-index which has had 57.8% of the gap closed in 2020 but has slightly widened since 2019. Understanding these shifts in inequality is complex, and it is noted that generally there is insufficient information to fully understand them at such large scale (ISSC, IDS and UNESCO, 2016). Despite these improvement, the remaining gap in the Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-index has implications for financial disparities and women's empowerment such as women being significantly disadvantaged in accessing land, credit or financial assistance in many countries (World Economic Forum, 2020). It is also noted that in no country is the amount of time of unpaid domestic work of men equal to that of women. The dedication of women to these activities suggests that cultural and social transformations are required to support women's opportunities to fully engage in career opportunities (World Economic Forum, 2020). Notably, the report identifies a strong correlation between a country's gender gap and its economic performance, and says that 'countries that want to remain competitive and inclusive will need to make gender equality a critical part of their national human capital development' (World Economic Forum, 2020; p. 33). Closing this gender gap is important because it contributes to improving human rights, women's empowerment through improved agency, and productivity and efficiency as outcomes of interventions (Quisumbing *et al.*, 2014). As a key component underpinning the success of international development initiatives, this study will be providing necessary groundwork which will add to closing the gender gap.

Whilst gender inequality affects multiple areas of development, it is within the scope of this study to reflect on gender inequality in the agricultural sector because of the application of the Framework to this arena (Section 1.1 and 2.6.1). The FAO (2011)



indicates that on average, 43% of the agricultural labour force consists of women. This number increases to up to 50% in Sub-Saharan Africa with their contribution to agricultural work varying widely depending on specific activities and crops. It is notable that whilst contribution may vary, across all regions of the globe women in agriculture have less access to productive opportunities and resources than men (FAO, 2011). This inequality is found in assets, inputs, and services which include aspects such as livestock, land, technology, labour, education, financial services, and extension. This gap imposes significant costs on the agricultural sector, wider society, and economy but also impacts women themselves (FAO, 2011). It is suggested that if women could access the same productive resources as men, yields could increase on their farms by 20-35%, which could reduce global hunger by 12-17% (ibid). The FAO (2011) notes that the current agricultural reform focuses on eliminating discrimination of women in accessing productive resources, investing into labour-saving technologies to free up women's time, and facilitating the participation of women in rural labour markets.

The consequences of persistent gender inequalities identified by the FAO show that this form of inequality continues to hinder individual and national progress. It is noted that this is particularly prevalent in sub-Saharan African countries, such as Zimbabwe, which, as a group, have the highest average economic inequality in the world after Latin America (ISSC, IDS and UNESCO, 2016). Evidence suggests that economic growth in this region could be higher by as much as 0.9 % if gender and income inequality were reduced (Hakura *et al.*, 2017). Being a field that is focused on promoting such progress, international development provides the ideal mechanism for addressing and altering gender inequalities. International development is a multidisciplinary field with many integrated components. The inherent complexity of the field means that putting effective international development programmes in place is challenging. Development is frequently understood to 'involve the advancement and evolution' (Potter *et al.*, 2008, p. 4) of countries. At its simplest level, development involves developed countries assisting developing countries to overcome indicators of 'underdevelopment' (ibid), one of the most important of which is gender inequality. Although the global divide between women and men has started to narrow, critical gaps remain (The World Bank, 2020c) and are especially prevalent in developing societies such as Zimbabwe (FAO, 2017). Based on the World Economic Forum Report of 2020 (World Economic Forum, 2020), Zimbabwe currently ranks 47<sup>th</sup> out of 153 countries, with a global Gender Gap index of 0.730 (where 0.00 = imparity and 1.00 = parity). This indicates that there are still areas of the society which remain heavily gender imbalanced. The report indicates that the most unequal

areas of the Zimbabwean society are Economic Participation and Opportunity with key areas of disparity being Legislators, senior officials and managers (29.1% of females hold these positions versus 70.9% of males) and the area of Political Empowerment where 31.9% of women hold parliamentary positions as opposed to 68.3% of men, and 27.3% of women hold ministerial positions as opposed to 72.7% of men (World Economic Forum, 2020).

This data indicates that men hold many more positions of power and influence than women do in Zimbabwe, indicating gender disparities at structural levels. The gaps on the ground level are less extreme but remain present in the area of Educational Attainment with more men enrolled in secondary and tertiary education, and men being marginally more literate than women (89.2% men versus 88.3% women) (World Economic Forum, 2020). These gaps are exemplified by women devoting significantly more time to unpaid domestic activities than men, significant earning gaps between men and women, and ongoing gender violence activities experienced by 1 in 3 (The World Bank, 2020c); all of which place extreme constraints on women's ability to act (agency) and be heard (voice) (The World Bank, 2020c). These enduring multi-dimensional gaps of gender disparity are central to global inequality and poverty. They directly limit development interventions with the UN noting that inadequate progress on structural issues at the root of gender inequality, such as unfair social norms and attitudes and limited levels of participation, are undermining the ability to achieve Sustainable Development Goal 5 (United Nations, 2020).

As evidenced by the gender gap discussed earlier (World Economic Forum, 2020), these persistent gender inequalities are still failing to be adequately addressed and overcome in the international development arena (Wilkins, 1999). This ongoing challenge presents the opportunity to design and apply a mechanism that supports the structural analysis of gender inequalities and associated dominant discourse that establishes and retains social norms and attitudes and low levels of participation. The development field does contain a plethora of approaches that aim to address these overarching and limiting gender imbalances such as work by Kabeer (1994), Frye (1996), and Momsen (2004) which will be discussed in detail in Section 2.2.1. These will be reviewed in the following sections so that this study's contribution can be identified and evaluated.

### **2.2.1 The status of development and gender**

To understand the current dynamics of gender within the development sphere, it is prudent to review the current approaches taken by the development field to address gender challenges.

Previously there have been two main approaches to gender in development. Following Boserup's (1970) critique that women were excluded from economic development, the Women in Development (WID) approach aimed to integrate women into economic development by administering income generation projects for women (Momsen, 2004). The WID perspective was heavily criticised for accepting existing social structures as they were and failing to ask why women had not benefited from previous development strategies (Rathgeber, 1990). This approach avoided questioning the nature of women's subordination and oppression and focused on advocating equal participation in education and employment (ibid).

The Women and Development (WAD) approach emerged to overcome the limitations found in the WID approach. WAD explored global capitalism, examining the dependencies between developed and developing countries (Potter *et al.*, 2012). Based on this, WAD focused on the inequalities of women's paid and unpaid work (ibid) and the relationship between development processes and women, rather than only examining strategies of integrating women into development (Rathgeber, 1990). This approach recognised that men who did not have an elite status are also adversely affected by inequality but failed to pay enough attention to the relations between the genders or have a full-scale analysis of patriarchy (ibid).

In response to this, the most prominent approach of Gender and Development (GAD) was devised. GAD aims to encompass a holistic perspective by seeing women as active agents of change in the development sphere and considering the private and public spheres of women's lives (Visvanathan *et al.*, 1997). The deeper reflection of approaches found with the GAD directive led to a fundamental re-examination of social institutions and social structures, which does not easily translate into ongoing development programmes and strategies (Rathgeber, 1990). Because GAD questions social structures as a whole, greater attention needs to focus on including male perspectives and understanding 'masculinities' in order to deconstruct stereotypical representations and combat gender inequalities that exist for both men and women (Potter *et al.* 2012).

The Empowerment Approach theorised that it could enhance productivity and efficiency of development subjects, and was adopted by many development agencies in the 1990s as part of the GAD approach quickly becoming a mainstream approach (Momsen, 2004). Empowerment is a branch of thinking that sees power as having the ability to make choices (Kabeer, 2005). Some development agencies more effectively engaged with this approach as a method of social transformation which aimed to achieve gender equality through increasing women's agency and 'power within' aspects of development subjects (ibid). Momsen (2004) suggests that the Gender Equality approach attempts to combine empowerment and efficiency approaches to ensure that women's and men's experiences and concerns are integrated into all stages of development programmes ensuring that gender inequality is not perpetuated (Momsen, 2004). Unfortunately, this integration is often not fully comprehensive nor carried out throughout the entirety of development programmes (ibid) which limits the long-term alteration of gender norms.

Critiques of the GAD approach argue that agendas behind this paradigm reflect a highly structural understanding of society, expecting women in developing societies to move into an increasingly productive, but non-reproductive role; a highly Westernised understanding of 'developed societies' (Singh, 2007). Others argue that GAD constructs uniform realities and identities to depict women throughout the developing world in a similar way that WID and WAD did (Gordon 1996; Bhavnani, K., Foran, J., Kurian 2003) because opinions and world views of the women themselves are not considered (Parpart 1993; Raju 2002). Singh (2007) argues that this leads to setting unrealistic goals, which often fail to recognise the complex realities of women's lives. Jahan (1995) argues that this paradigm is still primarily measuring development in terms of economic outcomes oversimplifying women's roles, much of which remain unaccounted for in economic evaluations. Such assertions have led to an overdue interest in African Gender scholarship that encompasses broad gender topics from identity (Margolis, 1993), sexuality (Pereira, 2003; Matebeni, 2008) through to intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2017) (explored in more detail in Section 2.3.1).

There are also a number of alternative frameworks that are currently being used in development initiatives. Examples of these include the Women, Culture and Development (WCD) approach (Worsley, 1984; Rathgeber, 1990) and the framework of Identities of Women (Frye, 1996; Francis, 2002). An important school of thought that is linked to ideas of identities is that of queer studies, a school of thought that has been termed as Queer Theory (Lauretis, 2011). Queer Theory aims to be an approach to sexuality that opens it to all those oppressed by binary distinctions and the accompanying

gender norms (Jolly, 2000). This approach has so far been limited in development arenas because development policy and practice have tended to avoid the topic of sexuality, and many GAD interventions are based on the dichotomy of men and women (Jolly, 2000). However, this approach is central to the conceptual design of this study and is explored in more detail in Section 2.4.

Each of these approaches has their merits as they try to combat the criticisms of homogenisation by concentrating on women as individuals and agents in their own right to promote and extend gender equality (Momsen, 2004) but still, gender inequality persists.

Tucker (1997) argues that all paradigms are based on social systems and constructions, suggesting that approaches such as the WCD approach can simply be seen as replacing 'culture' with a social system. Another critique is that equality, one of the primary goals of Western Feminism, is seen to be an unrealistic goal in many developing countries because of the cultural dictation and economic reliance of women on men which is built on inequality (Singh, 2007). The study of identity within gender studies is limited because it focuses on the construction of a gender identity in women, which is heavily influenced by the feminist focus on how women's sense of self is drawn from the social construction of gender roles and norms, and the power imbalances in this field (Volman, M. and Dam 1998; Roberts 1998). It has been argued that the concept of identity is developed from a feminist viewpoint on women's identity and ignores the differences between women's behaviours (Kimball, 2002), therefore failing to address the unique experience of individual women and identities (Singh, 2007).

Gender mainstreaming was implemented as a major global strategy for promoting gender equality (United Nations, 2002) and has been defined as 'good/best practice' by the European Institute for Gender Equality (2011). This is a form of policy and political practice aiming to promote gender equality by improving the effectiveness of mainstream policies by making the gendered nature of processes, assumptions, and outcomes more visible by revising key concepts to understand a gendered world rather than a separate establishment of gender theory (Walby, 2005). It includes notions such as integrating and documenting processes of including gender equality concerns into the planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of all policies; emphasising the long-lasting effect of gender mainstreaming and objectives; and recording positive steps made towards achieving gender equality (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2011, pgs. 8 and 9).

This mainstreaming movement has raised many areas of concern in the literature. Some of the key ones include the difficulties of addressing the tension between 'mainstream' and 'gender equality' which are two different frames of reference and therefore need to be bridged (Walby, 2005). There are arguments that new gender norms have to compete with traditional norms and therefore have to fight to get into institutional policies, which means that this process will involve negotiation rather than simple adoption (Elgström, 2000). There is discussion around an implicit conceptual duality between the two terms of gender equality and mainstream (Walby, 2005), and there is the question of whether a mainstream vision of gender equality encourages models which notion 'sameness' rather than the contextual 'difference' (Walby, 2005; Rees, 1998). Walby (2005) suggests that the gendered 'expertise' is a form of power that is often neglected in project analysis, and that gender mainstreaming is situated in the transnational global politics which try and define global discourses for human rights, and which are not articulated with country differences (Walby, 2005).

Momsen (2004) suggests that whilst one of the primary aims of the gender mainstreaming movement is to ensure that women's and men's experiences and concerns are integrated into all stages of development programmes, this integration is often not fully comprehensive nor carried out throughout the entirety of development programmes.

Cornwall (1997) suggests that many current gender and development approaches are still overlooking men and only concentrating on women. Given the failure of many WID projects (Kabeer, 1994), the absence of men is problematic. Problems that are regarded as 'gender issues' but that aren't women related are rarely given consideration (Cornwall, 1997). Much gender discourse which is rooted in feminist theory labels men as 'the problem' (ibid). This label disregards the complexities of the male experience and fails to extend the behaviour and attitude changes that are stressed to women to men as well (ibid). This, by extension, tells men that the way out is to abandon culturally valued attributes and give up advantageous positions, leaving men with nothing that values them as 'men' (ibid). This discourse indicates that there is a failure to engage with the second part of the gender equation - men (ibid).

The question of masculinity has historically been left out of historical gender approaches in development (Cornwall, 1997), but more recent development approaches, such as the GAD approach, have started to acknowledge the importance of including both men and women, and their gendered relations to some extent, by trying to include women and men in development by using 'gender analysis' tools (Cornwall 1997). However, a fundamental problem with this is that it takes the sexual difference between men and

women as a starting point, presuming large commonalities amongst men and women and offering very little in the way of understanding community differences (Cornwall, 1997). Jolly (2000) also notes that, despite the shift towards examining gender relations, development practice and policy has tended to avoid discussions of sexuality even though it recognised that sexual expression is a basic human need and directly impacts economic and political freedoms.

Meaningful conceptual and political shifts in gender and power have so far been limited (Verma, 2014). Some of the reasons for this that have been identified in the development literature include the homogenisation of men and women (Cornwall, 1997), the persistent exclusion of men (Cornwall, 1997; Potter *et al.*, 2012) and sexuality (Jolly, 2000), and the failure to fully integrate gender into development programmes (Momsen, 2004). These limitations suggest a movement towards a more inclusive, integrated, and effective gendered development approach is needed. Examining the role of discourse and communication alongside gender presents the opportunity for establishing such an approach that can support necessary power shifts to improve individual agency and voice for marginalised groups.

### **2.2.2 The status of development and communication**

Development communication refers to a strategic process of interventions that are implemented by institutions and communities which aim to help social change (Wilkins and Mody, 2001). This field has evolved alongside the broader development field and has become increasingly multidisciplinary (*ibid*). Initially, development communication was supported by pro-persuasion and pro-top-down biases, and primarily mass media which the global West imposed on the global South with the assumption that once people had the right information, countries would 'develop' (*ibid*). This was underpinned by the One Way Communication Model (Shannon and Weaver, 1963) which was supported by similar theories such as the Hypodermic Needle Theory (Berlo, 1960) or the Bullet Theory (Schramm and Roberts, 1971) and the Stimulus Response Theory (DeFleur, 1989). All these theories reinforced one-way communication with the idea that if the correct information and knowledge could be injected into societies, people would change their behaviours and the country would start to grow economically, therefore, improving all other areas of life. Rogers's (1962) model of Diffusion of Innovations, although based on a similar idea, began to highlight some of the fundamental issues with one-way communication systems and complications around adoption of innovations. The evaluation of diffusion studies highlighted the underlying power and influence that

structures had on communities and their adoption of practices and established the importance of communication in modernization at a community level prompting theories such as the Two Step Flow communication theory (Katz, 1957) which suggested that information initially came from mass media channels to 'opinion leaders' who then influence their communities through interpersonal influence (ibid).

Following on from this more complex understanding of the difficulties surrounding behaviour change came from the idea of basic needs development in the 1980s. This discourse shifted the attention away from the goal of maximising output to minimising poverty (Hicks, 1979). There was a realisation that solving poverty was more complicated than simply increasing economic output and input, suggesting issues including unfair distribution of household incomes, lack of knowledge about nutrition and health, poor public support services, and the difficulties of increasing productivity evenly (Hicks, 1979). These understandings have close ties to the welfare approach (Schwartz and Winship, 1980) which includes aspects such as a person's sense of well-being, happiness or satisfaction with life, or potential for obtaining these things as part of poverty understandings (ibid). There was much academic debate around this ideology, particularly about the trade-off of seemingly discarding economic growth as a development strategy (ibid). But, ultimately, this identified the conceptualisation of communication as a dynamic support to activities and projects and was later coined Development Support Communication (Melkote and Steeves, 2001). This form of communication aimed to bridge the gap between the technical specialists and potential users by adopting core complex theories of communication (ibid).

Influenced from Marxist and socialist thinking, the development field began to realise the importance of including local voices and opinions as key thinkers such as Friere (1970) and Chambers (1963) began to articulate the need for change in development discourse with key works such as 'Putting the Last First' (Chambers, 1983). These people-centred approaches promoted progressive change that built self-reliance, empowered men and women and puts the 'first last'; those who have been left out of the 'development project' so far (Chambers, 1997; Potter *et al.*, 2012). This literature identified the need to include analyses of power structures, community values and recognise the importance of cultural and social norms within communities involved in development strategies and influenced the movement of new developmental approaches such as GAD (Section 2.2.1).

Through this discourse arose theories about social and behaviour change models. Models such as the Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, Stretcher and Becker 1994; UNAIDS 1999) and the Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) assumed that individuals



would take preventative action when they believed they were at risk because such actions would reduce the risk (Rosenstock, Stretcher and Becker, 1994). This thinking prompted Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1994). Social Cognitive Theory included thinking about self-efficacy and social modelling, and put pressure on the importance of self-belief, social interactions and social pressures (Bandura, 1994). This led to work around the power and influence of role models and the importance of being demographically and attitudinally understanding of the target audience (Michael-Johnson and Bowen, 1992). Running parallel to these 'educative' approaches, and as a bi-product of increasing technology, Entertainment Education (Edutainment) programmes began being implemented. This was centrally based on the Social Cognitive Theory that people learn from and respond to positive role models (Melkote and Steeves, 2001). This meant that, whilst media users could be entertained, they were being educated at the same time (ibid). Historically this approach has been confined largely to health messages, but as it has developed, it has been integrated with participatory approaches that enable engagement and communication processes around a wide range of pressing social issues including peace, race relations, and empowerment (Singhal and Rogers, 2002). The understanding of social change needing to be underpinned by a contextual and complex understanding of self-efficacy and social interactions and pressures has direct links understanding into gender structures that directly affect both of these areas of individuals lives.

Freire's (1970) work on the 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' was critical in guiding the paradigm of communication and development as it directed a radically different approach from development projects under modernization (Melkote and Steeves, 2001). Freire argued that individuals have the capacity to develop on their own, but need to be supported by relationships which help reorganize and act on their abilities (Freire, 1970). This process requires communication which involves shared meaning. Freire argues that development communication should be an emancipator dialogue which is carried out with love and humility rather than message communication (Freire, 1970). This form of communication should lead to consciousness and empowerment (ibid).

Empowerment and conscientization are the most recent discourses behind many of the current development communication strategies and, within these, participation has become key. Empowerment is a complicated process that is difficult to measure and the key dimensions of agency, resource and achievement must be considered (Kabeer, 2005). The role communication plays in empowerment is facilitating the awareness of choices and informing how these choices can be made into a reality. A key point of this being

effective is that the communication is participatory, so that conscientization can begin (Kabeer, 2005).

Whilst it also exists independently of research processes, participatory development is an educational process involving the research participants at each key stage of research. Communication is the corner-stone of participation as it is how research participants are involved throughout the entire process (Jacobson, 2016). The participatory communication approach is based on positivist research, which states that all knowledge is based on an observable reality (Jacobson and Servaes, 1999). It is underpinned by post-development thinking which openly critiques how development studies have represented other cultures and societies and assumed the power to name and solve their 'problems' (McEwan, 2009). This approach is linked to the idea of social change, or people being able to have the agency and voice required to improve their lives.

Communication for Social Change is defined as a process of public and private dialogue through which people define who they are, what they need, and how to get it to improve their lives. This process makes use of dialogues to result in collective problem identification, decision making and implementation of solutions to development problems (Servaes, 2008). Rooted in agricultural development, Communication for Development (C4D) is a field of practice and knowledge (Waisbord 2008; Wilkins 2000). that supports this position by moving away from one-way top-down transfer of messages by agricultural technicians to farmers, towards a social process that aims to bring together both groups in an equal dialogue processes (Servaes, 2008). Alongside participatory approaches, C4D takes social change factors into account, which puts understanding local culture, context, and relationships at the centre of the process (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). C4D insists that, without the peoples' voices being heard and incorporated, no project can be successful in the long term (Gumucio, 2008). It also takes the stance that sustainable development needs active participation of the intended beneficiaries at every stage of the development process (Servaes, 2008) and that an integral part of the development process is the change in behaviour and attitudes, and structural change through the redistribution of power (ibid). Such changes occur through empowerment and conscientisation processes (Friere, 1970).

However, this approach takes time which is often difficult to accommodate (Balit, 2010). The C4D approach recognises the complexity of communication processes and change and, therefore, poses a holistic and emergent approach by incorporating participatory methodologies based on mutual learning and addresses complicated issues including

gender imbalances and power structures within societies and cultural identities (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013).

The C4D approach embraces complexity theory which is useful to review in light of this study. Many scholars say that this approach provides a realistic and sustainable way of doing development projects (Chambers 2008; Jones 2011; Miskelly et al. 2009) by aiming to recognise that there are multiple ways of seeing and understanding, framing and analysing a system (Lennie and Tacchi, 2013). Ultimately, it underlines that there are limits to what can be known and, therefore, there are limits on what can be planned and controlled (ibid). C4D challenges other dominant approaches and is a result of global discourse in postmodern, holistic and feminist areas (Stevenson and Lennie, 1995).

The field of communication development is growing in both popularity and size as new approaches for improving development communications arise. However, there is an argument that development communication approaches are stranded in the binary division of either using older one-way communication models or the participatory approach (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009). Quarry and Ramirez (2009) posit the idea of Another Development. This is an approach in which context drives the function of the communication approach, and therefore the answer is not necessarily pushing 'good' communication onto decision-makers but focuses on training using a number of 'touchstones' to allow communication to happen in more natural and less forced manner and then allowing this to guide expectations of a project. They also argue that the challenge is not just about understanding what is realistic in any given context, but also that there is a need to be able to identify what C4D can achieve within that context, and when it is best to limit communications until the context is conducive for successful C4D (ibid). Following this, they argue that there is a need to develop a theoretical framework that represents a more holistic approach to development communications that can be adapted to contextual complexities (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009).

The design of this study embraces several key principles that have been outlined in this section. Friere's (1970) principle that communication should lead to conscientisation and empowerment, and the understanding that participatory communication is important to starting the process of conscientisation (Kabeer, 2005) are essential to the design of the study methodology. Post-development and post-colonialist schools of thought are fundamental to this study as reflecting the language and positionality of all players throughout the whole process (McEwan, 2009) is one of the primary areas for consideration. This is covered in more depth in Chapter 3. By choosing the former colonised country of Zimbabwe, this study has actively embraced this school of thought.

It is important to note here that in the field of development, the terminology 'development communication' takes the angle that communication is a tool to bring about social change (Wilkins and Mody, 2001). This study takes the stance that communication processes are vital in ensuring that information exchange is as effective and efficient as possible. This study will use the term information exchange to package the entire knowledge exchange process, including communication strategies, information channels, and implementation techniques.

Because of the scope of this study, it will focus on theory developed from the sphere of agriculture extension which, although briefly addressed considering previous section, will now be presented in more depth with specific focus on the aspects of communication processes found within this area.

### **2.2.3 The status of agricultural extension**

'Agricultural Extension Services' have been one of the key and long-standing methods of improving agriculture. It is a significant social innovation and a vital component of agricultural change that has been created, adapted and developed over centuries (Jones and Garforth, 1997). Dating back as far as the 1840's, this section could not hope to present a full history of the development of agricultural extension services, but it is important to acknowledge that several conditions are necessary for the start and organised development of agricultural extension work. Namely these are 1) that information on progressive or new agricultural practice is based in experience or research and has been assembled, organised and made available, 2) the information is used to educate professional agriculturalists, 3) appropriate organisational structures are in place by and within which dissemination activities can be conducted, and 4) that there is an official mandate that prescribes and enables extension work to occur (Jones and Garforth, 1997). First documented throughout the global north, agricultural extension spread throughout the world, following patterns of colonialism which meant that agricultural extension practice had to broaden its horizons to incorporate tropical agricultural plants. In most African territories, the European interaction with local agriculture was minimal, with young departments of agriculture being mostly involved in administrative duties, but some agricultural instruction was provided through government schools and through missionary initiatives (ibid).

Modern agriculture has seen agricultural organisations mature, broaden their objectives and has developed in many other kinds of organisations such as commercial companies, marketing boards, agricultural development programmes and a variety of NGOs (Jones

and Garforth, 1997). Agricultural extension organisations have changed and grown with the management of extension activities becoming particularly key, with many organisations being criticised for being top-heavy and top-down in their approaches (ibid).

Over the recent decades agricultural extension has been moving from a traditional emphasis on farm management and technology transfer (Davis, 2008) provided by the public sector, to private advisory services which address topics including marketing, sustainability and risk management (Norton and Alwang, 2020). Today's understanding of extension goes beyond this including facilitation, learning, working with farmers groups and partnering up of a broad ranges of service providers with agencies (Davis, 2008). This means that many people use the term 'agricultural advisory services' rather than 'extension' which can imply top-down approaches (Davis, 2008). Extension services have become increasingly pluralistic relying on alternative funding sources and multiple delivery mechanisms (Davis and Franzel, 2018). Norton and Alwang (2020) attribute these changes to several factors. Structural changes from successes in agricultural research, extension, productivity, and growth has prompted economic transformation in many countries which, in turn, has resulted in the commercialisation of farms (ibid). This has promoted the individualisation of information, leaving public extension services with more capacity to focus their effort on small-scale, non-commercial farmers. The trend of commercialisation means that the private sector now has an increased incentive to play a larger role in the dissemination of agricultural information than previously, and NGO's play an increasingly important role in this area for developing countries (Norton and Alwang, 2020). It is also noted that historically, agricultural extension has been largely gender biased, but that this is slowly changing as more countries function with greater gender balance, although additional progress is still needed (Quisumbing *et al.*, 2014; Rola-rubzen *et al.*, 2020; Williams and Taron, 2020). Extension systems are rapidly gaining clients for a range of mass-media programming which impacts of cost and messaging processes (Norton and Alwang, 2020). Whilst this remains disadvantageous for some farmers, studies are showing the effectiveness of some of this approach (Damba *et al.*, 2020; Getahun, 2020). Government and donor funding has been significantly cut since the 1990s due to urbanisation and the need to reduce fiscal deficits (Norton and Alwang, 2020). This is linked to many countries moving towards decentralised provision of government services which has moved services from central to local governments requiring reorganisation (ibid). These changes have had mixed results (Habtom, 2019; Lamontagne-godwin *et al.*, 2019; Dowsing and Cardey, 2020; Magessa, Wynne-Jones and Hockley, 2020).

The effects of these changes have altered the extension service provision, with increasing focus on participatory learning and reduced use of printed material which are replaced with mass media technologies (Norton and Alwang, 2020). It is suggested that there is a current tension between intensive, participatory extension approaches (Mapfumo *et al.*, 2013) such as farmer field schools (Isubikalu, 2007) and mass media.

There is a wide body of literature about how agricultural extension and education adds to the ability for innovation. 'Innovation' is defined as 'doing something "new" by using existing or novel information in new ways' (Spielman *et al.*, 2008, pg 2). This literature explores the multiple dimensions of changes in agricultural practice through a complex understanding of interactions and actions among a diverse range of actors that are engaged in creating, exchanging and using knowledge, and the economic and social institutions that condition these processes (Spielman *et al.*, 2008). As can be deduced from this definition, agricultural innovation systems cover a broad range of topics ranging from evaluating gender structures (Shibata, Cardey and Dorward, 2020) through to policy changes (Spielman, Ekboir and Davis, 2009).

Whilst covering all of this literature is not possible, there are several areas of recommendations for agricultural education and training that come out of this literature which would strengthen innovation processes. These are important to the positioning of this study as they frame the focus of it within current agricultural innovation literature. The first suggestion is that mandates of agricultural services must be realigned with national and contextually appropriate development aspirations (Spielman *et al.*, 2008; Juma, 2011). It is recommended that improving the human capital base so that key actors in the agricultural service sector can access training they need to ensure they can catalyse the space for innovation processes (Spielman *et al.*, 2008). An important recommendation that is particularly relevant to this study is the need to alter organisational cultures, behaviours and practices so that programmes and policies encourage collaboration between different organisations, and create the environment by which employees and, therefore, institutions can introduce managerial and organisational innovations into agricultural services (Spielman *et al.*, 2008; Juma, 2011). This points towards examining social structures such as gender and communication approaches that are currently constraining such progress.

Currently, Anderson and Feder (2007) suggest that there were around 500 000 people working in agricultural extension across the globe, 95% of which worked in public agricultural extension programmes. 80% the world's extension services are delivered by public services and publicly funded (*ibid*). Autonomous public organisations and NGO's

deliver around 12% of extension services, and the private sector delivers another 5% (Anderson and Feder, 2007).

It is in this context that this study has selected the range of agricultural extension intuitions it has, and it is hoped that the findings of this study will support the enabling of agricultural innovation systems required for the rapidly evolving sector to keep up with structural and global changes faced both by the institutions, but also the farmers they work with. It should be made clear that this study will be avoiding the terminology of 'agricultural extension' and will refer to such processes as agricultural information exchange processes.

#### **2.2.4 The gap this study fills**

Having presented the gender and communication approaches currently found in the development sphere and an overview of agricultural extension, it can be discerned that there are several overlapping areas of gender and communication that continue to be problematic.

Amongst other challenges already mentioned, current gender approaches aim to challenge social systems by including men and women (Momsen, 2004) and emphasising power relations between them (Jolly, 2000), but many gender approaches are still overlooking men (Cornwall, 1997). This means that all genders fail to be properly integrated into development initiatives (Momsen, 2004), and individual identities continue to be overlooked (Singh, 2007). By connecting the communication challenges identified, it can be deduced that to overcome these significant barriers in gender approaches, the need for individuals to be supported by relationships that help them alter and act on their abilities (Friere, 1970), the communication processes between men and women need to improve to enable gender shifts and empowerment processes. As Friere (1970) notes, communication is the tool that can be an emancipation mechanism, and the incorporation of this will support participatory development processes which promote dialogue and contextual understanding (Jacobson, 2016).

When looking at these problematic and substantial overlaps between the two areas of development approaches, it can be observed firstly that gender and communication processes are intricately linked because they are both part of, and affected by, social systems. This means that there is a need to be able to look at these two areas together and simultaneously. Secondly, is it evident that there remains a gap in development practice that enables this simultaneous evaluation.

This is particularly prevalent in the area of Agricultural extension given the importance of improving information exchange processes in this area, and using this to identify and challenge gender constructions that are hindering development (Section 2.2.3).

This study not only integrates the two interconnected areas of gender and communication, but it also speaks to the necessity of examining them simultaneously by developing a conceptual and then applied framework based on the phenomena of the circulation of dominant gender discourse.

## **2.3 Conceptualising the circulation of dominant gender discourse**

The phenomena of the circulation of dominant gender discourse is the culmination of several areas of thinking. These various schools of thought are succinctly brought together through Queer Theory (Lauretis, 2011) which is presented at the end of this section. However, to reach that point, it is important to set out key components of each of these schools of thought in some detail so that the reader can understand the steps of reaching the culmination of them. This section will begin with reviewing relevant areas of gender theory, followed by significant communication theories, and end with bringing these together to outline what is meant by dominant discourse.

### **2.3.1 The gender construction**

Gender structures are arguably some of the most complicated structures found in societies because they are embedded in micro and macro structures (Acker, 2004). These historically embedded gender discourses directly affect global gender inequalities (United Nations, 2020) that are circulated through multiple institutions (Wilkins, 1999). This section will present relevant conceptual aspects to understanding gender and key feminist movements that underpin these understandings.

#### **2.3.1.1 What is 'gender'?**

The concept of gender has been inherent throughout much of human history with some of the earliest cultural myths being concerned with the interaction of female and male genders (Bourdieu, 2001; Colebrook, 2004). Therefore, defining gender as a concept has been fraught with many varying debates about definitions and terminologies. The fundamental understanding that must be stated for this study is that 'gender' is different to 'sex'. 'Sex' refers to the biological differences between males and females and the associated differences in their reproductive function (Colebrook, 2004). Colebrook (2004) says that 'Gender' refers to the cultural and social construction of masculinity and



femininity and the associated assumptions and social expectations for each gender (ibid). It is noted that gendering is a process that happens whilst society overtly and covertly shapes actions and thoughts reminding us what it expects to be masculine and feminine (Gamble and Gamble, 2021). It is also noted that gender is also a product of interaction and we participate in gender, but we are able to act in new or alternative ways as beliefs reshape behaviours which, in turn, will alter personal definitions of gender (Gamble and Gamble, 2021). Feminist definitions of gender extend on this, challenging the binary division, but have varying explanations of the concept. The next section will review these in more detail, but it is important highlight here that Butler (1988, pg 528 ) defines gender as ‘an ‘act’, broadly construed, which constructs the social fiction of its own psychological interiority’. This definition goes beyond the binary definition presented by Colebrook, as it encompasses all identities, genders, and significations.

### **2.3.1.2 Major feminist arguments**

Before presenting some of the major feminist arguments, it is vital to note that feminism has become a visible subject of interest, but that it is a complex terrain that has been mapped by multiple feminists who have highlighted the emergence of diverse and, often, conflicted modes of feminist action and thought (Dabrowski, 2020). This diversity is recognised as attention has been drawn to women’s engagement and representations of feminism across and within varying social spheres ranging from corporate, environmental, collective to intersectional (ibid). Given this, this section cannot hope to cover all of these areas of thought. However, it will provide a broad overview of the main feminist movements, highlighting key arguments that are relevant to this study as it does so.

Gender has been identified and shifted as the feminist movement has progressed over time. Feminism has happened in four waves of feminist movements which began in the 1840s. The first wave of feminism was concerned with suffrage and was prompted by the right for women to vote (Evans and Chamberlain, 2015). The second began in the late 1960s, the focus of which shifted to the personal and the social aspects of women’s lives with calls for equal pay and the right to determine what women could do with their own bodies (ibid). This wave pushed sexuality to the forefront for feminism. The third wave of feminism is the most disparate of the waves which began in the 1990’s and focussed on human rights and non-exclusionary feminism (ibid). The fourth wave is the most recent and least explored but draws on activism and dialogues encouraged by globalisation and social media (ibid). Examining feminism through the lens of the ‘waves’ is helpful in structuring the timeline and general feminist movements, but it is important to examine

some of the geographical differences, key thinking and factions behind these movements in more detail.

In response to systemic oppression of women, the feminist movements started with an attack on discrimination of women, condemning practices and policies that denied women opportunities simply due to their gender (Fiss, 1994). Radical feminist writing takes the stance that men as a group dominate women as a group, and that men are the main beneficiaries of women's subordination (Walby, 1990). It is this system of subordination that is referred to as 'the patriarchy' by this group, although there are differences within the group about what the basis of male supremacy is. Marxist feminism denotes that male domination is a by-product of capitalist domination over labour, and central features of this include class relations and economic exploitation (Walby, 1990). Dual-systems of political thought combine the Marxist and radical feminist thinking arguing that both patriarchy and capitalism are present and important in structuring contemporary gender relations (Walby, 1990). Feminists called for a unisex rule demanding that people should not be discriminated or judged based on their sex in an effort to combat the patriarchal systems in place (ibid). The liberal feminist movement aimed for the end the subordination of women as a group by promoting equality and autonomy. Liberalist thinking posits that women's subordination is due to the summation of multiple small-scale deprivations including the denial of equal rights to women in areas of education and employment and that these inequalities are sustained through sexist attitudes (Walby, 1990). This has direct links to Boserup's (1970) work about economic adversity faced by women due to structural gender inequality. Neo-liberal feminism is rooted in movements towards free markets and shifting away from state welfare provision, and has been critiqued for not challenging the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism (Dabrowski, 2020).

Current feminist movements are largely concerned with hierarchy rather than discrimination, condemning discrimination because of its role in subordinating women as a group and, thus, creating and perpetuating gendered hierarchy (Fiss, 1994). However, such movements vary over geographical space. One useful and recent feminist movement that embraces this is intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2017) which acknowledges that women's lives are constructed by intersecting and multiple systems of oppression, and that oppression is a binary or singular relations (Carastathis, 2014). It is vital to acknowledge that there are suggestions that 'gender' is a Western construction that has been placed upon other cultural realities, and that this construct doesn't have much contextual relevance in other societies (Salo, 2001). However, such suggestions are

refuted by key African scholars such as Amina Mama who states that “African societies are so clearly demarcated by gender divisions that it would be strategically suicidal to deny this and pretend that gender does not exist, or worse still, that gender struggles are a thing of the past” (Salo, 2001, pg 63). Margolis (1993) presents a study of cross-cultural comparison of feminist movements around the world. Through her analysis, she found that in the Third World, political movements which are strongly linked to religion have gained power which has reversed the progress that women have been making as women have been returned to their ‘proper’ place (ibid). She also identifies that women’s movements tend to be greater where urbanisation and industrialisation have led to better education and roles expansion for women, that women’s movements reflect national political structures which vary over geographical space, and that women’s movements are weakened by appearing as foreign influence particularly in countries who have a colonized past (Margolis, 1993). These findings clearly show that women’s experiences vary dependant on political and social contexts and, therefore, feminist thinking varies too. Whilst the examples of contextual difference are vast, an example is a recent publication arguing that neo-liberal feminism is more likely to be embraced in Africa due to contextual factors of unemployment and limited financial support forcing entrepreneurial coping mechanisms (Akinbobola, 2019). A publication on neo-liberalism in the UK argues that neo-liberal feminism puts distance between women of class and race in the UK (Dabrowski, 2020) and is only accessible to certain facets of society.

Political movements of feminism have manifested in schools of thought around how and why gender is constructed. This movement represents a shift from political movements to a more critical reflection on the systems, mechanisms and constructions that have, and continue to place gender as a defining factor of social structures. These areas of thought also root the feminist struggle in a concrete struggle for individual representation that is needed to question and alter gender hierarchies.

Butler's (1990a) work was a major contribution to this shift by moving Western feminist thinking towards a more complex understanding. She suggests that the categorisation of ‘women’ is problematic and political, and pre-determined by qualifying rules and criteria that the subject has to first meet before having representation extended (Butler, 1990). This representation is problematic within itself because the term ‘women’ has increasingly been used to refer to a common identity, and the term causes anxiety because of the political history surrounding it (ibid). This, in turn, is problematic for the concept of ‘gender’ which is not always consistently or coherently constituted in different historical contexts and overrides ethnic, sexual and racial assumptions by extending social

identities. This clash of 'women' and 'gender' makes it impossible to separate 'gender' from the cultural and political structures that have often produced and maintained gender expectations, implying that such structures are bound into the oppression that women continue to experience.

This notion highlights another set of debates which question if there is a commonality amongst women that pre-exists their oppression, or if there is a part of women's identity that is independent of their subordination to hegemonic cultures (Butler, 1990). Supporting this notion, Beauvoir argues that gender is constructed and one 'becomes a woman' due to cultural compulsion, and this 'subject' sits within the universal category of masculine and therefore is juxtaposed against what men are (Tidd, 2004). This branch of thinking leads into the critiques surrounding the binary division between men and women which places the two as juxtaposed against one another. Posing men against women and vice versa reinforces unhelpful homogeneity within both groups, and leaves no room for other genders, or genders that may be in-between the two. The homogenisation of these groups overlooks individual difference and fails to make space for anyone who falls beyond these categories, which in turn reinforces systematic discrimination and simplistic and harmful binary divisions between the two sexes.

One dimension of feminist thinking that is unavoidable and intrinsically interlinked to Beauvoir's and Butler's thinking is the notion that gender and sexuality are fundamentally connected (Jolly, 2000). This understanding is vital as it underpins, dictates, and exposes gender relations and gender identities, and has been one of the root causes of the rhetoric behind the juxtaposition of gender norms about men and women. Sexuality has also been a vital contributor to the extreme regulation of human sexual identity and the normalisation of acceptable sexual behaviour resulting in heteronormative and homophobic discourses that dictate how people identify and act their genders. Foucault's (1995) work about the societal regulation and punishment of sexuality dictating gender identity and performance underpins large areas of the feminist movement and has important ties into the key links between gender and communication (see Section 2.3.2). Sexuality perceptions and constructions vary based on historical and cultural contexts, and it is important to, at this point, examine key African Feminist movements.

African Feminism echoes some of the Western feminist literature, but it is vital to examine this briefly in its own contextual setting to gain nuanced understanding of cross-cultural feminist differences. Although seen as a relatively new contribution to the field, African feminist scholarship has established itself as a rich source of inspiration and an inescapable reference point for future studies on gender, identity and sexuality (Arnfred,

2009). Aidoo (1996) notes that it has been common to discuss feminism as a foreign ideology that was imported into Africa, but she argues that this is not true because African feminism has, as she exemplifies, African Women's participation and active agency throughout African history. She also argues that 'feminism is an essential tool in women's struggles everywhere, and that includes African Women' (pg 164).

African feminism is tied into perceptions of African identity that have been generated often by the West, with stereotypes of African Women as bestial, loose, good in bed, promiscuous, sensuous and prone to prostitution (Marshall, 1996). This historical objectification of Black women has influenced their identity, relationships, and is used by 'white' people and Black men to legitimise their social and sexual exploitation (ibid). Marshall (1996) argues that African feminism resists these negative images by asserting their rights to control their sexuality and define their identities. It is posited by Pereira (2003) that seeing female sexuality in a negative light is a fairly recent occurrence throughout Africa, and is historically linked to modernity. There are arguments about needing to differentiate between reproduction and sexual activities in the African context (Hungwe, 2006). HIV/AIDs is present in much African feminist work with the awareness and prevention campaigns focusing on issues of sex and risk, but presenting an essentially modern sexual subject for whom sexuality is a matter of individual choice (Matebeni, 2008). Such work has previously presented binaries of women as victims and men as perpetrators, but such discourses are increasingly being challenged (Arnfred, 2009).

It is important at this point, to now turn our attention to some of the key rhetoric which underpins masculinity. As can be seen from what has so far been presents, femininity and masculinity operate alongside one another, and the constructions of both these aspects of identity dictate gender identity.

### **Masculinity**

Feminist and gender theory has recently extended beyond just focusing on femininity, to include the acknowledgement of complex gender constructions surrounding masculinities (Cornwall, 1997). Not dissimilar to some of the work around identities of women, Carrigan et al. (1985) discussed a theory of masculinity that argues that there are many ways of being a man. Carrigan et al. (1985) go on to say that some men are more valued than others and therefore experience social pressure to conform to the dominant ideals of masculinity; a process which is known as 'hegemonic masculinity' (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985). Not all men conform to this 'ideal' of what men should be, but those who don't are discriminated against and disadvantaged by society (ibid). This theory of masculinity

is particularly useful in showing that certain masculine behaviours are not 'manly', but rather are associated with dominance and power, and this power play varies across cultures (Cornwall and Lindisfame, 1994). It is further suggested by Cornwall (1997) that masculine attributes can also be possessed by women, and therefore, not all men have power, and not all who have power are men. Neither do all men benefit from subscribing to hegemonic masculinity, nor do they all subscribe to it (ibid). For example, studies of homosexuality in Africa demonstrate of how homophobia and ruling masculinity and heterosexuality support one another, and that heterosexual masculine culture encourages violence and is often embedded in state arrangements of power (Ratele, 2006). Because of this, hegemonic masculinity can be just as oppressive for men who do not meet the criteria often resulting in such men being left out of gender processes of change because they are simply generalised as male (ibid). Along this vein, many studies suggest that masculinity is something to be won and then defended, therefore constantly under the threat of loss - a very different picture to that which is painted by the established patriarchal power (Gilmore, 1990). The patriarchal structures illustrate how some constructions of genders, mostly those which are related to hegemonic masculinity, are valued and more privileged by society than others. It is this kind of preferential treatment that creates and perpetuates gender inequalities.

Based on the understanding that masculinity is a complex societal mass that has many similarities and consequences to the construction of being a woman, it should also be recognised that both masculinities and femininities coexist. However, as discussed earlier, men and masculinity are often left out gender initiatives and labelled the problem (Cornwall, 1997), and therefore must be included and navigated when dealing with gender and wider circulations of dominant gender discourse.

As mentioned in 2.2.1, the exclusion of men from gender initiatives is problematic, because individuals have to be supported to change expected and prescribed gender behaviour, and this requires not only a shift in attitudes from those groups who oppressed, but also by the groups who hold positions of privilege and power.

By shifting from just focusing on women to examining the relations between men and women that construct gender identities places a greater focus on power relations between the two, and the understanding that one's sexual behaviour is closely connected to political and economic freedoms (Jolly, 2000). In line with this, Butler posits the idea that gender is a performance in response to the social constructions both men and women face which, due to the repetitive nature of the acts, the social audience and the actors themselves learn to believe in what they are performing, and continue to perform

in the mode of belief (Butler, 1988, pg. 520). Gender as a performative act is a useful way to conceptualise the role that societal structures and institutions play in perpetuating or circulating this expected act. This circulation of gender discourse is a central component of this study, and it is discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.2. Gender performance is a particularly useful concept to engage with when exploring the relations between men and women as it allows a critical insight and comparative evaluation between how both sexes perform, and therefore what gender constructions are being subscribed to.

Having established that masculine and feminine behaviour are constructed and performed (Butler, 1988), there is a need to better understand how these dominant gender discourses are circulated.

### **2.3.2 The maintenance of gender through powerful communication structures**

Having identified and elaborated on relevant areas of gender construction, it is now prudent to move into a discussion of the theory about how such gender narratives and constructions are kept in place, and the links between this and communication theory.

#### **2.3.2.1 The power of communication and constructing discourse**

One way of examining the links between gender and communication is to understand that historical discourse determines and enforces exploitation of the 'feminine' using a discourse built from powerful patriarchal voices and decision-makers (Whitford, 1991). This is an important point to understand, because it builds on the understanding that all social interactions and relationships are constituted and conditioned by power (Death, 2010). It is through this understanding that Foucault (1986) examines and explores the idea of power through a range of topics including discourse. Expanding on this idea, it is important to be aware that discourses are more than just words and language; they are systems or representations which determine meaning (Foucault, 1986). Often these discourses are driven by those who have the power in the public spaces to determine the 'problems' and the 'solutions' and are, thereby, creating the discourses themselves (Death, 2010). Foucault also argues that the majority of grammar around sex imposes a binary relation between the sexes. Through using hierarchical examination and normalising judgement, punishment creates socially acceptable norms determined by those at the top of the hierarchy, and punishes anyone outside these norms (Gutting, 2005) which reinforces binary relations. This results in a severe regulation of sexuality, effectively suppressing any deviant from heterosexual, reproductive hegemonies

(Foucault, 1995). Such binary restrictions on sex support the reproductive aims of a system where heterosexuality is compulsory (Hennessy, 1993; Shaktini, 1994). Whilst this study is not focused on sexuality, the inherent incorporation and forceful maintenance of this structure into gender constructions make it a fundamental area to acknowledge.

This section has identified key concepts that explore the complex manner in which gender is defined, maintained and performed (Butler, 1988, 1990): that gender is a set of socially determined expectations of how one should perform based on their sex, these expectations have been designed by those in positions of power meaning that masculinity is often more valued and privileged than femininity and other genders, these binary divisions cause gender inequality, and the creations of these gender systems are maintained through discourse and social punishment. This set of conceptual understandings begins to highlight the importance of deconstructing the social structures which put gender identities into society in the first place and continue to perpetuate them. These social structures that create and enforce social norms and behaviours are formed over generations of power structures and this creates dominant discourse (Foucault, 1995). Communication is the primary tool that is used to construct and perpetuate such dominant discourses (see Section 2.3.4), and therefore will be a key component of this study.

### **2.3.3 Language and communication**

It is important to note now that the term 'communication' covers a vast array of aspects and dynamics and processes, and therefore can be confusing in what it is used to refer to. As mentioned earlier, this study will be using the term information exchange to refer to communication processes involved within knowledge exchange, however this section will explore key theory from the field of communication. Language is one of the primary verbal mechanisms used in communication processes (Patel, 2014). Having established that language plays a vital role in the establishment and maintenance of gender discourses (see Section 2.3.4 for explanation of discourse), it is in the interest of this study to examine how the tool of language can be used.

The generalised understanding and assumption that language is a tool that all can access and use is one that troubles linguistic theory because it fails to acknowledge the many interfering factors of control, power and hegemony which impact the product, process and the means of production (Bourdieu, 1991). By acknowledging that language has many interfering factors, it can be understood that 'linguistic capital' lies with those in power or those with access to that particular type of language. This is because through social



structures which decide power, access and importance such as gender, different individuals have different access to being able to express opinions, be listened to and hence contribute to discourse. This understanding is expanded on by Bourdieu who further explains that language is a mechanism of exercising power within a given space or field, and that linguistic interactions are manifestations of the people involved in the communications' respective categories of understanding and social space. Therefore often the structures in those given fields are reproduced hence determining who has the right to lecture, disagree, be listened to and to ask questions (Bourdieu, 1991; Corsaro, 1992). This understanding illustrates some of the direct linkages between multiple aspects of communication processes (such as using language, being able to access influential spaces, engagement in dialogue and discourse) and social structures that play a leading role in determining who can access such communication aspects. Gender constructions are one of the major social categories that determines such access.

Given the co-dependent cycles between the creation and maintenance of discourse which establishes and maintains social structures, and vice versa, it is important to identify some key main theories that will support the understanding of communicative processes.

Whilst this study is less concerned with the construction of language, Saussure's concept of signifiers and signified is useful in connecting the very formation of communication mechanisms such as language to social structures. Rooted in structuralist thinking (addressed in Section 2.4) Saussure's work established that language is developed on the process of creating signs to explain things or concepts (Bredin, 1984). Saussure expresses an interest with how signs relate to other signs (Fiske, 1990) and building on this investigation, Saussure's model suggests that the sign is a physical object that consists of a signified and a signifier (ibid). The signified is the mental concepts we use to categorise reality so that we can understand the sign, and the signifier is the image of the sign that we receive (ibid). The signified are created by people, and so are determined by culture which defines one category from another. This model explores and questions the creation and impact of 'reality', suggesting that meaning is defined by the relations of signs to one another rather than a signs' relation to reality (Fiske, 1990). This model suggests that to study communication is to study meaning, and meaning is an active process resulting from changing interactions between signs, objects, and interpretants (ibid). The concept of signified and signifiers is important this study, because it mirrors thinking found in gender theory that women (the signified) are only seen in contrast to men (signifiers) (Bourdieu, 1991). The close relations of these concepts across the disciplines of gender and

linguistics showcase important connection points that can enable the integration of such areas.

An integral part of understanding communication processes that support information exchange is to understand how communicative processes are affected by external factors. Hall suggests that both senders and receivers of a communication are affected by their point of reference, experiences and social structures. One of the key thinkers in this arena is Stuart Hall. For Hall, culture is a critical site of social intervention and action, and where power relations are established and challenged (Procter, 2004). His work has greatly added to theoretical debates on culture, to political reform, and to social policy (ibid). Hall (1973) explores the communication process as a complex structure in dominance, suggesting that once the circulation of a communication is started, the discourse has to be translated into relevant social practices in order for the communication to take on any meaning for its audience (ibid). For the communication to take on meaning, it is subjected to the dominant formal sub-rules that are set by the society in question (Hall, 1973). The next step in the process for a communication to have meaning is that it is decoded meaningfully so that it yields a message (ibid). Hall's (1973) way of examining communication looks at these determinant moments in the communication process. This process is shown in Figure 2.1.

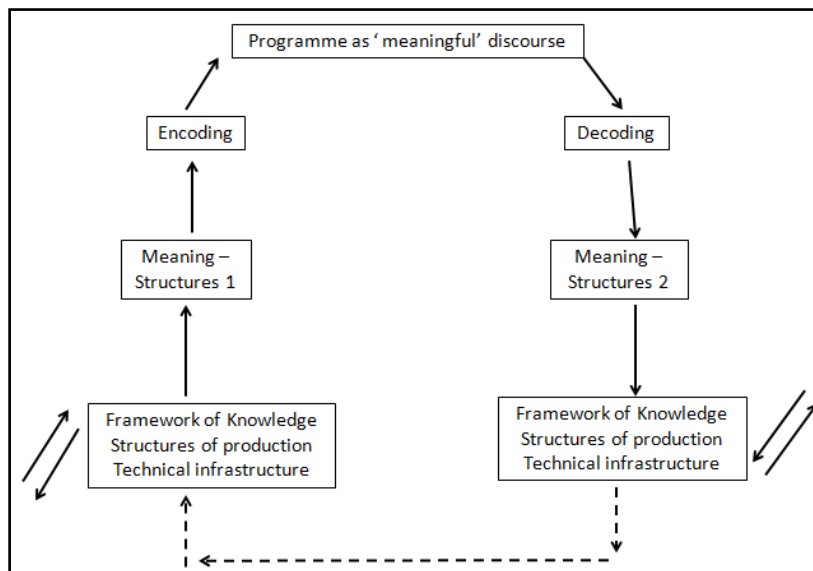


FIGURE 2.1: STUART HALL'S ENCODING AND DECODING MODEL (ADAPTED FROM HALL 1973)

The encoding and decoding process is heavily linked to complex power structures that determine the social structures through which communications are presented, therefore it is imperative that communication analyses include and embrace the complexities which

micro and macro power structures play in the design, dissemination, the understanding and, therefore, the effectiveness of the message.

From the scholarship area of language, Santucci (2005) outlines several factors that impact communication and effectiveness which, therefore, should each be acknowledged as important aspects to consider. These are:

- The frame of reference of the varying parties involved in communication exchanges
- The source of the information being used in the communication
- The employing agency and the embedded prejudices or trust issues
- The people involved in the communication and their positionality and personal experiences, beliefs, and culture
- The code or sign being used as the communication tool
- Any areas of common experience. The larger the overlap between sender and receiver, the better the communication will work
- Any noise or interference which interfere with the transmission of the message
- The channel of communication
- Any feedback and how this impacts the sender

The areas of communication processes identified by Hall (1973) and Santucci (2005) are useful to understand some of the functionality of communication processes, but also to frame specific characteristics of the multi-layered aspects that affect communication and how individuals and their position in society play a vital role in such processes. Conceptualising communicative processes in this way helps us not only to examine the structural factors that interfere with such processes, but also to create a space in this study that ensures that data collection and analysis techniques are aware of dominant formal sub-rules and dominant discourse at all times.

It is important at this stage to clarify terminology that will be used throughout this study when talking about communication. The information source is defined as the origin of where the information was generated such as a research institute. The information channel is defined as the mechanism through which the information is provided such as a television or phone. There is a some cross-over between information sources and information channels as some sources will be classified as channels as well, such as extension agents. When speaking about information access, this study will be talking about the ability of people to reach information sources or use information channels.

### 2.3.4 What is dominant discourse?

The concept of dominant discourse is rooted in the idea that the way individuals think and talk about a subject influences and reflects how individual behave in relation to that subject (Karlberg, 2005). This understanding indicates that what is said on any given subject can be studied and provide insight into those attitudes. This is the basic foundation of discourse theory (Karlberg, 2005). Whilst Critical Discourse Study (CDS) approaches vary significantly, the analysis of discourse enables the exploration of communications embedded in social practices in a contextually informed situation (VanDjik, 2008). This analysis can be used to develop theory based on the data collected (ibid). CDS methods focus on how discourse structures may be influenced by social structures and often focuses on examining power relations (VanDjik, 2008). This emphasis on power relations is because CDS tends to focus on the areas of discourse that are typically associated with the 'expression, confirmation, reproduction or challenge of social power of the speaker(s) or writer(s) as members of dominant groups' (p. 5). CDS' direct interest in social inequality, domination and the role of discourse, language, and communication (VanDjik, 2008) enables the identification of what discourse dominates societal and organisation structures; referred to as dominant discourses. The phenomena of dominant discourses provides the essential starting point for an analysis the reproduction or circulation of dominating gender discourse that is enabling persistent gender equality, and this approach has been used successfully in a wider range of recent gender studies (Cohen *et al.*, 2020; Luck, 2020; Schnurr *et al.*, 2020).

As noted earlier by Acker (2006), inequality regimes that underpin gender inequality are found in every organisation. The idea of Ideological State Apparatus' (ISAs) (Althusser, 2001; Barry, 2002) is a useful mechanism in which to conceptualise how dominant gender discourses are created and perpetuated throughout society. Althusser (2001) explains that ISA's refer to state structures that maintain a societal order through repressive execution and intervention in the interests of the 'ruling classes' by apparatuses such as the court, the police, the prisons, and the army. These apparatuses function predominately by repression (including psychical repression or violence) and secondarily through ideology. He explains that Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) differ from the State Apparatuses in that they function primarily by ideology, and secondarily by repression or violence and present themselves in the form of distinct and specialised institutions. Althusser (2001) notes that these include the religious ISAs such as churches, the educational ISAs such as different systems of public and private 'schools', the legal ISAs, the family ISAs, the political ISAs, the trade-union ISAs, the communications ISAs

(such as the radio, television and the press), and the Cultural ISAs (such as arts, literature). Althusser's work around State Apparatuses and ISAs provides an answer to the question of how social constructions and relations are reproduced. He explains that, not only do the State Apparatuses contribute significantly to their reproduction, but also secures the political conditions for the actions of the ISAs through repression.

The conceptual theories presented throughout section 2.3 can be brought together through the lens of Queer Theory.

## **2.4 Integration of conceptual theories using Queer Theory**

Queer Theory (QT) integrates the complex schools of thought that underpin the circulation of dominant gender discourse. The intellectual and political movement of QT has fundamentally transformed ways of knowing about sexuality, sex and gender, and body in the discipline of communication (Eguchi and Asante, 2016). By problematizing the homo/heterosexual binary definition that stabilizes and naturalizes heterosexuality, QT questions expected beliefs, values, and relations, exposing the dominant circulations of power and offering alternative ways of being, acting, and knowing (Yep, 2013). Whilst this definition appears to concentrate on the binary of hetero/homosexuality, the concepts that underpin QT can translate into wider questions of binary understandings that inform much gender and communication discourse and has links to feminist thinking about identity (de Beauvoir, 1974; Butler, 1990; A. Marshall, 1996; Aidoo, 1996) and intersectionality (Carastathis, 2014; Crenshaw, 2017). The intersectional modes of sexuality, sex and gender, and body across multiple socio-political, economic and historical positioning remain understudied (Eguchi and Asante, 2016), leaving room new inquiry and application. This study has been positioned to explore these avenues through the lens of development gender and communication.

QT is a complex theory that is essentially based on four intertwined areas of study, namely gender, power, communication, and structuralism. QT has strong roots in structuralism, which is the belief that things cannot be understood in isolation, but that they have to be recognized and comprehended in the context of the larger structures (also known as ISAs) of which they are part of (Barry, 2002). These 'structures' are understood as those imposed on us by institutions or people in positions of power, which determine our ways of organizing experience and perceiving the world (ibid). Structuralism began in the field of linguistics, where Saussure (1959) emphasized that words only have meaning because ISAs (Althusser, 2001) assigned arbitrary meaning to them, and these meanings are maintained by convention and are all contextual. He also posited that, because language

and communication are the primary way that we experience the world, everything that is available to us is through some form of perspective (Saussure, 1959; Derrida, J; Bass, 1982). This understanding gave structuralists a transferable way of thinking about the larger structures, explaining how all signifying systems work. A signifying system is a broad concept referring to 'any organised and structured set of signs which carry cultural meanings' (Barry, 2002) (p.47).

Structuralism is associated with postmodernist thinking which, at its philosophical core, is a scepticism about the human ability to define or grasp what is ultimately real (Farmer, 1997). Postmodernism incorporates ethics of difference, embracing and paying special attention to the marginalised and suppressed voices including minorities, people with policed sexualities, women and the politically and economically colonized (ibid). Postmodern thinking produced the theory and practice around the deconstruction process, which became a tool with which to actively explore postmodernism. Derrida and Bass (1982) suggest that deconstruction is about defining the limits of the nature of being; particularly how this understanding of 'being' came about. This deconstruction tool is fundamental to the conceptual framework that this study is building because it enables us to deeply comprehend and explore the social structures and impacts they have in development work, and thereby allowing us to explore and highlight barriers to successful development.

QT is therefore underpinned by a concern of what we 'know' as 'reality' and navigates this by questioning and deconstructing social constructions and their political stakes in creating an 'origin' and a 'cause' for identity. This extends to Butler's (1990; 2009) position which poses that in fact everything that we, as members of society, are exposed to, affects our behavior and performance. Feminism and patriarchy, and therefore also radical and post-feminism, also play a role in queer theory because they are large players of the creation of the power dynamics and dominant qualities of heterosexual relationships and assumed gender roles and identities.

After the feminist movement, post-feminism is the resulting reflection that, if equality is to be achieved, there is a need to generate a repertoire of new meanings (McRobbie, 2004). Under the influence of Foucault and other post feminist work (Spivak, 1988; Butler, 1990; Haraway, 1991), there was a shift away from seeing feminism in power blocks such as the law and patriarchy, and a move into understanding power as flows of consolidations and convergences of discourse, attention, and talk at numerous sites (McRobbie, 2004). This concept of subjectivity brought to light how women are called into being and produced as subjects, making the problematic term of 'she' rather than the

unproblematic term of 'we' (Butler, 1990; McRobbie, 2004). This perspective was one of the main reasons behind the movement towards post-feminism (Butler, 1988, 1990). The post-feminist movement attempts to encompass dismantling the binary backbone of feminism which is man versus woman, a view that constantly portrays women against a vision of what men are. This unhelpful binary means that women can only exist, in any capacity be it powerful or otherwise, as a measure against men and their perceived power (Irigaray 1977; 1993). This juxtaposition is a clear exemplar of the idea of signifiers and the signified (Saussure, 2011).

QT usefully encompasses post-feminist thinking by examining the surrounding difficulties existing in a heterosexual sphere (Eguchi and Asante, 2016). These difficulties arise largely from the unspoken and unwritten dominations of heteronormativity which remain a major site of knowledge production in communication theory (Eguchi and Asante, 2016). As mentioned previously, QT therefore questions expected beliefs, values, and relations, exposing the dominant circulations of power and offering alternative ways of being, acting, and knowing (Yep, 2013). Dominant discourse circulations are an intrinsic part of the development field, which through the eye of post-development, can often be translated into another form of colonialism (Potter *et al.*, 2008).

The complex interactions and relations between the key areas outlined here are summarized and depicted in Figure 2.2.

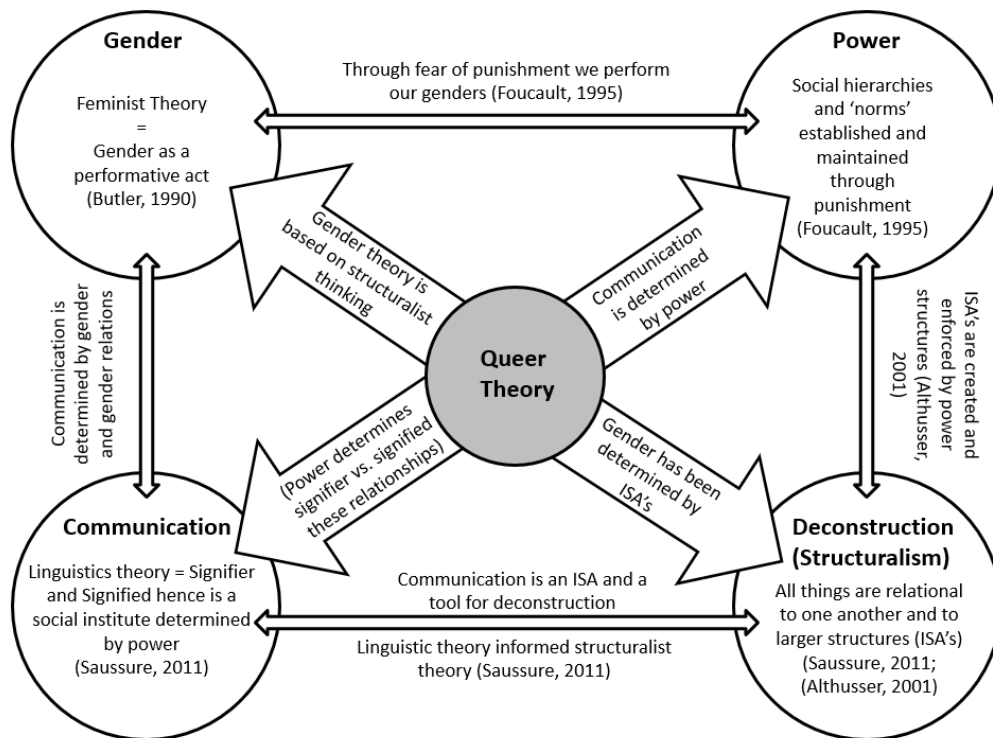


FIGURE 2.2: THE INTEGRATED AREAS OF QUEER THEORY

Figure 2.2 displays the relationships between all of the theories discussed previously showing how all of these connections play a fundamental role in the creation of QT. One of the primary elements of gender which QT embraces is Butler's work on gender as a performative act, which has been based on work about embodiment (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). This way of looking at gender has been built on structuralist thinking and on the idea that ISAs created and determined the 'norms' of gender to which we all have to conform (Althusser, 2001). ISAs have reinforced these norms through using communication as a tool, in which structuralist theory has broken down as a social institution itself by using key linguistic theory about the Signifier vs the Signified (Saussure, 2011). This power relation of communication determines various relationships between different social organisations, including gender, which are maintained through power structures that enforce and determine the punishment of deviations from these expected behaviours (Foucault, 1995).

### 2.4.1 The Conceptual Framework

Because QT theory enables us to logically integrate all the key areas of conceptualisation outlined in this section, it is now possible to present the Conceptual Framework which underpins the approach and design of this study. The conceptual framework is situated in development studies, practice and policy. This is presented in Figure 2.3.

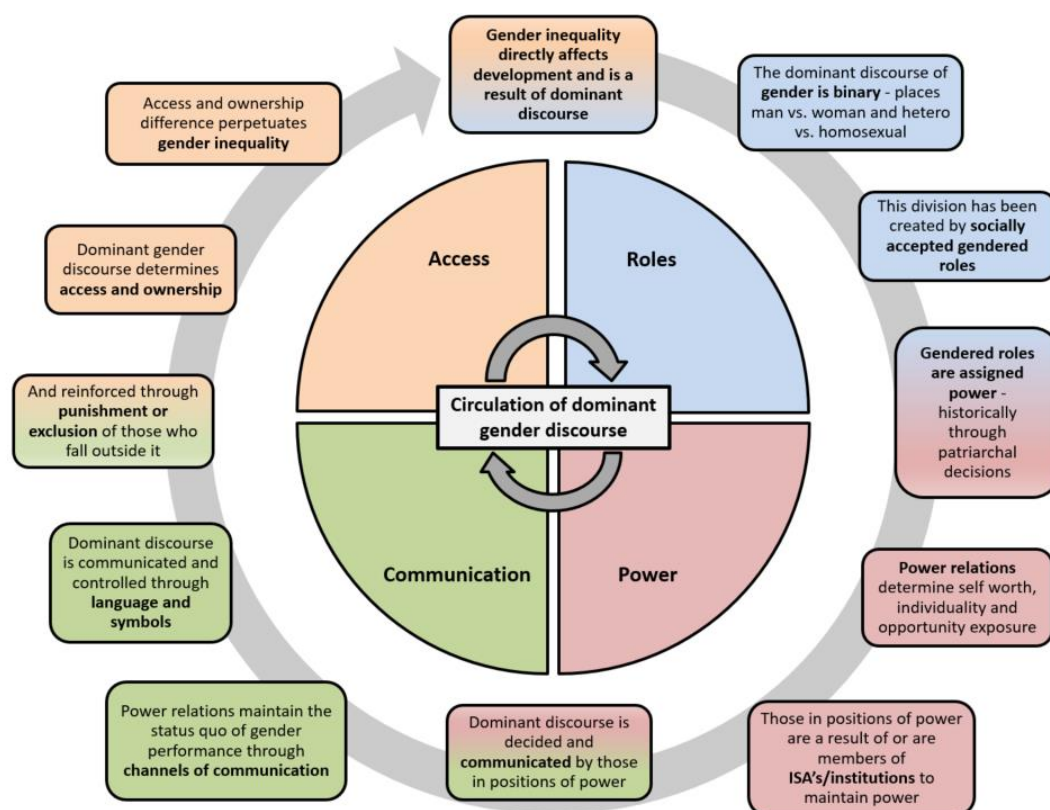


FIGURE 2.3: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CIRCULATION OF DOMINANT GENDER DISCOURSE



Figure 2.3 displays that the most common dominant discourse in gender is that gender is a binary structure (Irigaray, 1993b; Yep, 2013) that juxtaposes men and women in the development context. This binary division has been the backbone for creating the socially ascribed and differing gender roles of men and women, which in turn affects how sexuality is perceived. Because of the power structures (which are typically patriarchal) at play, the signifiers (Saussure, 2011) (or those who hold the power) determine which roles hold power and therefore who should be allocated what. These power dynamics are implicit within social structures and therefore, role allocation determines self-worth and individuality. Looking at power structures on a larger scale rather than just within a community is important too. This is because often the deciders and enforcers of power dynamics are a product of or are directly involved in wider societal structures that dictate and enforce certain behaviours and expectations which are referred to as ISAs (Althusser, 2001; Barry, 2002). This, therefore, means that dominant gender discourse is decided by those who hold positions of power, and these expectations are enforced and maintained through channels of communication and forms of punishment including exclusion (Foucault, 1995). This, in turn, determines who is able and allowed to access certain aspects of society and who can access information channels. This ultimately means that gender inequality is a direct result of dominant discourse design, circulation, and maintenance, and therefore, dominant gender discourse has to be identified, dismantled and challenged to overcome the roots of gender inequality.

The Conceptual Framework also draws out key areas of enquiry that begin to provide the basis for the translation of this framework into an applied framework. These areas are reflected in the centre of the Conceptual Framework are namely roles, power, communication, and access. Many of these are explored through already existing gender analysis frameworks with the exception of communication.

Having provided an overview of the primary approaches within development to both gender (Section 2.2.1) and communication (Section 2.2.2), and identified and organised key theory underpinning the concept of the dominant circulation of gender discourse by using QT (Sections 2.3 and 2.4), it is necessary to reflect on why the Conceptual Framework of the circulation of dominant gender discourse should be applied to this field. It is clear from the conceptual framing presented at the start of this chapter that gender and communication processes are intrinsically linked and tied into complex structural organisations. It is also clear that structural apparatuses design and perpetuate dominant discourses around gender norms. These discourses have a direct effect on the progress of societies and mean that gender equality remains an overarching, complex issue for all

sectors of development, but are particularly prominent within the sphere of agricultural development. It is also clear that the approaches to both to development communications and gender approaches need to widen. Based on these understandings, the application of the Conceptual Framework to this area will provide a more holistic insight into some of these complex gender structures and discourse circulations enabling the design of interventions to be more effective. But there remains the need to translate the conceptual into the applied.

## **2.5 Translating the conceptual into an applied framework**

There are multiple frameworks for analysing both gender and communication separately within the field of development. Applied gender frameworks have particularly been growing in the face of gender mainstreaming with the aim of not just about understanding what the goal of gender mainstreaming should be, but also understanding how this can be achieved (Buvinic, 1986). Frameworks of note include the Harvard Analytical Framework (1985) which focuses on examining productive and reproductive roles and access and control to resources; the Moser Framework (Moser, 1993) which was focuses on the Women's triple role and their practical and strategic needs; and the Gender Analysis Matrix (Parker, 1993) which is heavily influenced by participatory planning.

There are several applied communication frameworks rooted in the field of development, some of which have been previously mentioned such as Edutainment (Singhal and Rogers, 2002; Tuft, 2005), and Communication for Social change (Gumucio, 2008). Other frameworks notable ones include the WHO communication framework which evaluates communication processes through the 5 principles of accessibility, actionability, credibility, relevance, understandability, and timeliness (WHO, 2017), and the Monologic and Dialogic Model of communication modes by Mefalopulos (2008).

Because this study is dealing with dominant gender discourse circulation, there is a need to create an applied framework that evaluates both gender and communication simultaneously. Such a framework is currently lacking. Therefore, to fill this void, the two applied frameworks that this study will draw on to build such a framework are Kabeer's Social Relations Framework (Kabeer, 1994), and Leeuwis and Van Den Ban's (2004) communication typology framework.

### **2.5.1 Kabeer's Social Relations Framework**

The gender framework that is the most aligned to understanding and highlighting the complex dominant discourse circulation of gender through institutions is Kabeer's Social

Relations Framework (SRF) (Kabeer, 1994). When applied in a narrow approach, this framework highlights how gender inequality is formed and reproduced (or circulated) in individual institutions. But in a broader application, by focusing on a number of institutions within one context, this framework will reveal how gender inequalities cross-cut one another through institutional interaction (Kabeer, 1994; March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999). Because of the framework's ability to expose these aspects of gender relations, it will be specifically applied to three institutions in a localised context, but will also assist in making broader linkages across the wider system. The SRF has been applied and used in many other studies (Roy and Crow, 2004; Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2014; Miles, 2014) to analyse complex aspects of empowerment and inequality with a particular focus on women, and so has a history of being tried and tested as an effective framework.

The SRF framework is built on several key concepts. These will be reviewed based on the work that Kabeer (1994) presents, and that March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay (1999) summarise, therefore the following section is a summary based on these works. The first concept that the framework embraces that development is about improving human well-being, not just economic growth or improved productivity. The second concept is that social or structural relationships create and reproduce systemic differences in how people are positioned which, in turn, determines roles, responsibilities and claims that can be made and what levels of control individuals hold. Gender relations are one set of these social determinants. The third concept is that gender inequalities are reproduced across a range of institutions extending from the community to the market place and the state. In this study, these different societal areas will be referred to as the ground-level layer (the community), the functional layer (the market) and the structural layer (the state). This application directly challenges the myth that institutions are neutral. This application also says that the reproduction of gender inequalities can be identified by looking at the following aspects:

1. Rules – This refers to how things get done. It questions if the official and unofficial norms and values that constrain or enable what is done, the processes by which things happen, and who does them and who benefits.
2. Resources – This refers to what is used and produced. In addition to questioning what is being produced and used, it also questions what is included in direct and indirect resource distribution. In this study, the 'resource' in question primarily refers to agricultural information distribution.

3. People – This questions who is in and who is out, who is selected or excluded and what are their tasks and responsibilities and/or benefits. In this study, this category of ‘people’ refers to agricultural extension workers and target audience members.
4. Activities – This refers to what is done. Activities can be productive, distributive or regulatory. This study will particularly concentrate on activities around producing and distributing agricultural information services.
5. Power – This questions who decides and whose interests are served. Some actors have authority and control over others and promote practices that are likely to reconstitute their privileged positions. This study will explore the aspect of power within the AElS and the selected TAs, but also aims to identify wider power structures that affect societal behaviour.

Having reviewed the main aspects of the SRF, there is a need to expand on how the power aspect of this framework will be applied. Power is implicit in both gender and communication processes (which has been discussed at length through the Conceptual Framework), is pinpointed as central aspects of QT (Section 2.4) and is one of the major links between both gender and communication. Therefore, power is a key aspect of this study’s analysis and discussion. It is also well recognised that, if power relations are to be challenged and changed, there is a fundamental need to analyse and understand existing configurations of power (Gaventa, 2006). The aspect of power has already been included in the SRF and the power analysis suggested in Kabeer’s framework is that is defined by Rowlands (1997).

There are four main types of power identified by Rowlands (1997). These include *Power Over*, *Power With*, *Power Within* and *Power To*. *Power Over* is the most commonly recognised form of power and has many negative associations such as force, coercion, and discrimination. Power in this context is seen as a win-lose relationship because, to have power, one needs to take it from someone else, and then use it for domination. Often this is manifested in decision making and resource control. This form of power perpetuates inequality and poverty. Therefore, alternative, collaborative power forms have been identified to try and encourage the formation of more equitable relationships. *Power With* aims to find common ground amongst different interests and uses this to build collective strength. This form of power is based on mutual solidarity, strength, and collaboration with a multiplicity of individuals. This form of power is used to reduce social conflict and promote equitable relations and is often referred to as ‘collective action’ within the development and social change literature. *Power Within* is about the

individual's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge and includes the ability to recognise individual differences whilst maintaining respect for others. *Power To* refers to the potential that each individual has to shape their lives, and this form of power can be enabled by *Power With* action. Both *Power To* and *Power Within* are reflected in the term 'agency' within the development and social change literature.

Although the five aspects identified by the SRF are largely interlinked and interconnected, they can be grouped under two broader categories: Institutional Structures (which include the aspects of Rules, People and Power) and Institutional Activities (which include Resources and Activities). This grouping is noted in the Applied Framework (Section 2.5.3) as it is an important distinction later as part of the rationale and formation of this study's Applied framework.

It is important to note here that, of the five aspects identified by the SRF, there is no direct consideration of communication within the aspects that the SRF presents.

Finally, that the SRF posits that gender policies and approaches can be classified into two types: gender blind and gender aware. Gender blind approaches are often implicitly male-biased and there is no consideration of gender in policies. Gender aware approaches can be sub-divided into three categories. The first is gender neutral where interventions intend to leave responsibilities and resource distribution intact. The second is gender specific where interventions intend to meet targeted needs of one or the other gender within the existing distribution of responsibilities and resources. The third is gender transformative where interventions intend to transform the existing distributions through systemic change.

The components of the SRF are summarised in Figure 2.4.

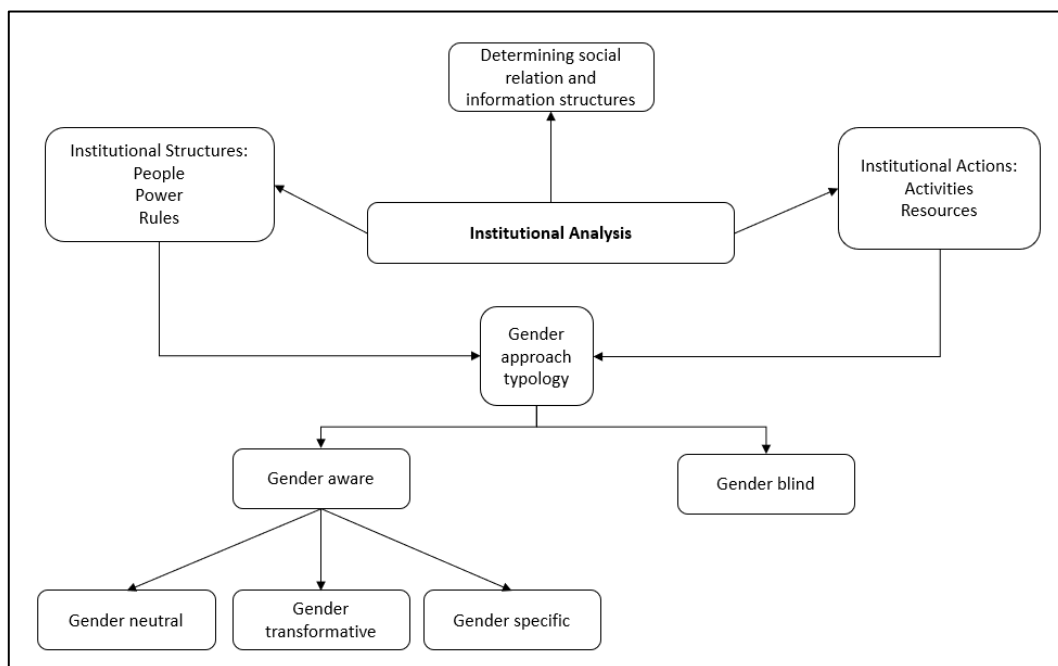


FIGURE 2.4: SUMMARY CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM OF THE SRF (ADAPTED FROM KABEER, 2004)

March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay (1999) suggest that positives of the SRF framework include that it supplies a fuller picture of poverty and inequality by highlighting and recognising the wider cross-cutting inequalities at play by concentrating on the wider structural picture and placing gender at the centre stage of this analysis. Because of its focus on institutions, the SRF shows the structural roots of the problems, but also displays how these institutions can bring about change. These institutional aspects of this framework are particularly relevant to this study given its aim to expose dominant circulations of gender discourse within AElS. Another strength of this framework is that it links analysis at micro, intermediate and macro levels exposing the key linkages between them (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999). These linkages are fundamental for this study as it analyses multiple layers of the society which have been termed the structural layer (which refers to overarching social structures and discourses), the functional layer (which refers to the institutional structures who are positioned in the structural layer) and the ground-level layer (which refers to the individuals the institutions in the functional layer effect). This framework also emphasises the connectedness of women and men by exploring the social relationships between them as well as how these relationships affect them (ibid). Again, because this study is exploring gender discourse, not women discourse, the SRF's ability to focus on the relationship between both men and women is fundamental.

Some of the key limitations of this framework which have also been outlined by March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay (1999) include that, by concentrating on structures rather

than agency, the framework can overlook the potential for individuals to bring about change. Because this study is focusing on the ability of institutions to alter dominant discourse, this limitation has little effect on this study's integrity. It is also argued that, because this framework examines so many areas of inequalities, gender can sometimes get subsumed in individual categories implying that gender can get fragmented within other issues of ethnicity, religion, class, and so on (ibid). To remain focused on gender, the methodology of this study's data collection has been centred around gender differences, with less attention paid to ethnic and religious differences. It is also noted that applying this framework is complicated and it can be difficult to use in a participatory manner (ibid). This study has primarily used this framework to frame and structure the data collection and analysis, and so has mainly used its concepts to inform the data collection questions and strategies, rather than trying to implement the framework in a participatory manner. Finally, this framework has been criticised because definitive boundaries between the state, market, community, and household are much more blurred in reality, and there is a need to understand that this overlap is important (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999). To try and encourage a consideration of the overlap of these boundaries, this study has been positioned to explore each area within the three identified layers, and a large part of the analysis is to understand how these layers affect and interact with one another.

### **2.5.2 Leeuwis and Bans' communication framework**

The SRF lacks a communication analysis which was mentioned previously. The novelty of the framework this study presents is that the SRF has been combined with an additional framework. The additional framework supports an avenue that can facilitate a comprehensive analysis of communication approaches being used as part of the institutional analysis. The communication framework used will now be presented.

The need to have a mechanism that can identify information types and contextual suitability within agricultural extension services is well documented (Aker, 2010) and an overview of this can be found in Section 2.2.3. It is noted that this would support wider claims around the need to improve the analysis of the diversity of knowledge provided by extension workers (Wijaya and Offermans, 2019), and the need to be cautious in the design of extension systems to ensure that the impact of these services can be assessed and monitored (Anderson and Feder, 2004). Cash et al. (2003) summarise these claims with the suggestion that 'a potentially fruitful area of research lies in how to integrate institutional analyses of knowledge systems with emerging frameworks of vulnerability

that acknowledge the centrality of coupled human-environment systems’ (p. 8090). Cash et al. (2003) further explain that research is now starting to identify the important role that institutions play in encouraging human resilience and limiting vulnerability. Whilst the framework presented here does not concentrate on providing a classic impact evaluation kit, it does present a framework that facilitates the exploration of institutional knowledge systems (in the form of agricultural extension) and their impact on one cross-cutting aspect of human well-being – that of gender equality.

Despite these well-acknowledged claims for an improved framework to support successful extension services and knowledge systems, there is limited work that has been done around this area. There has however been some well-established and well-reviewed work around the different types of extension services that have been and still are being used in the implementation of such systems. The FAO refers to a set of eight approaches to agricultural extension (Rivera, Qamar and Van-Crowder, 2001). The approaches they present are broadly outlined, with a limited breakdown of what activities, roles, and structures underpin these approaches. Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004) present a similar set of agricultural extension communication interventions or services which have been determined by an extensive review of multiple extension services. The approaches presented by Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004) come with a much more detailed breakdown of the aspects underpinning these services. Because of this additional layer of identifiable categories presented by Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004) (which are summarised below), this study will use this to support a rigorous communication approach analysis, resulting in the classification communication approaches currently being used by the AElS. The work of Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004) underpins the communication analysis aspect of this study’s framework.

Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004) have summarised several types of communication interventions which, for this study, will be referred to as communication services. It is suggested that communication services essentially define sets of ‘products’ that can be ‘delivered’ to target audiences. This definition of communication services means that they can also be viewed as communication strategies because they also refer to how the communication intervention is supposed to contribute to societal problem-solving. The services that the communication strategies provide are referred to as communication functions which can include information provision, training, exploration of issues and raising awareness. The way that the strategies operate and the functions that they deliver determine what the communication workers do and why.

This process is summarised in the figure below:



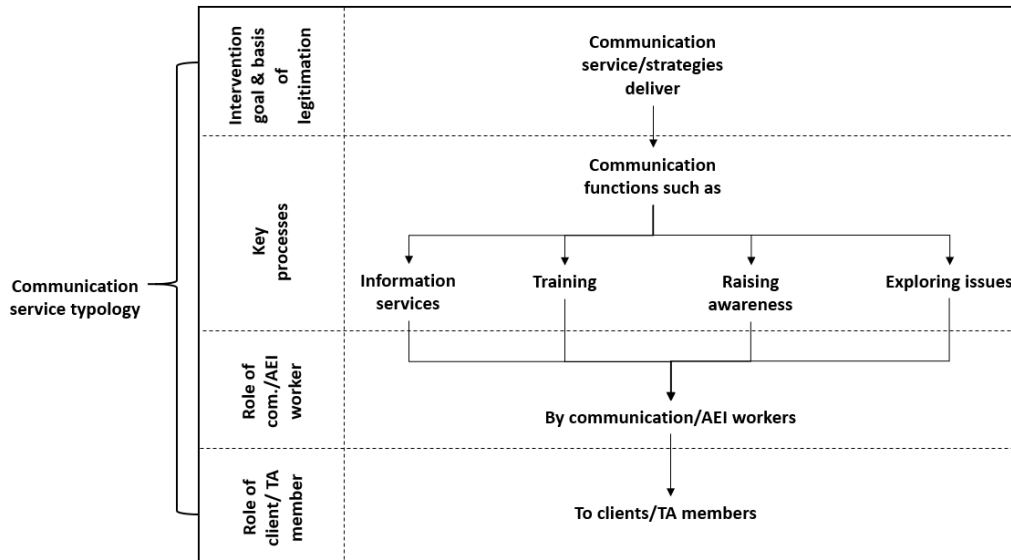


FIGURE 2.5: COMMUNICATION TYPOLOGY CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM (ADAPTED FROM LEEUWIS AND VAN DEN BAN, 2004)

As suggested by Figure 2.5, by assessing the intervention goal, role of the communication worker (in this study these are referred to as AEI workers), role of the client (in this study these are referred to as TA members), key processes, and the basis of legitimacy, the type of communication service can be identified. The basis of legitimacy is linked to the institutional driver of the type of AEI (discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.3). There are several communication services that Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004) identify within this conceptual framework which are summarised in the Table 2.1. The detailed breakdown of identifiable aspects of the communication services provides the framework to enable the identification of communication approaches found in this study.

The first two strategies of 'Advisory communication' and 'Supporting horizontal knowledge exchange' are grouped under the term 'Farm management communication'. This approach involves communication interventions that are aimed at supporting individual farm households by highlighting and solving problems that specific farms have. 'Advisory communication' occurs when farmers ask communication workers to share knowledge on dealing with management issues. 'Supporting horizontal knowledge exchange' happens when communication workers stimulate farmer-to-farmer exchange by organising meetings or networks. In both instances, the control and responsibility of the problem lies with the farm households who may act independently. Where they diverge is in the subtle change of the role of communication worker from a 'consultant/counsellor' in the 'advisory communication' to a 'facilitator/source of experience', and the addition of the networking dynamic of horizontal knowledge exchange. Horizontal knowledge exchange is also often used where there is limited

resources and public interest, whereas ‘advisory communication’ tends to result from active demand.

TABLE 2.1: DIFFERENT COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS (LEEUWIS AND VAN DEN BAN, 2004)

Communication strategy	Intervention goal	Role of comms worker	Role of ‘client’	Key process(es) involved	Basis of legitimisation
<b>Focus on ‘individual’ change/farm management communication</b>					
<b>Advisory communication</b>	Problem solving Enhancing problem solving ability	Consultant Counsellor	Active problem owner	Problem solving Counselling	Active demand
<b>Supporting horizontal knowledge exchange</b>	Knowledge exchange Diffusion of innovation	Source of experience Facilitator	Active learners/sources of experience	Learning Networking Problem solving	Active demand Public interest Limited resources
<b>Focus on collective change/co-ordinated action</b>					
<b>Generating (policy and/or technological innovations)</b>	Building coherent innovation	Facilitator Resource person Supporting vertical Knowledge exchange	Active participants	Problem solving Social learning Network building Negotiation	Societal problem solving Ensuring progress Qualities of interactive mode of working
<b>Conflict management</b>	Managing pre-existing conflict	Mediator Facilitator	Stakeholder participant	Negotiating Social learning	Wish to remove obstacles to progress
<b>Supporting organisation development and capacity building</b>	Strengthening the position of a group or organisation	Organiser Trainer Facilitator	Active participants	Social learning -Negotiation	‘Political’ sympathy with a group
<b>Focus can be individual or collective change</b>					
<b>Persuasive transfer or (policy and/or technological) innovations</b>	Realisation of given policy objectives Predefined behaviour change	Social engineer	‘Unexpected’ receiver (initially)	Adoption Acceptance	(Democratic) policy decision Preceding interactive process

The second set of strategies that are termed ‘Generating innovations’, ‘Conflict management’ and ‘Supporting Organisation Development and Capacity Building’ sit underneath the term of ‘Collective change/co-ordinated action’. Each of the strategies work with multiple stakeholders, with the communication worker holding the role of a facilitator. Each approach involves a social learning process with the aim to creating new solutions. ‘Generating technological and/or policy innovations’ differs from the others because it works on the principle that innovations need to encompass and involve a variety of practice, and there is a need to balance technical devices and novel social-organisational arrangements. ‘Conflict management’ deviates as it focuses on dealing with conflict arising around distribution and use of collective resources. ‘Supporting

organisation development’ concentrates on strengthening groups to help themselves and innovate from within.

The final strategy of ‘Persuasive transfer’ sits on its own underneath the term ‘Persuasive transfer of policy and/or technical innovations’. This form differs from the others because it aims to persuade target groups and farmers to adopt certain policies, ideas, and technical packages. Sometimes these initiatives use methods such as ‘advisory communication’ and ‘horizontal knowledge exchange’, but whenever persuasive concerns enter an interaction, this moves back into the persuasive category because of the intervention goal and operational logic shifts. In this scenario, the communication worker takes on the role of a social engineer who tries to strategically manipulate farmers behaviour. The role of the client is also different in that usually they do not ask to be persuaded, thereby, shifting farmers to the receiving end rather than demanding end. It is noted that, although this form of communication has become increasingly unpopular, it still exists widely (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004) and is often based on policy decisions or an earlier stakeholder discussion that decides on certain behaviour changes.

Within these communication strategies, there are some general communication functions that can be relevant within communication strategy. These functions are detailed below in Table 2.2 :

TABLE 2.2: COMMUNICATION FUNCTIONS (TAKEN FROM LEEUWIS AND VAN DEN BAN, 2004)

Function	Intervention sub-goal	Role of communication workers	Role of ‘Client’(s)
Raising awareness and consciousness of pre-defined issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encouraging people to define a situation as problematic</li> <li>• Mobilising interest</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Providing (confrontational) feedback</li> <li>• Raising questions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unexpecting receiver or relatively passive participant</li> </ul>
Exploring views and issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifying relevant views and issues</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stimulating people to talk</li> <li>• Active listening</li> <li>• Active learning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Source of information</li> <li>• Active participant/learner</li> </ul>
Information provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Making information accessible to those who search for it</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Translating and structuring information</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Active learner</li> </ul>
Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transferring and/or fostering particular knowledge, skills and abilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educator/trainer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Student</li> </ul>

This study will focus primarily on identifying the functions of the communication processes. This is because many of the strategies are unlikely to be applicable because of the focused scope of this study. However, where possible this study will use the functions identified to make linkages to the wider strategies mentioned by this framework.

The rationale for using this as a communication typology framework (CTF) is because it is thought that, by assessing each of these aspects of a communication intervention, it becomes possible to identify the key aspects of the communication strategy being used, and therefore enables the ability to define and allocate the communication approach being used. In addition to this, because of the focus on agricultural extension communication specifically, the work of Leeuwis and Ban (2004) lends itself well to being integrated into this study's wider position. On its own, this could be argued to not be particularly novel or rigorous, as substantial reviews of agricultural communication approaches have already been done, and the various approaches identified (Rivera, Qamar and Van-Crowder, 2001; Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004). The novel aspect of being able to identify and classify alternative communication approaches is that it enables a comparative analytical discussion of the effect of the different approaches being used by institutions, and the associated gender effects they may or may not be having; an aspect which will be supported by the previously reviewed SRF. The data collected by the 'Institutional activities' of the SRF feeds directly into the data collection which has been designed around the CTF and vice versa. This direct connection enables a comparative and linked discussion about how communication approaches and gender approaches of institutions are linked, and what role both of these approaches play in circulating dominant gender discourse, and therefore what might be done to challenge institutional dominant gender discourse circulation. This will analysis will expose key areas and mechanisms of perpetual gender inequality at multiple layers of society.

### **2.5.3 Towards the Applied Framework**

Combining the two frameworks presented here has resulted in the original and integrated creation of the Dominant Gender Discourse Deconstruction Applied Framework (referred to as the Applied Framework) this study has used. The Applied Framework has been used to structure the data methodology, collection, and analysis processes, as well as the structure for the discussion sections of this thesis. The final Applied Framework can be seen in Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6 visually presents how the two frameworks have been integrated. All parts of the frameworks are represented by rounded rectangles, with the SRF being depicted in purple and the CTF in pink. The diagram also indicates the data that has been collected and analysed by the relevant aspects of the theoretical framework. The primary data collected by this study are indicated by the cylinder shapes. It can be noted that the institutional case study data (which is discussed in depth in the methodology chapters) is

central to all framework processes, and the structural interviews feed directly into the broader aspects of the SRF which are about determining wider social relations and information structures. The Applied Framework has also included the different layers of society that this study will be analysing – namely the structural layer (blue), the functional layer (yellow) and the ground-level layer (green). These layers are important as they support the descriptions of the data type and data collections rationale which is outlined in the methodology chapter. It can be noted the data source cylinders are different colour depending on which case study they relate to. The colours presented here will be used throughout this study for clarity and consistency. Finally, the Applied Framework also includes which aspects respond to which questions of this study. The research questions are indicated by the orange document shape. This is important to show this framework enables this study to answer to its research questions and reach its objectives outlined in the introduction. These research questions also frame the discussion and analysis sections of this thesis ensuring that these sections remain focused, analytical and relevant and, therefore, able to feedback into the framing of the Conceptual Framework.

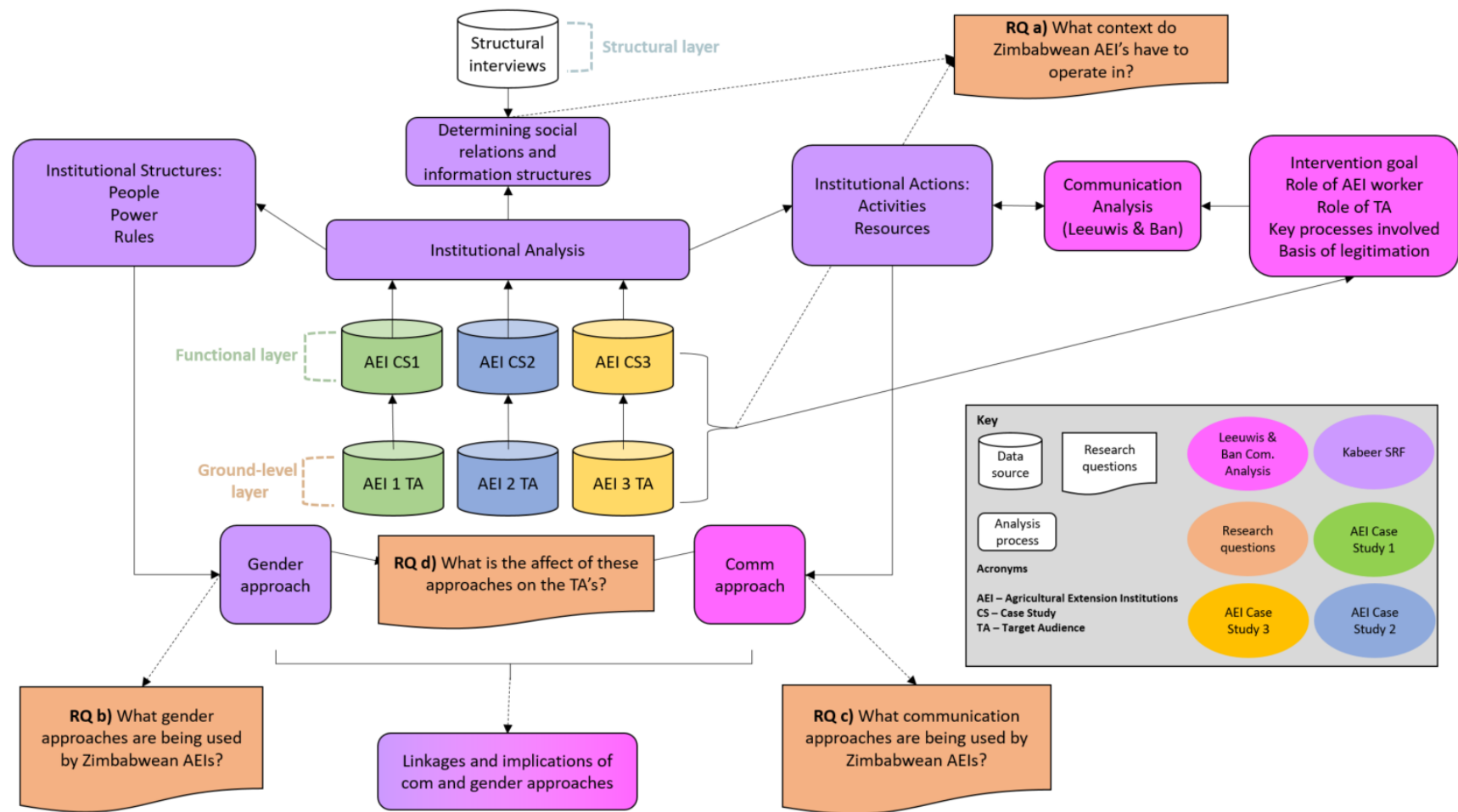


FIGURE 2.6: THE APPLIED FRAMEWORK INCLUDING DATA SOURCES AND OBJECTIVES

## 2.6 Using the Dominant Gender Discourse Deconstruction Framework

This chapter has developed a conceptual framework built on several areas of theory that culminate in explaining the process of the circulation of dominant gender discourse. This conceptual basis has been drawn from several key understandings:

1. Gender is a set of social expectations of the performance of individuals based on their sex (Butler, 1988)
2. Gender expectations have been established and are maintained by those in positions of power (Foucault, 1986)
3. Those in positions of power have access to certain spaces in society which gives them linguistic capital and therefore they use language as a mechanism for maintaining power and structures (Bourdieu, 1991)
4. Such societal spaces and structures are identified as ISAs (Althusser, 2001) and ISAs create and maintain dominant discourse
5. Examining dominant discourse can provide insights into societal attitudes (Karlberg, 2005)
6. To examine dominant discourse, it is vital to examine factors that hinder communication processes (Hall, 1973; Santucci, 2005)
7. Queer Theory allows us to make sense of these multiple concepts by questioning expected beliefs, values, and relations, and exposing the dominant circulations of power (Yep, 2013).

Having developed the Conceptual Framework for exposing the process of the circulation of dominant gender discourses on these understandings (outlined in 2.4.1), this chapter then converted this conceptual understanding into an Applied Framework which is built on two frameworks found with the sphere of international development. The two frameworks used to convert the Conceptual Framework to the Applied Framework are the Social Relations Framework (SRF) (Kabeer, 1994) and the Communication Typology Framework (CTF) (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004).

Having built and presented the Conceptual Framework and the Applied Framework, it can now be understood that these two, interrelated frameworks are the components of the Dominant Gender Discourse Deconstruction Framework (DGDDF). For simplicity, when discussing the framework in its entirety, it will be referred to as the Framework.

This framework will be used to analyse agricultural extension to show the importance of a thorough gendered analysis of communication. Having demonstrated the value of utilising this framework, the study will support the expansion of the theoretical field of development as a whole, and then add to applied development interventions. Before moving into the application process, it is important first to establish why the area of Agricultural Extension has been chosen as the area of analysis.

### **2.6.1 Rationale for testing the Framework on Agricultural Extension**

Although broader aspects of the agricultural sector and agricultural extension have previously been discussed (Section 2.2.3), it is important to provide some rationale as to why it was decided that the Applied Framework would be tested specifically on Agricultural Extension.

#### **Agriculture is a key pathway for improving sustainable development**

With an estimated three billion people around the globe who are eating the wrong food or not eating enough (The World Bank, 2017), 108 million facing severe food insecurity (World Food Programme, 2017), 65% of poor working adults making a living through agriculture (The World Bank, 2017) and over 78% of the world's poor relying on subsistence agriculture (The World Bank, 2014), the improvement of the agricultural sector as a development strategy is imperative to fight poverty effectively. In Africa, although the agricultural landscape is shifting dramatically as African Economies have drastically grown (AGRA, 2017) resulting in calls for modernising the agricultural sector to boost development, the poverty levels throughout the continent have continued to grow (The World Bank, 2018). This suggests that the improvement of these people's livelihoods depends directly on agricultural development (IFAD, 2001; Koning, Bindraban and Essers, 2002). Kamruzzaman *et al.*, (2020) argue that agricultural extension and rural advisory services play a vital role in enabling farmers to sustainably adapt to the ever-changing agricultural landscape; particularly in the face of future climatic changes.

Although the agricultural sector has long been of interest to the development field, with the emergence of the MDG's there has been a global shift to a poverty reduction focus and, following the three-decade downward trend of food prices, agricultural development has been side-lined to being integral to solving the issue of poverty (Christiaensen and Martin, 2018). As developing countries have grown, economies have become increasingly open, and therefore food more traceable (*ibid*). By comparison, productivity in agriculture – particularly small-holder agriculture – is low compared to other sectors, and there is a suggestion that poverty reduction is much more likely to arise from urbanization.



However, (Christiaensen and Martin, 2018) suggest that recent literature, which is largely economic, suggests that, actually, growth in agriculture is two to three more times effective in poverty reduction than an equivalent amount of growth found outside this area (The World Bank, 2017). This literature also suggests that developing agriculture as opposed to other poverty reduction areas has the largest impact on the poorest in society (ibid). These two points underline the continued importance of the role which agricultural development plays in poverty reduction, particularly in Africa where poverty is constantly increasing (ibid). It is also suggested that agricultural improvement has a knock-on effect for other areas such as welfare and malnutrition (Christiaensen and Martin, 2018) and that, by increasing small scale agricultural production, income improvement pathways open up as tradability increases, and labour decreases allowing the reallocation of labour from agriculture to other areas which is an important channel of further poverty reduction. It is in this resurgence and re-recognition of the importance of agricultural development that this study is placed. The major reliance on agricultural production in Zimbabwe (fully reviewed in Chapter 4) is one of the primary reasons for examining this country in this study.

#### **A need to improve agricultural extension**

As covered previously in Section 2.2.3, it must also be noted the problems and challenges that the agricultural sector faces are rapidly changing (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004) as processes such as climate change, population increase, and political instability constantly alter the contextual landscapes in which agricultural development initiatives have to operate in. There is a fundamental need to develop more adaptive and sophisticated ways of improving knowledge access and information which can enable sustainable farming improvements (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004). As the challenges of the sector change, there is a need to ensure that organisations which are directly supporting farmers will need to change too. It is suggested that there is a need to redevelop agricultural extension as a professional practice thereby adapting its rationale, mission, mode of operation and organisational structure which must be coupled with conceptual changes regarding the practice (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004; Davis, 2008; Norton and Alwang, 2020).

Alongside this, it is also widely acknowledged that males have better access to agricultural extension than females (Meinzen-Dick *et al.*, 2011; Lamontagne-Godwin *et al.*, 2018, 2019; Williams and Taron, 2020). This problematic disparity can only be overcome through extension services being aware cultural and social norms and adapting to them

(Williams and Taron, 2020) and that extension services are necessary to support wider gender transformations

As discussed in Section 2.2.3, 'Agricultural Extension Services' have been one of the crucial and long-standing methods of improving agriculture. Agriculture extension refers to the 'provision of information, training, and advice in agricultural production' (BMZ 2013, p. 1). Anderson and Feder (2004) suggest that there are around 500 000 people working in agricultural extension across the globe, 95% of which worked in public agricultural extension programmes. Currently, this type of agricultural development service is in decline and many public extension systems are barely functioning (Acker, 2004). Zimbabwe is no exception to this as it is currently facing limitations around the ratios of national extension workers to farmers (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2002). Anderson and Feder (2004) have suggested that this may be due to poor policy environments, limited sustainability and small-scale engagement due to the geographical dispersion of subsistence farmers, poor linkages to research centres and limited rigorous evidence of the impact of agricultural extension. By evaluating the effects of communication approaches used on the RAs systematically, this study can add to the need to overcome some of these barriers.

#### **Clear communication pathways**

This study will be concentrating on agricultural extension. Agricultural extension provides a clear communication pathway to assess and therefore, lends itself well to this study.

The classic idea of extension as being an advisory service (Leeuwis and Ban 2004) places communication in the heart of the practice. Agriculture extension is rooted very much in the paternalist nature which is not dissimilar to that of early development initiatives putting the extension agent in a position of power as the 'expert' and message 'sending' role, and the audience in the 'listening' and 'receiving' role (Leeuwis and Ban 2004) which, in communication terms, roots this in the one-way communication processes reviewed previously.

However, Leeuwis et al (2004) suggest that there remains a need to move away from the focus of an individual behaviour change, to emphasise the generative dimension of extension, indicate that changes include social organisational element, emphasise the importance of negotiation and social learning and ensure that extension is a two-way process. The need for this redefinition is supported by (Sulaiman and Hall, 2002). By examining the information exchange processes in the current agricultural extension

trends, that are currently in place in the agricultural sector, this study can add to the required refocus.

### **Agricultural extension is heavily gendered**

The gendered nature of agricultural extension is also discussed in the literature. There are arguments that include that it is difficult for women to attend the training due to their societal positions and associated workloads (BMZ, 2013). There are also issues in some regions that women are not allowed to speak with male extension workers or allowed to be alone with them which adds to the information access issues (ibid). Added to this, men are often regarded as the household heads meaning that men are often automatically the recipient of the initial information (ibid). It is also acknowledged that different extension approaches can have different accessibility for women, but this remains largely under-researched (Williams and Taron, 2020). This gap in the literature has large implications of knowing how to alter approaches to make them more equitable (ibid). The structure of agricultural extension also adds gendered obstacles, as the FAO estimates that globally, 85% of all extension workers are male, and the female extensionists who are in place face difficulties in their job roles in terms of acceptance (FAO, 2011). A study by (Due, Magayane and Temu, 1997) noted that this lack of female extension workers limits female farmers' participation and access because they prefer female extension workers. In addition to this, it is noted that information technologies which are increasingly used in this sphere are rarely gender neutral, and often directly impact the power dynamics of gender relations (BMZ, 2013). The gender dynamics identified here are acknowledged throughout Zimbabwe (FAO, 2017) and clearly impact the effectiveness and efficiency of agricultural extension programmes, and this is one of the fundamental areas of extension that this study aims to expose, discuss and present solutions to improve the inherent gender inequality within the agricultural sector.

Having presented the key literature and theory that underpins the rationale and foundations for the conceptual framework of the circulation of dominant gender discourse, and the Applied Framework which integrates Kabeer's SRF and Leeuwis and Ban's CTF, the next chapter will present the methodology used to apply the framework to three agricultural extension institutions in Zimbabwe.

## **CHAPTER 3**      **METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Having established the conceptual approach and analytical framework in Chapter 2, this chapter will outline the methodology used to implement the framework and address the study's research questions. It will begin by outlining the epistemological approach taken, detail the study sites and research participants, and then review the data collection and analysis methods used.

### **3.2 Overall epistemology and research approach**

The epistemological approach of this study is positioned in the critical paradigm. Developed in interdisciplinary contexts, this approach emphasises, amongst other aspects, the phenomena of dominant discourses (Klein, 2000; Leavy, 2011). It posits that research can empower, and therefore prioritises perspectives and experiences of those on the edges of social structures, acknowledging and welcoming individual differences (Leavy, 2017). Therefore, this approach is supported by collaborative and participatory approaches to include voices that can be missed (ibid). To do this, the methodology design needs to be reflexive to overcome issues of power and voice (Leavy, 2017). Positioning this study in the critical paradigm ensured that challenges presented by gender structures could be identified and addressed, and necessary reflexivity built in.

It is well recognised that qualitative research integrates methods that aim to explore and describe insights into complex human behaviour, and that they understand multifaceted and intertwined problems better than quantitative methods (Macdonald, 2012; Flick, 2013; Guba and Lincoln., 1994). It is also acknowledged that qualitative research 'attempts to explore a host of factors that may be influencing a situation' (Hancock and Algozzine, 2017, p. 8). Whilst quantitative methodologies can be used to support such an analysis, this study will use a qualitative research approach to examine human behaviour and multiple aspects of a societal system. Since this study is concerned with qualitative research, the primary research analysis approach used is hermeneutic inquiry (Roulston, 2013). Whilst covered in more detail in Section 3.8.1, it is important to note here that hermeneutic inquiry is based around the interpretation of texts (the major data output of this study) and associated positionality (Roulston, 2013) which is a foundation of the participatory approach covered in this section.

This study will use the case study approach which complements the in-depth understanding needed to respond to the research questions. The research questions lend themselves to the case study approach because they provide the space for a comparative analysis of differing AElS. The case study approach enables a systematic yet bounded intensive analysis of selected areas (Hancock and Algozzine, 2017). By using explanatory case studies (ibid), it will be possible to explore relevant institutions and the various actors within them in detail.

Given the positioning of the study, the design has been underpinned with the key concepts found in participatory development. Participatory development is tied into critiques of both theory and practice of development work (Cornwall, 2002) but ultimately challenges 'normal' development processes that have been historically characterised by Eurocentric, positivist, top-down biases that are disempowering (Chambers, 1997). Participatory development is based on the idea that 'outside' agents are limited by their contextual knowledge, and therefore local knowledge has important implications for practitioners and researchers, thereby rejecting the notion that 'experts' know best (Mohan and Stokke, 2000). Participatory development advises a research methodology that positions research as a mutual learning process (Chambers, 1997; Cornwall, 2002).

Participatory research aligns itself well with critical and qualitative approaches because it is characterised as iterative, flexible and reflexive (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995) which enables the research to adjust as unanticipated aspects come to the surface. One of the most influential approaches in participatory research is Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers, 1994). PRA has a distinctive focus on shared visual representations and analysis of local people (Chambers, 1994) and can use approaches such as the narrative approach (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003) (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990) that builds on people's ability to recount and structure experience through storytelling (Moen, 2006) (discussed in more detail in Section 3.4.3). The PRA approach learns about, from and with rural people, and extends into analysis, planning, and action encompassing a large number of methodologies (ibid). There are three main methods used by 'PRA' which are grouped under the three headings of interviewing, sampling methods and visualised analyses (Cornwall, Guijt and Welbourn, 1993). This study uses interviewing and visual participatory analysis of difference (Welbourn, 1991).

Whilst the assessment of the impact, strengths, and weaknesses of PRA still requires work (Chambers, 1994), it is noted that PRA generates more reliable and relevant information and improves the communication between outsiders and insiders, thereby providing the space and tools to encompass highly social and complex areas (Mosse, 1994).

Additionally, because PRA promotes mutual learning processes rather than just engagement, aspects of power dynamics, agenda-setting, and representation decisions need to be considered (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995). This results in true participatory research designs challenging relations of power between the participants and the researchers themselves (ibid). However, there remain a number of limitations that must be acknowledged with the PRA approach.

There are bounds within research that dictate who does and who does not take part in participatory research and this often limits the perspectives identified in data collections due to the necessary selective processes of data collection (Mosse, 1994). This can result in the issue of data being somewhat predetermined.

Another challenge presented by PRA is the need to overcome power dynamics. Although such dynamics can never be truly overcome, to begin to shift power dynamics in PRA, establishing mutual respect is important. This requires a shift towards respecting people's knowledge and their abilities to understand and address the issues confronting them and their communities (Brydon-miller, Greenwood and Maguire, 2003). Researchers should have a respect for the complexity of local situations and, therefore, understand that the people in situ have the best insights and knowledge in this sphere (ibid) and that outsiders 'do not impose their reality; they encourage and enable local people to express their own' (Chambers, 1997; p. 103). This shift supports 'rapport' between researchers and participants implying the agreement, co-operation, and trust that is needed for all participation approaches (Mosse, 1994). Unfortunately, this relationship is often described and defined by the outsider and is regularly based on one or two relationships in a community rather than a realistic view of general rapport (ibid). Fully overcoming difficulties presented by structural power dynamics is not feasibly possible. However, by using carefully considered, multiple data collection techniques and research protocol detailed throughout this chapter, this study has been designed to develop a comfortable rapport engage directly with power barriers to ensure that research participants can speak as freely as possible.

To embrace this study's epistemology, this study adopts a mixed methods approach that allows for the triangulation of data collection methods to collect several perspectives under one study to increase the reliability of the data (Flick, 2013).

### **3.2.1 Research assistant selection and training**

The data collection was supported by four local Zimbabwean research assistants, each of which had a least a master's degree in Agriculture or Gender Studies. The research team consisted of two Shona speakers (one male and one female) and two Ndebele speakers (one male and one female). The gender distribution of the research team was chosen so that there would be one female who could conduct all female workshops and interviews and one male who could conduct all male interviews and workshops at all research sites. This was done to address any power and gender issues that are embedded in the data collection methods as discussed previously.

The primary researcher also wrote and conducted a compulsory three-day training session for all of the research assistants on the study design and the methods that would be used before any data was collected. Key aspects of this training included outlining the study's aims, design, and practicalities as well as detailed methodology guidelines. Practice sessions of all the data collection methodologies were a key part of the training and provided the research team a chance to engage in the practical side of the methodologies and ensure that the technical aspects had been grasped. The training also reviewed the research assistant contract (available upon request) in detail which both parties agreed to. This training was imperative for ensuring that all the research protocols were followed and that the data collection tools were used consistently by each research team member. All of the training was captured in a detailed field guide (Appendix 3) for each research team member to refer to in the field.

To ensure consistency, the primary researcher observed all the data collected by the research assistants, attended every workshop and observation, conducted and ran all interviews and workshops which could be done in English if appropriate, and also led the reflection sessions with the relevant research team members after every data collection day.

### **3.3 Study location, data grouping, research sites and research participants**

This section presents why Zimbabwe was selected as the study location and explains the logic of how the different layers of society were grouped to support a logical data identification process. It then presents the selection of the research sites and research participants. The breakdown of the final sites and research participants can be found in Table 3.2.

### 3.3.1 Selection of study location

Whilst a detailed contextual analysis of Zimbabwe at the time of this study can be found in Section 4.4.1, there are several factors that underpinned the selection of Zimbabwe as the study location.

Zimbabwe is a developing country with 76% of rural households living below the poverty line in 2012, most of which are reliant on rain-fed agriculture (FAO, 2019). The Zimbabwean society is heavily underpinned by patriarchal social norms that determine most social gender roles, stereotypes and opportunities (Kambarami, 2006). Zimbabwe also has multiple and varied agro-ecological zones (AEZs) noted in Figure 3.1. Whilst there are five named zones, these can be loosely grouped under three areas divided by agricultural productivity. Zones I and IIA have high agricultural production potential and have historically been the most popular areas for commercial agriculture. Zones IIB and III receive less rainfall than Zones I and IIA but are still agriculturally favourable and semi-productive regions. Zones IV and V are severely water constrained and are, therefore, typically the least productive regions of the country. Small-scale farmers operate out of all of the AEZs, and all require agricultural information services. The AEZ geographical and historical differences provide the opportunity for this study to reflect on how these spatial differences affect agricultural information exchange processes and gender structures.

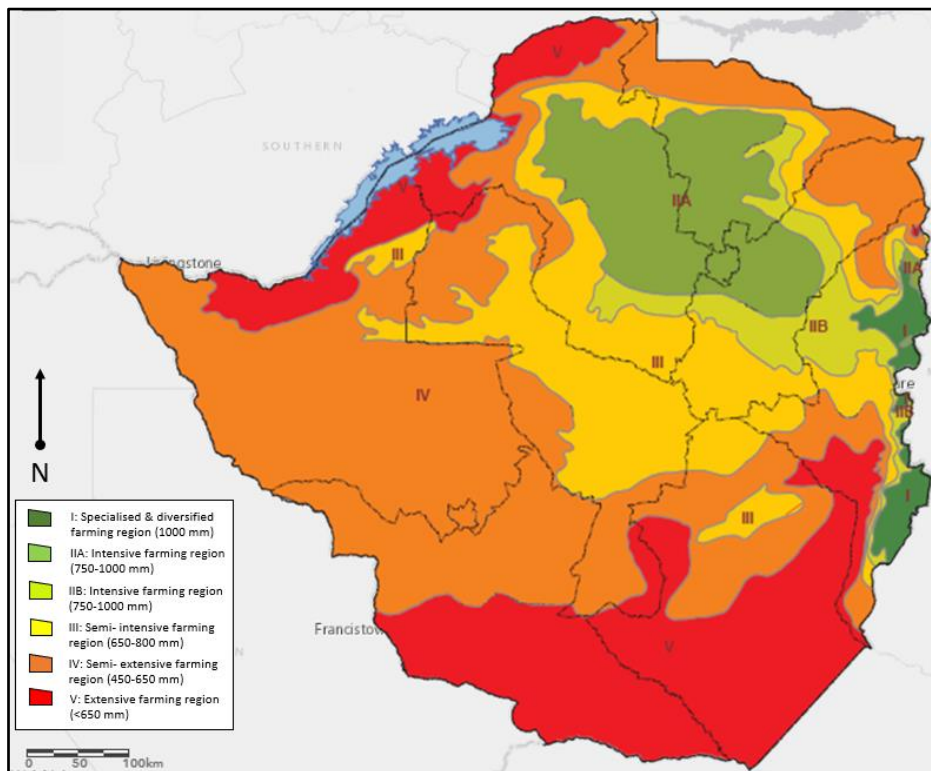


FIGURE 3.1: NATURAL FARMING AREAS OF ZIMBABWE ADAPTED FROM RELIEFWEB (2009): OCHA ZIMBABWE- AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES MAP)



Zimbabwe has a complicated and volatile economic (Kairiza, 2008) and political situation (Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011), particularly around the agricultural sphere (Hammar, 2001; Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer, 2003b). Because of these contextual constraints, there is limited recent research that has been conducted around current agricultural information exchange systems in Zimbabwe. The agricultural structure in Zimbabwe has also changed significantly over the past two decades following extreme land reform processes (Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer, 2003a; Scoones, 2018a). Given the particularly unstable economic situation, information access is vital to sustaining livelihoods which help small-scale farmers to overcome the drastic economic difficulties that most of the Zimbabwean population is facing; thus enhancing the importance of this study. It must be acknowledged that both the economic and political climate of this country at the time added difficulties to a number of the practicalities of the data collection of this study. These are reviewed in Section 3.7.2

Because the primary researcher is Zimbabwean, the context and realities of conducting research in the country were well known and understood. This also meant that the primary researcher had financial and social support networks in Zimbabwe which helped with the feasibility of conducting the data collection given the financial and time constraints. This previous connection with the country meant that many research processes such as gaining local ethical clearance, conducting scoping studies, identifying relevant case studies, and organising a local research team were expedited by being able to make use of well-established contacts on the ground whilst in the UK.

### **3.3.2 Methodology and data grouping**

As established in Chapter 2, there is a need to investigate three layers of society, namely the structural layer, the functional layer, and the ground-level layer (Figure 3.2). These layers are based on of the state, the market and the community (Kabeer, 1994) respectively. The structural layer analysis will identify overarching structures forming the contextual understanding of Zimbabwean agricultural extension. This will provide insight into factors affecting the functional layer. The analysis of the functional layer will be based on the examination of three comparative case studies of selected Agricultural Extension Institutions (AEIs) currently providing agricultural information exchange services to farmers (referred to as the Target Audience (TA)) throughout Zimbabwe. Although each case study institution is delivering agricultural extension services, the drivers behind these services are different in each case. The assumption here is that each institution will, therefore, have differences in organisational and operational functions and thus, differences in gender discourses both within the institution and with their selected TAs.

The ground-level analysis explores how the TAs of each case study access and experience information exchange processes to understand if and how these knowledge systems are gendered.

The study methodology has been designed to ensure that each layer of analysis can be linked, so that the final stage of the analysis can examine the three layers of the system holistically to identify how gender discourse is being circulated throughout them.

For ease and continuity, throughout this chapter colour coding has been used to indicate the alternative layers that are being referred to. Blue-grey refers to the structural layer, olive-green to the functional layer, and brown refers to the ground-level layer. This is summarised in Figure 3.2.

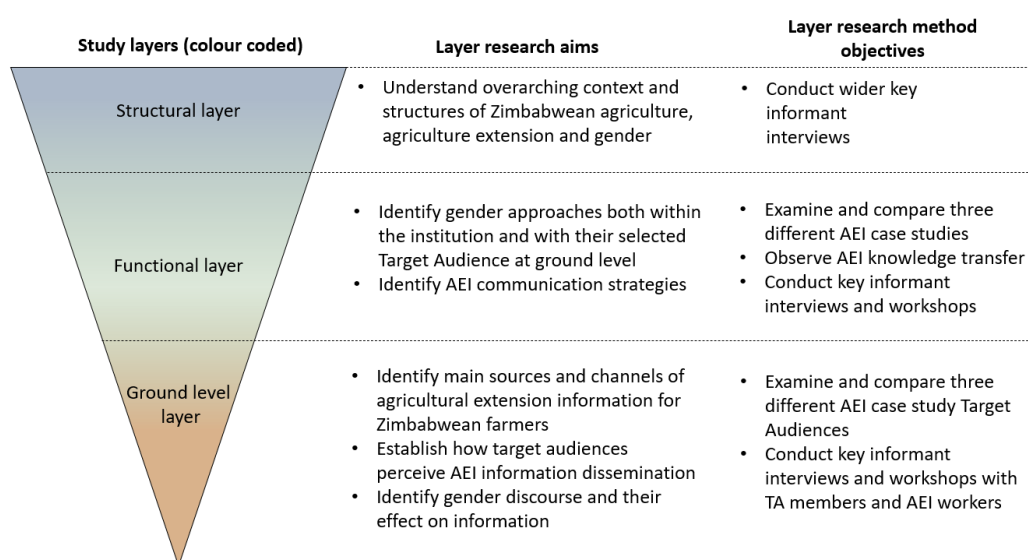


FIGURE 3.2: SUMMARY DIAGRAM OF STUDY LAYERS AND ASSOCIATED RESEARCH AIMS AND METHOD OBJECTIVES

### 3.3.3 Selection of Study Sites

The study sites within Zimbabwe were based on the case study AEI institutions which were selected. The case study selection criteria included:

a) *Being currently operational in Zimbabwe’s agricultural extension system*

The institution needed to be delivering an agricultural extension service at the time of the study to local farmers as their TA. This didn’t need to be the only service the institutions offered, but the institution needed to have a well-established extension structure that could be observed and analysed.

b) *The AIE’s institutional driver*

Institutional drivers refer to the primary reason that the AElS were operating for at the time of the study, and how they were accountable to do so. The three main types of institutions delivering agricultural extension in Zimbabwe (each with different institutional drivers) were commercial, NGOs and the national government. This largely reflects the patterns of current agricultural extension discussed in Section 2.2.3. By selecting case studies from these differing sectors, a comparative analysis of how gender and information exchange processes differed between the different types of extension institutions was possible.

c) *Where in Zimbabwe the AElS were providing extension services*

The AEI headquarters needed to be based in Harare (where the primary researcher was based) so that the primary researcher could co-ordinate and conduct interviews from the capital city, but also had to be working with TAs who were reasonably accessible given the size of the country, and cost and time limitations. Also, given that Zimbabwe has three main AEZs, the geographical location of the TAs was considered to allow a comparative analysis of AElS operating in different AEZs.

d) *Willingness to participate and support the primary researcher*

As the AEI case studies were the researchers' primary way of accessing their TAs, active support was required from the selected AElS. Their support was needed to gain national ethical clearance (Section 3.3.6) and to support the safety of the research team whilst operating in the highly political space of Zimbabwean agriculture.

### **3.3.4 Selected case study institutions and rationale**

Each case study institution that was selected had a different institutional driver. In Zimbabwe, there are three main institutional types delivering in agricultural extension. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, but include the governmental sector, the commercial sector (which primarily takes the form of contract farming) and the non-governmental sector (which primarily focuses on community development). Ideally, a full case study would have been selected from each of these categories but, due to political issues, it was not possible to examine the governmental extension arm as a separate case study. However, it was possible to interview a number of AGRITEX officers to provide insight into the national extension institution. Based on this limitation, one case study institution was selected from the commercial sector, and two were selected from the non-governmental sector. Each case study institution has been allocated a pseudonym based on their key function to protect anonymity.

The case study selected from the commercial sector targets and contracts small-scale tobacco farmers and is referred to as Commercial Tobacco Company (CTC). The first NGO case study focuses on improving market linkages between commercial companies and small-holder farmers and so is referred to as Market Linkage Organisation (MLO). The second NGO case study focuses on a broader range of community development activities targeting poor, rural farmers and so is referred to as Community Development Organisation (CDO). Even though MLO and CDO both fall under the NGO category, they have very different focuses and, therefore, approaches. MLO concentrates on moving small-holder farmers into commercial markets, so it has an element of outsourced contract farming positioning it as a bridge between the commercial and non-governmental approaches. Through the other three case studies, it was found that the governmental extension arm (called the Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX)) is fundamentally linked to each one of these case studies, so AGRITEX was also examined, but in less detail than the other case studies (see Section 4.5.2).

CTC was operating in AEZ IIa (in the districts of Mazowe and Zvimba), MLO was operating in AEZ IV (in the districts of Umguza and Bubi), and CDO was operating in AEZ III (in the Makoni district). Additional non-associated interviews (detailed in Section 3.3.5) were conducted in AEZ V (in the Matobo district). As can be seen in Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4, the research sites chosen span the four main AEZs of Zimbabwe. Figure 3.4 shows the locations within the districts that data was collected from.

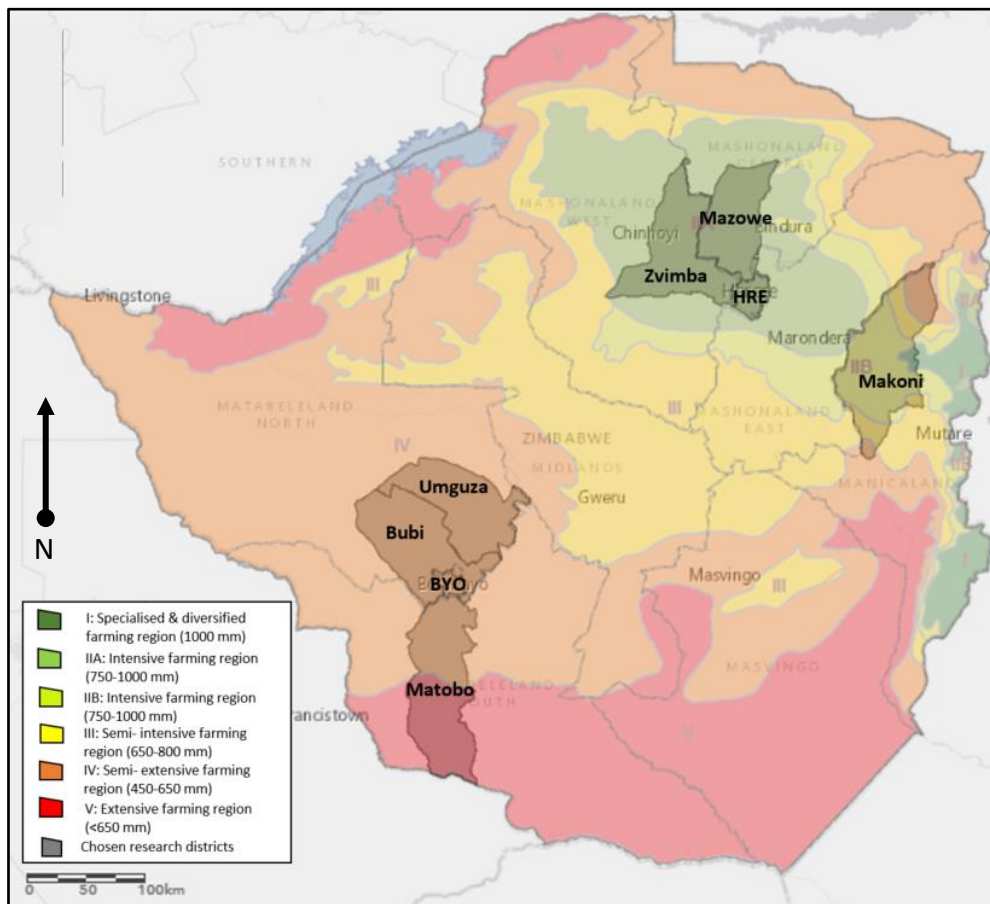


FIGURE 3.3: DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED RESEARCH SITES WITHIN THE AEZS OF ZIMBABWE (ADAPTED FROM RELIEF WEB: OCHA: ZIMBABWE- AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES MAP, 2020 )

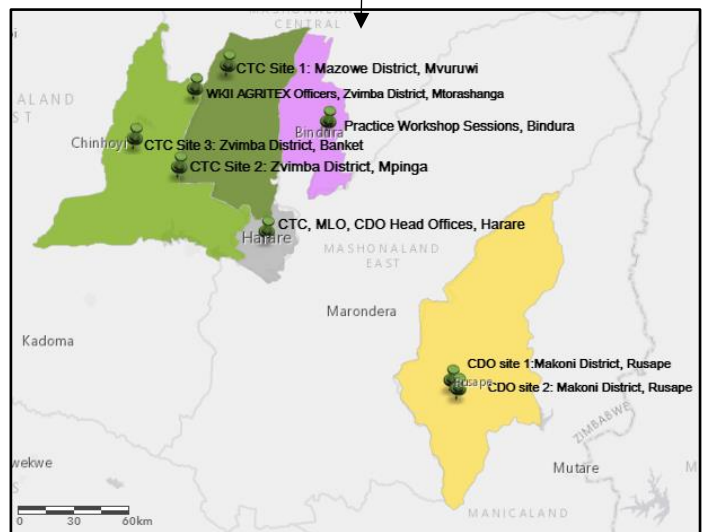
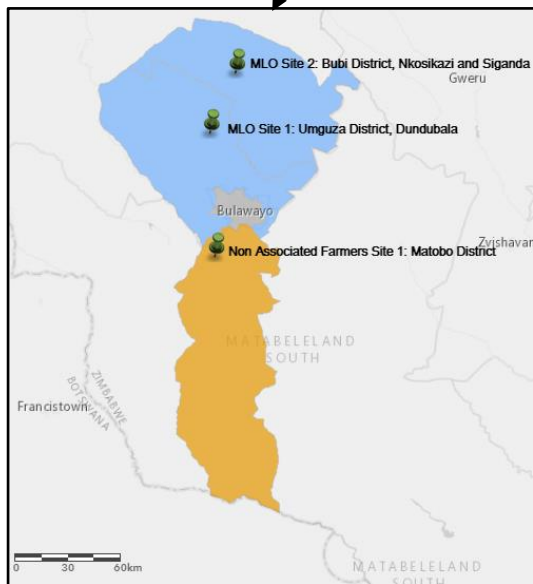
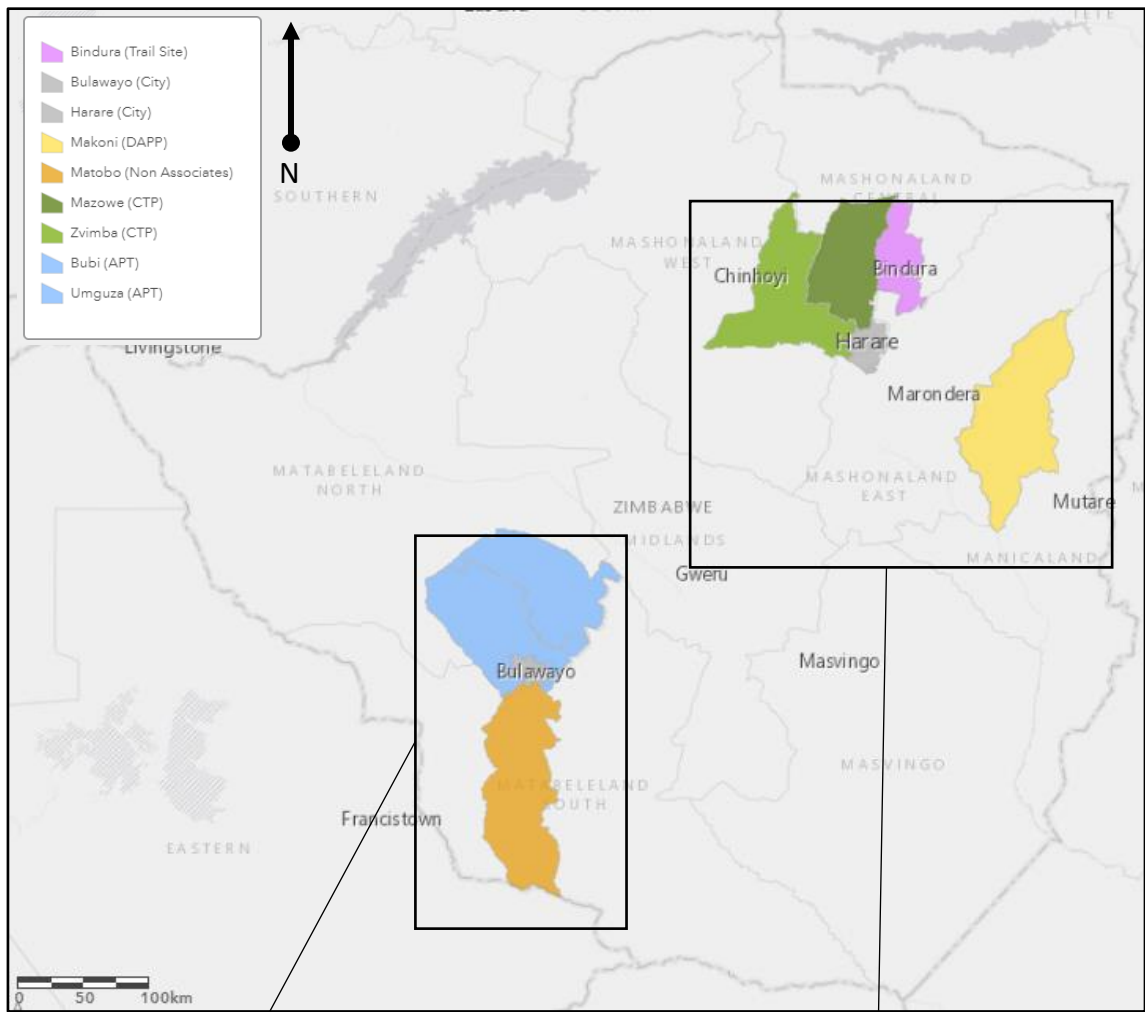


FIGURE 3.4: DATA COLLECTION SITE MAPS

### **3.3.5 Selection of participants**

Research participants were needed to represent each of the layers; structural, functional and ground-level (Figure 3.2). Therefore, three groups of research participants were initially identified, and two additional groups later added due to accessibility once on the ground, but all groups are presented here.

To meet the selection criteria, all research participants had to be over 18 years of age to ensure that ethical protocols were followed (See Section 3.3.6). Sex was also a selection criterion because a 50:50 gender quota was prescribed throughout the whole study.

Representing the structural layer, research participants who worked or researched in the areas of gender, communication, agriculture, and commercial agriculture in the Zimbabwean context provided informed opinions on the wider structural trends. Representing the functional layer, the second group of participants were selected from each case study AEI. The third group of participants represented the ground-level layer and were selected from the TAs of the three AEI case studies.

Once on the ground, it was noted that there were two key areas of representation missing from the data collection. The governmental extension arm was identified as an essential part of agricultural extension services throughout all of Zimbabwe, and through connections made during the fieldwork, it was possible to access some AGRITEX extension officers to interview and provide insight into AGRITEX. This aspect of data collection had specifically been avoided in the initial research design because of potential access difficulties and political sensitivities.

It was also possible to select additional farmers from AEZ V who were not directly affiliated with any specific AEI. These farmers became accessible because one of the research assistants held the position of the District Officer, and so was able to gain the necessary permissions with relative ease; a process that was initially thought to be very difficult for the primary researcher alone. The 'non-associated' farmers provided insight into farmers who were not associated with any specific AEIs at the time of the study.

The groups and their selection criteria are summarised in Table 3.1, which details the data collection activities undertaken by each group.

TABLE 3.1: SELECTION CRITERIA OF ALL PARTICIPANT CATEGORIES

Layer	Activity	Selection Criteria*
Structural Layer	Wider key informant interviews (WKII's)	An active and experienced practitioner or academic based in Zimbabwe in one of the following areas: Gender, communication, agriculture or commercial agriculture
		Based in Harare
Functional Layer	Key informant interviews (AEI workers)	Currently working as part of the agricultural information exchange process of one of the selected AEI case study institutions
	Workshops (AEI workers)	Currently working as part of the agricultural information exchange process of one of the selected AEI case study institutions
	Key informant interviews (AGRITEX)	Currently working as part of the government extension arm
Ground- Level Layer	Key informant interviews (AEI TA members)	Currently working directly with one of the selected AEIs
	Workshops (AEI TA members)	Currently working directly with one of the selected AEIs
	Key informant interviews (non-associated farmers)	Currently not associated with any particular AEI

\* Participants from all categories ha to be over 18 years of age, and were selected based on their gender to ensure that a gender parity was maintained

Similarly, to the participant selection, the sample size shifted from what was initially planned when in the field for reasons detailed in Section 3.7. The planned sample sizes are detailed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 provides a breakdown of the actual sample sizes of each activity.



TABLE 3.2: FINAL DATA COLLECTION

Data collection method	Planned number of participants			Actual number of participants		
	Females	Males	Total (n)	Females	Males	Total (n)
<b>Wider Key Informant Interviews</b>						
Zimbabwean gender specialist	1	1	2	1	1	2
Zimbabwean agricultural specialist	1	1	2	1	1	2
Zimbabwean communication specialist	1	1	2	1	1	2
Zimbabwean commercial farmer	1	1	2	1	1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Key informant interviews (AEI workers)</b>						
Case Study AEI 1 (CTC)	3	3	6	1	6	7
Case Study AEI 2 (MLO)	3	3	6	1	3	4
Case Study AEI 3 (CDO)	3	3	6	2	4	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Workshops (w/s) (AEI workers) total</b>						
Case Study AEI 1 (CTC)	1 w/s (n=6)	1 w/s (n=6)	12	0 w/s	1 w/s (n=7)	7
Case Study AEI 2 (MLO)	1 w/s (n=6)	1 w/s (n=6)	12	1 w/s (n=6)	1 w/s (n=7)	13
Case Study AEI 3 (CDO)	1 w/s (n=6)	1 w/s (n=6)	12	0 w/s	0 w/s	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Key informants (AGRITEX extension officers)</b>						
<b>TOTAL</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	3	5
<b>Key informant interviews (Target audience)</b>						
Case Study AEI 1 (CTC)	3	3	6	8	8	16
Case Study AEI 2 (MLO)	3	3	6	12	6	18
Case Study AEI 3 (CDO)	3	3	6	12	10	22
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>Workshops (w/s) (Target audience) total</b>						
Case Study AEI 1 (CTC)	1 w/s (n=6)	1 w/s (n=6)	12	2 w/s (n=4 and 5)	2 w/s (n=4 and 5)	18
Case Study AEI 2 (MLO)	1 w/s (n=6)	1 w/s (n=6)	12	2 w/s (n=6 and 10)	2 w/s (n=6 and 6)	28
Case Study AEI 3 (CDO)	1 w/s (n=6)	1 w/s (n=6)	12	2 w/s (n=6 and 6)	2 w/s (n= 5 and 7)	24
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Key informant interviews (non-associated farmers)</b>						
<b>TOTAL</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	4	7	11
<b>Communication Process Observations</b>						
Case Study AEI 1 (CTC)	N/A	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	2
Case Study AEI 2 (MLO)	N/A	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	2
Case Study AEI 3 (CDO)	N/A	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	1

It is important to note that, although it was initially planned to run a total of six AEI worker workshops with each case study (three male workshops and three female workshops), this was not possible in CTC due to the number of female respondents available, and not possible in CDO because the AEI workers were operating throughout different CDO target areas of country making it difficult and expensive to assemble them together.

### **3.3.6 Ethical Clearance**

This study gained ethical clearance from both the University of Reading and from the Zimbabwe Research Council. Once ethical clearance had been gained from the University of Reading, the Zimbabwe Research Council required a comprehensive submission including letters of support from an affiliated institution and all other institutions which would be supporting the data collection. Formal affiliations were established with the Women's University of Africa (WUA) and the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) which were necessary to support this process. Progress reports have subsequently been submitted to the affiliated institutions as required by the Zimbabwe Research Council processes. To expedite the process of gaining ethical clearance and data collection, the primary researcher undertook a short scoping study. The scoping study also provided the opportunity to identify initial AEIs, which focused the case study selection and locations.

The full ethical protocol can be found in Appendix 4.

## **3.4 Data methods review and execution**

The qualitative data collection methods used in this study included key informant interviews, observations, participatory workshops, and reflective 'log' processes. Each one of these methods has strengths and weaknesses which need to be considered and are discussed below.

### **3.4.1 Key informant interviews**

Seidman (2006, p. 9) suggests that 'at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.' This definition displays why this method of data collection is a fundamental one for this study, which is ultimately about finding out about individuals' experience around gender and communication processes. Marshall (1996) suggests that key informant interviews are an expert source of information and a technique that is widely used throughout anthropology and increasingly throughout social science enquiry. Tremblay (2005) adds that the ideal key informant will have a role in the community, knowledge, willingness, the ability to communicate impartially. However, Burgess (2005)

impresses the importance of ensuring that a wide range of informants are selected to gain a wide range of views. Structuring the questions of the interview is important to ensuring that interviewees can freely express their views, that relevant information is collected and that additional probing can take place (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The structure of the interview is also important to ensure that interviews can be kept focused and within time. Schuman (1982) recommends that 90 minutes is a reasonable timeframe to work towards.

Advantages of using key informant interviews as a data collection method include that high-quality data can be collected in a fairly short time (M. Marshall, 1996), that they provide in-depth information on topics, and can be used in conjunction with other research methods (M. Marshall, 1996). However, there are several limitations to this data collection method. Interviewing can take time, and sometimes monetary compensation for time, and is labour intensive as it requires transcription (Seidman, 2006). The relationship between the informant and the researcher can be uncomfortable and key informants might only divulge politically acceptable information (M. Marshall, 1996). Additionally, it is important to understand that answers from interviewees are often restricted due to several variables and influencing factors (Shipman, 1997) which are probably not all identifiable to the researcher. It is also essential to note, that the power, information, and initiative lie with the researcher; a factor that is particularly pronounced when working with oppressed or vulnerable groups (ibid). Because of this, interviewees have the potential to be easily led to answers if the rapport is not established correctly (ibid). The power dimensions are one of the main difficulties with conducting social science research, but efforts can be made to combat this such as conducting interviews in appropriate languages and places, ensuring that participants feel as comfortable as possible with the researcher, and that interview questions are neutral (Shipman, 1997). Participants may also respond differently to different genders. One way of combating this is to try and make sure that participants and interviewers or facilitators are of the same gender.

#### **3.4.1.1 Interview design**

To overcome the difficulties presented by this methodology, a detailed question guide was used by the research teams which included guidance on probing. This can be found in Appendix 1, Interview Question Guide 3: Target Audience. In addition to this, the research team was trained in interviewing skills and techniques to ensure that interviews could be conducted in the most appropriate language and by the most appropriate gender

to support the establishment of comfortable rapport. The field guide that was used to support this training can be found in Appendix 3.

This study had two sets of interview groups. The first set was the 'Wider Key Informant Interviews' which were conducted at the structural layer, and the second set was the 'Key Informant Interviews' which were conducted at the functional and ground-level layers.

#### **3.4.1.2 Wider key informant interviews**

The questions for the wider key informant interviews can be found in Appendix 1. The questions were open, semi-structured questions and probes were used by the interviewer to explore areas of interest that arose. The primary researcher conducted all these interviews in English with research participants identified in the structural layer. All these interviews lasted between one to two hours and were recorded and transcribed.

#### **3.4.1.3 Key informant interviews**

The questions for the key informant interviews were also semi-structured, open questions, but followed a stricter format than the wider key informant interviews, with less probing. The reason for this was that, because the whole research team was individually conducting these interviews, there was a need to ensure that the interviews remained consistent and comparable. Key informant interviews were conducted with AEI workers and with TA members of each of the case study AEIs. Key informant interviews were also conducted with the AGRITEX officers and the non-associated farmers. The interview questions can be found in Appendix 1.

The majority of the AEI worker and AGRITEX officer interviews were conducted by the primary researcher as most interviewees were comfortable in being interviewed in English. The majority of TA interviews were conducted by the research assistants in the local languages of Shona or Ndebele as most of these interviewees were more comfortable using these languages. The length of these interviews ranged between 20 minutes to one hour. All interviews were recorded, and then later simultaneously translated and transcribed by the researcher who had conducted that interview. The research team was briefed on how to transcribe to ensure consistent translation and transcription (discussed in more depth in Section 3.8.2) across the team (instructions which can be found in Appendix 3).

### **3.4.2 Observations**

Observation is a tool that is often used in case study research (Hancock and Algozzine, 2017). It is suggested that observation may provide a less subjective information

collection than interviews (ibid) and that it helps the researcher notice and record subtle human interaction (Shipman, 1997). Even though observations are our usual way of obtaining information (Shipman, 1997), to ensure that observations are successful, Hancock & Algozzine (2017) suggest that it is important to take the following steps:

- Identify what needs to be observed
- Create an observation guide
- Gain access to the research setting being aware of the need to gain trust and be unobtrusive
- Recognise own biases
- Follow all ethical and legal requirements.

It is important to note that constraints of this method include the difficulty that our observations are interpreted by our own point of reference and that the researcher has to pick the sites of observation, which are often restricted by various factors (Shipman, 1997). Other limitations of this method include that it is a time consuming process, researchers need to refrain from interruption, and simultaneous recording and observing can be challenging (Hennick, Hutter and Bailey, 2011).

#### **3.4.2.1 Observation design**

Based on Hancock's and Algozzine's (2017) suggestions, field observations were included in the data collection activities so that the information exchange processes could be observed to capture subtle gender behaviour, and to enable triangulation with information gathered from the interviews and workshops. There were two observations of the information exchange process for each AEI. The observation of this was deemed important because this was where the functional and ground-level layer connected, therefore revealing aspects of gender structures and information channels being used. The primary researcher and the two research assistants who ran the associated workshops attended the observation sessions. This observation was designed as an unobtrusive observation as much as possible. It was unavoidable that the AEIs and the TA members being trained would know that they were being observed which may have altered the training session. It was also necessary for the formal introduction of the research team to be made before the training started for transparency and to ensure that consent to take photographs was given before the observations began. However, with the triangulation measures that have been built into this study, any outlying data was identifiable. No researcher asked any questions during the observation to ensure that the sessions remained as uninterrupted as possible. Notes were made by all three researchers

as the information exchange happened, and these notes were later used to support the data analysis. The observation sessions also fed directly into the reflective sessions (Section 3.4.4) to ensure that key observations were captured, and language barriers overcome.

To ensure that observations were conducted successfully, the research team was trained on observation techniques and accompanying note-taking techniques (Appendix 3: Section 8.4). A number of the key strategies included those outlined by Hennick et al. (2011) ensuring that observation notes were detailed and clear. More information on the training can be found in Section 3.2.1 and the full field guide can be found in Appendix 3.

### **3.4.3 Participatory Workshops**

The participatory workshop (referred to as the workshop for ease) component of the data collection was designed to add an interactive and engaged data collection process that provided the space to conduct group discussions based on visual stimuli. Group discussions are useful for exploring new topics as this method enables a lot of data to be collected in a short period through gaining a range of views and understanding socio-cultural norms in the study participants (Hennick, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). The focus group methodology enables a group of people to 'validate typical behaviours in a community or neutralise extreme views so that normative community views are identifiable' (ibid, p. 138). These aspects of this particular methodology make it an important space given this study's focus on identifying gender norms and discourse. With this being said, it is noted that focus groups are not ideal for collecting individual-level information and that confidentiality can be problematic in this setting (ibid). It is also noted that group composition needs to be considered carefully to ensure that the environment of the discussion is positive and productive for all participants (ibid). It is recommended that focus groups are between 6-8 people (Silverman, 2013). Group discussions are usually based on a set of questions, which can be accompanied by some kind of stimulus material or structured exercises (ibid). These exercises or stimuli can be visual, and it is noted that visual formats can make complex processes more accessible by showing the relationships between different aspects of data (Hennick, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). The exercises can be supported by narrative research, which is a fairly recent (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003) methodology or phenomenon (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990) that taps into one of the most natural ways that people recount and structure life experiences; through storytelling (Moen, 2006). Narrative research enables the embodiment of cultural values and showcases emerging understandings as groups or

individuals make sense of events in their lives through stories, and has previously been argued as a useful tool particularly in the fields of psychology, sociology, linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, and history (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003). Because gender structures can be complex and difficult for people to talk about due to the power balances these structures create, the narrative approach was used in this study to facilitate a neutral group discussion that encouraged participants to reveal the true nature of gender structures.

#### **3.4.3.1 Workshop design**

The group composition of the workshops was carefully constructed. Every workshop was run with either a group of four to six males or a group of four to six females enabling all participants to speak as freely as possible. Each workshop was run in the most appropriate language for that group and facilitated by one of the research team. The female groups were facilitated by a female researcher and the male groups by a male researcher to overcome gender difficulties. If run simultaneously, the workshops were run far enough apart so that the male and female groups could not hear one another.

For each case study institution, a set of workshops was led by a member of the research team for the selected AEI workers and the selected TA member to participate in (see Table 3.2 for full numbers). The limitation of collecting detailed individual information in the focus group component of the workshop is addressed by conducting supporting key informant interviews, allowing the workshop data to be validated and expanded on by the key informant data and vice versa. Confidentiality issues were overcome by ensuring that the research team had received enough training on handling difficult situations should they arise and ensuring that all ethical procedures were followed. The training was an important aspect of standardisation and quality processes and is presented in detail in Section 3.2.1. The workshops were designed so that they had a similar structure ensuring that the same workshops to be run for the AEI workers as the TAs to ensure that data from the two groups would be comparable and that any inherent biases could be overcome.

To capture as much information as possible during these workshops, note-taking by the research team was built into the protocol, as was photographing and filming key parts of the workshops.

The workshops were designed to support the interviews conducted with individuals by providing an alternative discussion space that would allow research participants to work as a group to discuss gender roles and information channels and sources. They were also

initially designed to gain some insight into information channel preferences by providing participants with the opportunity to experience alternative information formats which is similar to studies that make use of participatory methods such as drawing (Mitchell *et al.*, 2016; Mitchell, DeLange and Moletsane, 2017). However, the practicalities of this was limited as discussed in Section 3.7.2.

Although the workshop protocol was structured to ensure that everyone had similar opportunities and experience, the ability for them to remain fluid and reflexive to respond to participant needs in design and practice was specifically left open. This was important because large practical adjustments had to be made following the trial runs and whilst on the ground (detailed in Section 3.7.2).

Each workshop ran for approximately two hours, and consisted of an ice breaker activity, an interactive narrative activity that focused on gender roles and information channels and access, and an open group discussion. The full workshop activities and structure can be found in Appendix 2 and Appendix 3: Section 9.

#### **3.4.3.2 Workshop adjustments**

When conducting the workshops on the ground, it was found that in some cases, the workshops were taking over two hours which was largely due the Media Experience (detailed in Appendix 3). Because of this, this section was removed from the workshops and data collection and so has not been explained in the methodology. The extended workshop length was not desirable because, in addition to running the workshops, there was a need to conduct interviews on the same day. Furthermore, it was taking more time from the participants than was originally intended, and this added stress on their allocated time of participation. As a result, the focus of the workshops remained on the gender structures within the communities and the discussions around the information sources were shortened to keep the workshops a reasonable length.

Due to the time concerns of the participants, and the petrol crisis (Detailed in Section 3.7.2) for each workshop to run simultaneously by one of the research assistants and supported by the primary researcher. This meant that the notetaking and translation aspect of the workshops was compromised, which limited the amount of detailed information collected around the group discussions. However, this was overcome by filming parts of the workshops, and by ensuring that themes identified during them were identified and discussed during the reflection sessions.



### **3.4.4 Reflective Logs**

Reed, Dagli and Odame (2020) also suggest that reflective practice provides the space for being aware of and engaged with cultural and contextual settings, an awareness which is vital to ensuring overcoming embedded power relations to ensure that all voices can heard. Using reflective techniques in research has been documented as a useful tool because it 'encourages the development of critical analysis ... and provides a tangible audit trail of the researcher's process' (Jasper, 2005; p. 257). It is also suggested that reflective processes ensure that key connections remain central to the knowledge generation process (ibid).

#### **3.4.4.1 Reflective log design**

The reflective logs and associated sessions were designed especially for this study with the aims of prompting data analysis processes and mapping key themes arising from the data as it was being collected. The reflection sessions took place at the end of each data collection day and lasted on average about 45 minutes. The reflective logs (found in the field guide in Appendix 3) were completed by the three research team members who were part of the data collection that day. This was then followed by a recorded and facilitated discussion lead by the primary researcher to ensure that:

- All three researchers could discuss and compare key thoughts on the day and catch up on anything that may have been missed or lost in translation.
- Any suggestions or alterations on the fieldwork could be discussed, decided and implemented for the next data collection day.
- The research team could digest, discuss and categorise data collected that day.

The logs were designed using the Applied Framework. By basing the reflective logs on the framework, the completion of the logs mirrored the study design thereby kick-starting the analysis process.

### **3.5 Data collection tool kit**

The summation of the data collection methods explained (key informant interviews, observations, workshops and reflective logs) make up the study's data collection tool kit. The above methods were selected and designed to ensure that:

- the study remained aligned to its epistemological positioning (detailed in Section 3.2)

- the data could be triangulated improving the accuracy of the analysis
- the data collection was consistent and comparable across the multiple societal layers.
- And that inter-scale comparative analysis could take place facilitating an overarching system analysis.

Table 3.3 demonstrates which method was used at each layer and who were the target research participants.

TABLE 3.3: ALLOCATION OF TOOL KIT METHODS AND TARGET RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

	Method applied in layer				Target research participants
	Key informants	Workshops	Observations	Reflective sessions	
<b>Structural layer</b>	✓				Country experts in the fields of gender, communication and agriculture
<b>Functional layer</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	AEI workers from 3 case study institutions plus governmental extension workers
<b>Ground-level layer</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	TA members from the 3 case study institutions plus one control group of non-associated farmers

The data toolkit presented above was skewed towards collecting open, and semi-structured data. This was the ideal structure for this study because it ensured that there was room to adapt all the methods as interesting aspects presented themselves ensuring that this study remained reflexive. The data toolkit was also designed to be flexible and practical enough to conduct in rural and remote areas with limited or no electricity or internet. This was important because many of the TA members were based in rural areas of Zimbabwe. The methods selected were also rooted in participatory methodology, ensuring that data collected was representative of as many voices as possible.

### 3.6 Data validity and reliability

Because this data was collected by a team of five researchers and in multiple languages, ensuring data consistency and quality was imperative. Steps were taken throughout the research design and implementation process to overcome language barriers, gender biases, positionality, and power structures. These steps are outlined in this section.

### 3.6.1 Design features to ensure data validity and reliability

Throughout the methodology, specific design features to overcome power structures and positionality have been indicated. The features which promoted data validity and reliability included:

1. **Gender sensitivities:** Throughout all data collection activities females and males were kept apart to ensure that there was as much opportunity as possible for both parties to speak freely to allow the data collected to be as unbiased and honest as possible. In the same vein, all female activities were led by a female researcher and all male ones were led by a male researcher wherever possible.
2. **Language sensitivities:** Limiting miscommunication throughout the data collection phase was imperative to ensure data quality. This was managed by careful recruitment and training of local research assistants who were well versed in the most appropriate languages and etiquette, and confident in translation. Similarly, structured reflection sessions ensured that language barriers between the primary researcher, research team and research participants were overcome as much as possible by capturing key aspects of the day.
3. **Research protocols:** By following a strict research protocol which was outlined in detail in the form a field guide (Appendix 3) and woven into the research team training (detailed in 3.2.1), key data collection aspects such as following ethical procedures, completing ethical paperwork, and collecting consistent data across the team ensured that the data collected was of high quality.
4. **Rigorous training:** The research team undertook three days of intensive training around understanding and practicing key skills such as interviewing, note-taking, observing and facilitating effectively and sensitively ensuring that all data collection methods were executed in the best way possible. This is further detailed in Section 3.2.1.
5. **Trial sessions:** Running trial sessions, particularly of the workshops which were complicated in their design and implementation, ensured that the primary researcher could watch and provide feedback to all research assistants as part of their training, and ensured that the whole research team ran the workshops consistently. The trial sessions also enabled reflexive alterations to be made (detailed in Section 3.7.1).
6. **Data handling:** The careful, consistent, and rigours management of all the data collected ensured that the data could be effectively and consistently analysed, thereby adding to the data reliability and validity.

Ensuring data analysis quality is a vital part of ensuring data validity and reliability. There are several steps that have been followed to ensure that the data is consistent, accessible, and transparent.

Following recommendations by Roulston, (2013) and ethical requirements, the data that was collected in this study was systematically stored, labelled and secure. All data collected was soft copy to allow for easy input into NVIVO (reviewed in detail in Section 3.8.2). To avoid the common challenge of forcing data to fit into a preconceived hypothesis (Roulston, 2013), the data collection and analysis processes used in this study ensured that there was reflexive space to identify outlying or unexpected data (see Section 3.8) through constant methodological analysis and the use of conducting pilot methods is recommended to allow adjustments to the methodology (Roulston, 2013). This study ensured supported this through reflection sessions, practical training, and pilot sessions of the data collection procedures. Finally, It is suggested that researchers should provide detailed information about the interview context and co-construction of data by ensuring that the interview set-up is transparent and fully displaying the active role of the interviewer to enable the judgement of the quality of qualitative data analysis (Potter and Hepburn, 2012). This has been addressed within the previous sections of the methodology through an explanation of the interview contexts and an overview of the research team members. This positionality of the researchers was also made clear to the research participants through the introductory script found in Appendix 3: Introductory Script.

### **3.6.2 Acknowledging positionality**

It is recognised that it is unavoidable that the researcher's positionality influences the research process, but it remains vital that all researchers are aware of this at all times (Grbich, 2007; Potter and Hepburn, 2012; Flick, 2013; Roulston, 2013). Acknowledging positionality was particularly important to this study because of the direct engagement with gender sensitivities and power relations. In an effort to acknowledge positionality and be transparent, the difficulties of positionality have been considered throughout the methodology design process, was covered in depth in the research assistant training, and a full reflection on the positionality of the primary researcher can be found in the Preface of this study.

## 3.7 The data collection

### 3.7.1 Preparatory activities

In addition to the ethical processes detailed in Section 3.3.6, a number of preparatory activities took place to ensure a smooth and efficient data collection once in the field. These activities included creating material to support the data collection, recruiting research assistants identified by the two affiliation institutions (WUA and UZ), and preparing the research assistants three-day training course which took place at the start of the field campaign (detailed in Section 3.2.1).

Alongside these activities, methods testing was undertaken. This process was important because the workshop data collection methodology was designed especially for this study, and therefore needed to be trialled before going into the field to ensure feasibility. Two trial sessions were run. The first trial session was run in the UK before the field campaign to enable the primary researcher to conduct them, and test the flow, timings, and participant engagement.

The second trial session of the workshops was run in country as part of the research assistant training. It took place on a farm in Bindura and allowed the research assistants a chance to observe and run workshop themselves. In addition to the researchers being able to run the workshops themselves, a number of practical issues were identified:

1. The research participants were more active, engaged and critical when the session was run in the local language by the research assistants rather than in English and by the primary researcher. This finding meant that as much as possible, the research assistants ran the workshops in Shona or Ndebele and the primary researcher supported in practical preparation. The primary researcher ran the AEI worker workshops which could be run in English where possible.
2. It was also clear that a female was needed to facilitate the female groups, and a male was needed to facilitate the male groups to get the best information from the research participants.
3. The practice sessions made it very clear that it was fundamental to define the function and design of the workshops to the participants, but also imperative to ensure that the participants understood that they were the teachers, not the other way around. These distinctions were essential to balancing the power relations to enable participants to feel able to speak up.
4. It was found that one facilitator could run the workshop effectively. This finding meant that male and female workshops would be run simultaneously making the

best use of research participants time. This adjustment became necessary due to field constraints (detailed in 3.7.2).

### **3.7.2 Limitations**

One of the largest challenges of conducting this study has been the limitations around time and finance. Because this study is a part-time, self-funded study, the methodology had to be designed to ensure that it was possible to collect sufficient and meaningful data over a period of three months. This is a relatively short fieldwork trip in a social science project, but, as mentioned previously, the majority of the organisational side of the fieldwork was done before the start of the data collection, and the strong networks and contextual understand the primary researcher already has in and with Zimbabwe expedited many of the research processes. Ideally, the data collection period would have been extended to 6 months, but this was not feasible. The full data collection timeline can be seen in Appendix 5, but took place over 12 weeks between November 2018 to February 2019.

One of the major limitations of this study was conducting the data collection when Zimbabwe was undergoing a particularly difficult economic period. The details of this can be found in the contextual overview, but key difficulties included a severe lack of availability of petrol, two weeks of civil unrest, and five days of communication blackout and countrywide shutdowns. Fortunately, the impact of this on the data collection was limited because much of the data needed was collected before the civil unrest, and it was possible to condense the data collection processes.

## **3.8 Data analysis**

This section will review how the data sets were prepared for analysis, organised and analysed.

### **3.8.1 Analysing qualitative data**

The qualitative analysis field is constantly growing as it has established itself in a wide range of disciplines with a broadening array of methodologies (Flick, 2013). Traditional types of data in which qualitative analysis methods are applied to include focus groups, interviews, and observations are now regularly accompanied with textual, visual and other forms of data (ibid). One of the overarching and implicit issues in qualitative data is the question of knowing how far we can expect to be able to formalise qualitative data. Flick (2013) suggests that there is need to find a balance between establishing specific

rules for how to apply a specified method and being able to have the freedom to go into the field and find out what is interesting (Anderson, 2005; Glaser, 1998). Flick (2013) suggests that this balance is needed to ensure that a set of rules are applied which make the data transparent, but also that there is room for the necessary degree of intuition which makes the analysis fruitful and creative. The data analysis approaches presented here aims to strike such a balance.

### **3.8.1.1 Theoretical positioning of the data analysis**

There are several approaches to research that have substantially influenced how qualitative data is analysed (Grbich, 2007; Flick, 2013). Hermeneutic and narrative approaches have been briefly covered in Section 3.2 and are the most relevant to this study. Hermeneutic inquiry is concerned with the interpretation of texts and is, therefore, involved in all qualitative research. This approach encourages the researcher to reflect on their own understanding by dealing with their own positionality through a series of reflections around the researchers focus on the topic, their 'pre-understandings' of the topic in question, data collection and presentation choices, and finally, an iterative process by which the researcher considers findings within the relevant literature (Roulston, 2013).

This theoretical approach underpins the analysis of all three types of the data collected in this study, and internal reflection processes have been built into the methodology (Section 3.4.4). There is also a self-reflection of the primary researcher in the preface of this study to ensure that this study aligns with the hermeneutic approach. The data analysis of all the data types is underpinned with the Conceptual and Applied Framework (detailed in Chapter 2) which facilitates the iterative process required to consider findings within the relevant literature, thus ensuring that the data analysis is structured, rigorous, and critical. The 'constant comparative' method by which researchers start with an open coding process of data to identify conceptual labels of topical features (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), and 'memo writing' (Lempar, 2007) were then used to allow the conceptualization of the codes that have been used to structure the interview data analysis.

The narrative approach involves participants telling their stories and the researchers representing these stories (Roulston, 2013). In this approach, the researchers compare structural features of the discussion which typically evolve around five main events. These are the orientation (which details who, when, where and what are mentioned), the complication (the complicating event that was described), an evaluation (in which the participant expresses their response to the event), the resolution (which the question of

'what happened' is answered) and the conclusion (Roulston, 2013). This structural analysis approach has been critiqued for overlooking non-western modes of storytelling, but it remains useful to structure narrative analysis processes (Roulston, 2013). The narrative approach is less prominent in this study than the aforementioned hermeneutic approach but is relevant to the methodological structure and therefore the analysis of the workshops which were based around hypothetical narrative processes.

Before presenting the literature and analysis protocol used on each data type this study collected, it is important to review some key techniques that have been applied consistently throughout this study to manage data size and complexity (Flick, 2013) and avoid issues throughout the analysis stage.

### **3.8.2 Data Analysis Tools**

There are several tools that can be used to support qualitative data analysis processes. This study used the Qualitative Data Analysis System (QDAS) NVIVO version 12 (fully licenced) to support the analysis process.

As mentioned previously, qualitative methods are chosen where there is a need for a detailed understanding of an experience or process and, therefore, typically have to gather extensive and intensive information (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). NVIVO is one QDAS package that provides a set of tools to support the efficiency and effectiveness of the qualitative data analysis process by assisting in managing the data (ibid). Using this software can assist in sorting, matching, coding and linking data enabling analysts to see new areas of their data which were missed in the analysis without the software (Wickham & Woods, 2005; García-Horta and Guerra Ramos, 2009). It is however, equally important to note that QDAS does not and will not substitute the analyst's capabilities, or replace rational and independent analysis (García-Horta and Guerra Ramos, 2009). Common pros and cons of using QDAS are summarised in Appendix 8.

This study has used a combination of manual and QDAS processes by using manual coding processes first, which were then transferred to NVIVO.

#### **Step 1: Formatting data: Translation and transcription**

Putting interview data into a format that allows a rigorous analysis to take place is the first step of the data analysis process. Roulston (2013) suggests that, in cases where most of the content of the interviews is the focus of the analysis, the data is usually transcribed. Transcription approaches and protocol have implications of how the data is analysed because, through transforming spoken into written, aspects of communication which



were used during face-to-face interviews can be lost (ibid). There are multiple transcription techniques that can overcome this aspect such as including additional transcription conventions to show the softer communication aspects like pauses, sighing and restarts. The transcription method used in this study is outlined in Appendix 3.

Because this study had interviews that were also translated when being transcribed, there is a need to acknowledge potential effects of this process on the data generation. As knowledge is socially constructed (Hammersley, 1995), it is argued that there is no neutral position from which translation and the associated power relations can take place (Young, 2014). Although the power relations embedded in language and communication processes is documented in Chapter 2, and power dynamics within the interview process have been addressed earlier, it is important to note that in addition to this, the process of translation needs to be acknowledged to ensure that the bias and positionality of the research team is brought to the surface.

As with the case of many studies (Roulston, 2013), it was necessary for the translation in this study to be conducted by people other than the primary researcher due to language barriers. The process of translation has several concerns. Some highlight worries around the translation of concepts and word choices (Temple, 1997; Edwards, 1998), whilst others argue that by separating the role of the translator, opportunities for communities to open up about differences within a community are limited (Temple, 1997). The concerns can be overcome by enabling the translators to actively partake in the whole research process to support the translators' individual construction of meaning (Young, 2014).

Given this, as much as possible the members of the research team who conducted the interview would translate and transcribe that interview. This approach hoped to ensure that cultural and contextual understanding would underpin the translations and accompanying transcription processes.

Choices made around translation can also have epistemological and methodological consequences with the typical result being that, by translating data into English, all subsequent outputs remain in English, and language and cultural identity ties are cut to the disadvantage of the non-English speakers (Young, 2014). This being said, Young (2014) points out that this does not mean that all insights will be lost, but that they may be limited. The key point made is that translation processes, which are necessary for some research projects, add another layer of positionality that needs to be acknowledged and considered. Given the scope of this study, it was decided that it would be completed and

published in English because of the primary researchers limited local language capabilities, and it's affiliation with the UK institution of the University of Reading.

### **Step 2: Manual open coding**

Once the data was transcribed and translated, the analysis could begin. The analysis of the interview data used Open Coding (Strauss, 1987). Open coding is the process of breaking down, analysing, comparing, conceptualising and grouping data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This process results in the gradual creation of categories that emerge out of the data (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). Throughout the Open Coding process, the primary researcher used memo writing, a key component of grounded theory, to elaborate on the data and begin to present the first step in the emergence of theory (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). This iterative process of focused coding, reading, reflection, writing, and re-reading enabled the primary researcher to collapse codes into larger themes or ideas and start to develop assertions around the phenomenon of interest Roulston (2013). This made use of tree nodes to create a hierarchical coding structure that could be modified throughout the analysis to allow for flexible coding (Siccama and Penna, 2008). Initially this process was done manually i.e. using highlighters on printed transcripts accompanied with written notes of each transcript. The reason for this was to allow the researcher the necessary time and space to fully engage with all transcripts before using NVIVO processes. This was necessary because the translation and transcription processes were completed by the research assistant due to time and language barriers. The final coding structure created for the interview analysis in this study can be found in Appendix 6.

### **Step 3: Transfer coding to NVIVO**

To enable further organisation and better data management, once the manual coding processes were complete, the primary researcher moved the transcripts into NVIVO. By using the Case Nodes and Attributes function, each case (or interviewee) was allocated their gender, their associated AEI, and in the cases of the AEI workers, their position. The allocation of these attributes set up the groundwork which enabled various aspects of Axial coding to allow comparisons between genders, institutions and job roles (Siccama and Penna, 2008). Once this was complete, the coding identified in the manual coding process was then transferred into NVIVO. The transference of the initial coding allowed the primary researcher to reassess the initial open coding, check that coding patterns were consistent, identify any additional sub-nodes and prepare the data for the next phase of analysis. The pros and cons for using this QDAS software programme are noted in Appendix 8.

#### **Step 4: Axial Coding**

Having completed the classification of case attributes and identified coding structures open coding, the primary researcher used Axial Coding. This process enables comparative analysis by putting data back together in new ways by making connections between categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This means that data themes that emerged from the open coding process were cross referenced to identify common sub themes, and that different cases were grouped and compared based on their allocated attributes. These sub themes can also be seen in Appendix 6.

#### **Step 5: Link findings to other data collected, theory and research**

The final stage of analysis was to examine how the interview data connected, contradicted and linked to the other data types collected in the study (the workshop and observation data (analysis process covered in Section 3.8.3), determine the key concepts concerning the topic of study and consider the findings in light of prior theory and research to develop grounded arguments. Because the interview questions were structured around the Applied Framework, the code structure largely reflected the main aspects of the Applied Framework, which allowed a clear pathway for engagement with the wider literature and theory. This enabled the analysis discussion to be critically analysed rather than descriptively presented. Quotes<sup>1</sup> are used throughout the thesis to illustrate key aspects of analysis.

The key steps in the data analysis processes are summarised in Figure 3.5.

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<sup>1</sup> To ensure that the quotes were clear, concise and understandable for the reader, the following system was used:

... indicates that there are excluded words between statements.

[ ] indicate where words have been added to the quotes to ensure they can be read easily.

( ) indicate to explanations or clarifications for the reader.

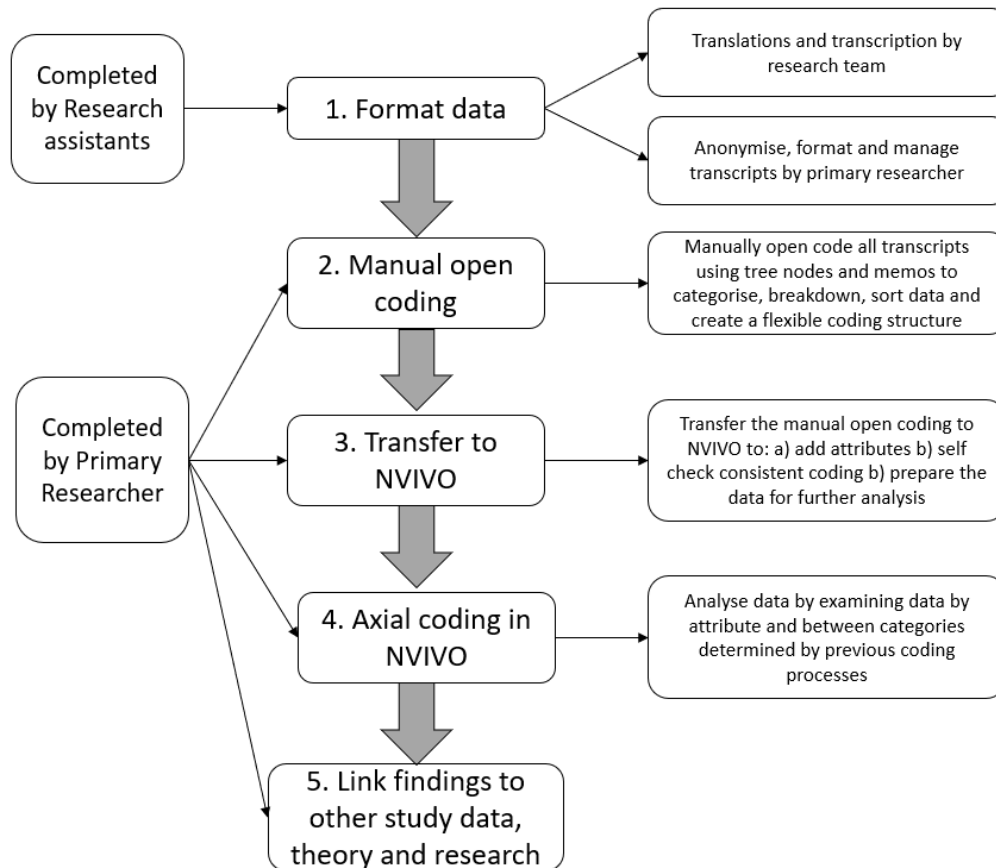


FIGURE 3.5: DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS STEPS

### 3.8.3 Analysing the workshops and observation data

The workshop outputs which were analysed were the posters and discussion summaries of each focus group. The facilitators produced the summaries of the group discussions (as advised by Barbour (2013)) in the form of transparent whiteboard notes. These notes were analysed using similar open and axial coding analysis techniques as used for the interview data analysis.

The analysis of the photographs taken during the field observations and of the posters created in the workshops were visually analysed. As Banks (2013) suggests, ‘images are produced by human subjects in the context of response to human social action’ (p. 394). Whilst visual images can be a rich source of information (Grbich, 2007), there are also concerns that visual analysis is a superficial analysis method that lacks robustness because of a tendency of visual methods to be treated as an end in themselves which lacks any sociological innovation and insight (Banks, 2013).

The photographs taken during the field observations of this study were used as supporting evidence of phenomena and processes that were uncovered through the interviews and workshops. The analysis process of this studies photographs, therefore, consisted of basic

content analysis which relied on the process of coding (Bell, 2004) producing some, but limited, descriptive analysis (Jewitt and Oyama, 2004). Similarly, because the workshop posters were visual outputs, they were analysed in the same way as the photographs.

#### **3.8.4 Reflections on data analysis processes**

Having outlined the processes of data analysis undertaken by this study, it is important to briefly reflect on the effect and limitations of this approach. It should be noted that due to unchangeable timelines, the primary researcher was only able to attend a certified course on How to use NVIVO after the fieldwork campaign. Whilst the completion of this course supports the validity question of the data analysis presented by this study, it would have been useful to have had a better understanding of NVIVO's capabilities before designing and conducting the data collection.

As has been noted previously, meaning and nuance will have been lost in the translations and transcription processes. It is also important to recognise that whilst this data was collected by a research team, it has only been analysed by the primary researcher. This is important to acknowledge because of the positionality brought to the process by the individual. There are mechanisms of overcoming this, one of which NVIVO enables research teams to do. NVIVO has the functionality to compare coding inconsistencies between multiple research analysts (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). Although the primary researcher conducted some self-reliability code testing between the manual transfer of coding onto NVIVO, due to time and financial constraints, it was not possible to have any of the coding undertaken by any of the other members of the research team. This would be advisable to further ensure the robustness and consistency of the data analysis processes.

It should also be noted that NVIVO also provides the ability to use scoping tools. These include text searches to identify words used by the research participants that are relevant to coding, and matrix coding which enable the comparison of pairs items (Siccama and Penna, 2008). NVIVO also presents the opportunity to use visualisation to rule out validity threats by improving the transparency and the presentation of raw data analysis (ibid) Whilst this data analysis did use text searching to some extent, the formatting and open structure of the interviews limited the use of these scoping and visualisation tools. In the future this could be combatted by ensuring that an in depth understanding of the QDAS used is established before designing the methodology.

The next chapter of this study will present the first analysis section using the DGDDF. This will involve a structural analysis of Zimbabwe to provide the contextual setting of the study. This chapter will provide essential foundations for the later analysis.

# CHAPTER 4      CONTEXTUAL SETTING

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three findings chapters. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will present the data which has been organised by the framework and juxtapose the findings with the literature. This chapter seeks to answer the first research question identified in the Applied Framework (shown in Figure 4.1) which is ‘What context do Zimbabwean Agricultural Extension Institutions (AEIs) have to operate in?’.

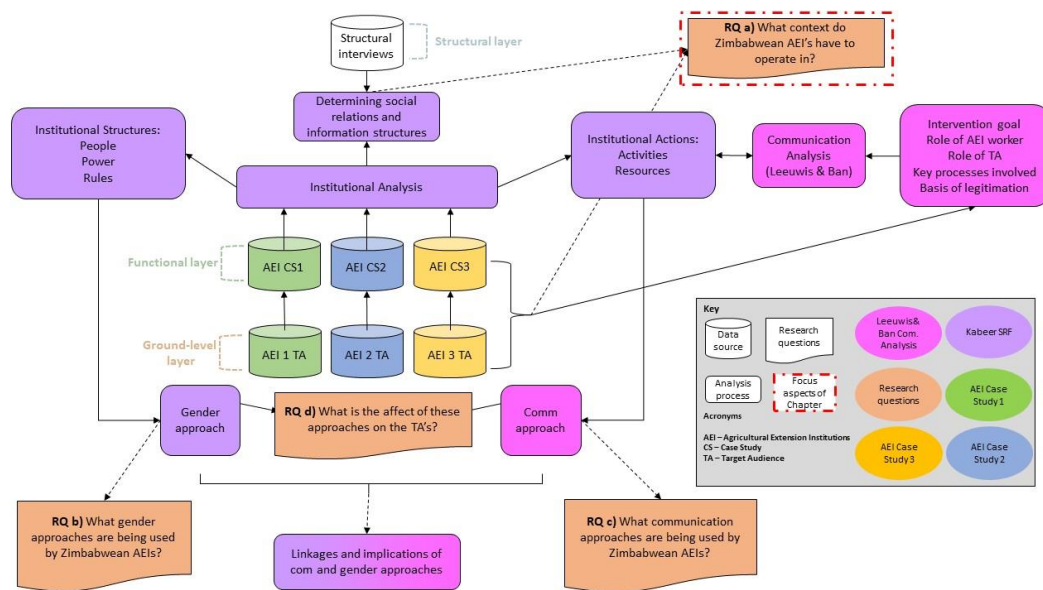


FIGURE 4.1: THE AREA OF THE APPLIED FRAMEWORK THAT CHAPTER 4 WILL BE EXAMINING

This response speaks to the structural analysis section of the Framework (detailed in Section 2.5.3) and will be answered by using a combination of the interview data (detailed in Chapter 3) and literature. By understanding the context that institutions must operate in, dominant discourses at structural levels can be identified, enabling us to identify which dominant discourses are being recycled through functional institutions, and how. Unpicking this complex, interconnected network of contextual structures in its entirety is impossible. However, it is reasonable and useful to summarise some of the key aspects of society that are relevant to this study, keeping in mind that these will vary greatly for different individuals. Based on this reasoning, this chapter will present dominant gender, political and economic structures in Zimbabwe, address the dominant agricultural structural arrangements, and identify the main types of AIES operating in Zimbabwe.

## **4.2 Dominant gender structures in Zimbabwe**

Identifying gender structures is not an easy or straightforward task because of the oppressive power structures they often operate within (Becker, 2015). However, this section will start by reviewing the National Gender Policy that is currently in place in Zimbabwe, and then use the Wider Key Informant Interviews (WKIIs) to add individual experience and expertise to support claims around the gender structures made by the literature. The gender norms presented here also have important contextual implications on other key areas including the political environment, the wider economy and the agricultural setup.

### **4.2.1 Gender and policy in Zimbabwe**

The national ministry that deals with gender in Zimbabwe is the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender, and Community Development (MoWAGCD) which receives less than 1% of the national budget annually (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2017) with other reports claiming it only receives 0.3% of the national budget, 90% of which covers salaries (Echanove, 2017). Zimbabwe's latest National Gender Policy (Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development, 2013) is for the period of 2013 – 2017, and is the country's second National Gender Policy. Despite reporting to make progress on legislation, structural reforms, and gender mainstreaming, it is acknowledged that women's representation in many areas of society remains low, as indicated by statistics for education, employment, commerce and political and economic decision making (ibid). To address this issue, the most recent National Gender Policy aims to improve women's participation in productive sectors in two main ways: firstly, by emphasising gender-responsive budgets and gender mainstreaming into economic activities with the aims of advancing equal participation in productive sectors. Secondly by implementing the 2011 Broad Based Women's Economic Empowerment Framework (BBWEEF) to support economic empowerment across all sectors and levels of society and to consolidate the implications of the Land Reform Program within the new gender policies (Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development, 2013). Although Gender Focal Points within the other ministries have been supported by MoWAGCD, it is recognised that there are no accountability mechanisms in place (Matonhodze and Guzura, 2014; Echanove, 2017).

It is noted by the FAO (2017) that, although this policy promotes gender equality, it does not directly target rural women but rather focuses on tackling the gaps that arise in the rural women's situation such as accessing free maternal care for women, an initiative



which was mainly funded by donors and was ‘bound to be unsustainable in Zimbabwe’s ailing economy’ (FAO, 2017, p. xi). This is an inconsistency given that one of the primary strategies of the policy is to align gender policy with women’s economic power and the Land Reform Program. In a similar vein, it is noted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2014) that, despite such initiatives, the operational policies in the key sectors of economic growth such as mining, trade, agriculture, and tourism have not yet been gendered. The FAO (2017) noted that key policies within these sectors such as the Zimbabwe Food and Nutrition Policy, the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (2013 – 2018) (Government of Zimbabwe, 2013), and the recently released Zimbabwe Agricultural Policy (Ministry of Lands Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, 2018) all fail to directly address a plan of action to deal with existing gender inequality and the issues of rural women. However, it is noted that to encourage rural women to engage more with extension training, the Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanization and Irrigation Development (MAMID) have ‘made a deliberate effort to have a high number (50%) of female extension officers’ (FAO 2017; p. xii;) which was also noted by interviewee 504:

*‘The government intentionally enrolled women into agricultural colleges for the purpose of having so many female agriculturalists with the purpose of detoxing this patriarchy ... because some of the communities of male AGRITEX officers ... don’t want to deal with females because they are not the decision-makers. They want to deal with the men as it is the men who make the decisions, so they don’t want to associate themselves with women as it makes them feel feminine.’*

- 504, Male Zimbabwean Gender Specialist

This policy drive has also been identified by Muchesa *et al.* (2019) who notes that 60% of AGRITEX’s extension workers are currently female, and that most of the recent recruits have been female due to the policy focus which means that they are likely to have less experience. It is also noted that recruitment for these positions has recently been limited due to a lack of budget, and that only those in strategic positions approved by the Ministry of Finance were allowed to be recruited (Muchesa *et al.*, 2019). This indicates that, whilst on the surface the gender spread in AGRITEX looks equal, the recruitment process is likely to be biased and not based on skill. Unless there is sufficient levels of education in this area for women, this selection is unlikely to be based on skill which can lead to the construction that women are inferior extension agents when it is rather that there are educational and wider systemic discrepancies that have led to women not having the

same levels of education as men. This will be addressed in the data analysis found in Chapter 5.

Although the literature concerning recent gender policy assessment in Zimbabwe is limited, there are discussions about the effectiveness of these policies on the ground, with some arguing that the gender policies have supported women during the land reform (Tekwa and Adesina, 2018) and others arguing that gender inequality remains a large issue despite the policies in place (Goebel, 2005; AllAfrica.com, 2019). As noted by interviewees 503 and 506, current gender policy in Zimbabwe is not sufficient, nor is it consistently being implemented:

*'We have just had a look at the agriculture policy and there is nothing on gender.'*

- 503, Male Zimbabwean Communication Specialist

*'They need to overhaul the gender policy to ensure that there is a more integrated or enhanced intervention compared to the traditional mainstreaming approaches.'*

- 506, Male Zimbabwean Agricultural Specialist

It is well acknowledged that the society of Zimbabwe has historically been, and remains, highly patriarchal (Reliefweb 2015; Parpart 1995; Manyonganise 2015). This underlying structure has wide implications on the country reaching gender equality. The prevalence and multiple dimensions of the current Zimbabwean patriarchal system are repeatedly highlighted by both men and women throughout the WKII's. Interviewee 503 notes that there is limited female representation in the policy and governmental arenas which has implications on enabling gender equality to be represented in multiple national policies:

*'This country has really gone backwards in the last year and a half in terms of gender equality. You just have to look at parliament and female representation... The government needs to realise that the women are the backbone of the agricultural sectors of this country ... There are a lot more men in the ministry of agriculture. The women tend to be more capable, but they don't have the power that the men have to implement policy.'*

- 503, Male Zimbabwean Communication Specialist

Interviewee 509 speaks about how the current patriarchal arrangements which are embedded into all areas of the societies cultural and social norms directly affect her professional experience as a Zimbabwean academic:

*'Even on [the land] redistribution, the Government called upon both men and women but, because of our cultural values, even when my husband is here, I cannot be upfront with negotiations because we believe the men [are] the head...Even in this department I work in, our academic staff members - we are 3 women and many key positions are entitled by men and there is never a woman appointed as vice-chancellor or dean in the history of the university, and even in the Ministry of Agriculture I've never seen a woman. If we are not represented, how does the concern of women reach its change? Contrary to demographics we are more, but where do we lose it?'*

- 509, Female Zimbabwean Agricultural Specialist

Interviewee 502 expresses how patriarchal expectations affect her personal life and people's perceptions of her because of her professional success. She also notes that often women are among those that are the most judgemental, a point which is reinforced by interviewee 509:

*'I am a free person I just say it like it is and people are not used to that and given our culture you are considered a rebel and if you say you are married they say 'how does the husband manage?'. People have gone up to my husband and said 'Oh my goodness, how do you manage her? Can you manage her?' ... That is our way of women ... You will find that ... for women it is mostly to do with subscribing to what the system wants us to be ... You are judged because people say 'But you are a feminist, so you are supposed to subscribe to a certain set of principles'... As a wife, no matter how successful you are academically or professionally, there is always that thing that ... at the end of the day, you have to take off your jacket and your chairperson and you have to go home and be a proper wife. So that is a balance that we are still struggling with as women in Zimbabwe.'*

- 502, Female Zimbabwean Gender Specialist

*'Empowerment could be one factor that could have worked against us. We have been afraid to take these positions and others believe we are not capable. We as women, we restrict ourselves because of the roles in the family and biologically, we shy away from more pressing commitments because we can't compromise our role.'*

- 509, Female Zimbabwean Agricultural Specialist

These quotes support the wider literature that suggests that most structures in Zimbabwe remain heavily embedded in the overarching patriarchal norms, which all are pressured to subscribe to (Parpart, 1995; Manyonganise, 2015; Reliefweb, 2015) and operate within.

This is also noted specifically within the arena of agriculture with Foster and Seevers (2003) suggesting that there are limited role models in the academic space of agricultural extension which discourages and limits participation of females. Beevi *et al.*, (2018) further adds to this by noting that, due to this low number of women trained in agriculture, it is difficult to recruit women into agricultural extension. Interviewee 504 suggests that the Zimbabwean patriarchal system remains very difficult to challenge because it has very deep roots:

*'The patriarch is not a walk through. It is too strong and old to be changed. We can only modify things.'*

- 504, Male Zimbabwean Gender Specialist

The patriarchal systems in the rural agricultural setting are more prevalent and obvious than in the urban and professional setting due to the clear distinctions of labour divisions and power dynamics (FAO, 2017), an aspect that will be explored in much greater detail in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7. An FAO gender assessment concludes that women face more difficulties in participating in rural and agricultural development programs, and that cultural norms, traditions, and patriarchal systems play a large role in shaping these gender dynamics (FAO, 2017). It also notes that an estimated 86% of women depend on land for food production and livelihoods for their families and that women make up the majority of the small-holder farmers in Zimbabwe (Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development, 2013). Supporting this, Tozooneyi *et al.*, (2020) report that female-managed plots are less productive than those run by males, and that there are multiple gender differentials within non-food (or commercial) production and no gender differentials in food production in Zimbabwe. These differences indicate that resource allocation is not gender equal and that social structures play a role in female agricultural participation (*ibid*).

Despite the substantial role that women play in food production, it is noted that 'all married male members of a community have the right of access to arable plots and the right of allocation rests with the local government authorities and traditional leaders operating within the jurisdiction of the Rural District Council Act (1988) and the Communal Lands Act (1982)' (FAO 2017, p. xi). Women are largely underrepresented in these leadership systems, despite civil society movements encouraging female leadership participation at local levels (FAO, 2017) with women occupying 35% of the Parliament of Zimbabwe in 2013, and just 16% of the urban and rural council positions (FAO, 2017). This underrepresentation is supported by interviewee 506:

*'The moment that you want to be selected maybe at a district level, then they are also those cultural taboos like you are someone's wife and you want to be travelling and staying overnight somewhere else and then some people might not be comfortable, so they tend to be localized.'*

- 506, Male Zimbabwean Agricultural Specialist

The underrepresentation has wide implications on women being involved in community and national development decisions, thereby leaving the space open for the patriarchal domination to continue to be recycled through political and institutional systems.

It is noted that, because of these social structures, land ownership is heavily skewed toward men, and that during the land reform (discussed in detail in Section 4.5), women were only supposed to claim 20% of the land redistribution and, of that, only 15% of women were allocated land (FAO, 2017). This heavy gender imbalance of land redistribution and ownership remains problematic (Dzvimbo, Machokoto and Mashizha, 2020) and is commented on by interviewees 506 and 507, with 507 drawing out the point that gender norms are also circulated through local leadership systems:

*'Traditionally, land cannot be owned by a woman. You can access land either through birth or through marriage.'*

- 506, Male Zimbabwean Agricultural Specialist

*'The challenge is that farming has been there for many years, and tradition has to be changed because it is not just to do with ... communal farmers who [live] together. The issue [is] of traditional chiefs also having a bias towards gender and to change that perspective, we need role models - especially women - ... to show them that it possible and also show men ... But one also should be wary of the ethics in that community so that no one says you are going against them.'*

- 507, Male AGRITEX Officer

However, interviewee 504 indicates that, despite the imbalance, the Land Reform process has altered the gendered nature of land ownership because women had an opportunity to gain land they previously could not access:

*'The fast track land reform ... opened a window for women to be the principal landowners without getting it through someone ... All those who wanted to participate ... took it as an opportunity to run away and join that mayhem land struggle... They feel in the rural areas, that the legacy cannot be continued through a female.'*

- 504, Male Zimbabwean Gender Specialist

Women make up 54.6% of those working in agriculture, fisheries, and forestry because these jobs are typically not paid; whilst men 'eclipse women in terms of ownership of more valuable livestock, decision making and control of livestock production' (FAO 2017, p. xii) with women mainly owning smaller livestock such as chickens which is noted by interviewee 507:

*'Cattle production, men usually dominate the area and women can be frightened with how cattle can act, but for chickens and soya beans women can participate well.'*

- 507, Male AGRITEX Officer

The aspect of male-dominated decision-making points towards power imbalances, which manifest in money ownership and expenditure, noted by interviewees 502 and 501:

*'As soon as they (agricultural production activities) become cash earning, the men are more interested, and they take it over ... I think it is the classic set up where the women do lots of the work and the men like to be in charge of the money... Loads of the work is done by women and the girls ... Like nutrition, the men don't look at that because they don't think it is important so when they look at nutrition they think recipes, whereas the women think it is very good.'*

- 501, Female Zimbabwean Communication Specialist

*'You find that when you say 'farmer' you are mostly referring to men as we know men as farmers. But if you look deep, you will find that it is the women that do everything on the land... it is the women who do everything. The men just go and cash the cheque. They take the money and tell you what to do. We still have that set up where the women are in the rural areas and the men are in the urban areas, so you find that when it comes to workshops say they are capacity-building workshops for farmers - the men will attend so not mostly women.'*

- 502, Female Zimbabwean Gender Specialist

In terms of labour, it is estimated that women work between 16-18 hours a day; spending around 49% of that time on agricultural activities and 25% of that time on domestic activities (FAO, 2017), partly because they are based in the rural communities whilst men operate in urban spaces:

*'Women tend to be limited in terms of their participation in terms of meetings. It's*

*partially related to the household chores that they are involved in and also traditionally the men of the household, if they are living in the communal areas, would tend to present the household as opposed to the women. There is also this assumption that farmers are the males and then you have wives of the farmers ... You have men going to urban areas, be it cities or towns or mining. It's also largely the men who work in commercial farms and so forth.'*

- 506, *Male Zimbabwean Communication Specialist*

*'Men are generally not present in the communal areas as much as women are just because the men are away in cities looking for money selling cell phone cards.'*

- 503, *Male Zimbabwean Communication Specialist*

Agricultural roles are also split between men and women with 90% of those involved in conservation agriculture being women (FAO, 2017). Similarly, it is noted that certain crops or agricultural activities allocated based on the gender of the farmer are frequently found within the rural setting, but the reasons behind the gendered crops is a complex mixture of ownership, access, culture and income generation type (Orr *et al.*, 2016). It is also noted that even in agricultural areas where women dominate (such as informal economic activities, small-scale enterprises, and agricultural production), women receive less financial support in terms of loans and credits (*ibid*).

This section has presented and discussed some aspects of the systemic gender inequality found throughout all levels of the Zimbabwean society focusing on the gender inequality found in the agricultural sector. Based on this it can be concluded that currently, Zimbabwe is operating in a highly patriarchal setup which is perpetuated throughout the system from high-level government structures to local communities and individuals. This system is underpinned by many social and cultural norms which reinforce inequality and gender imbalance and directly affect many individuals' experience of gender inequality.

### **4.3 The political state of Zimbabwe**

The political state of Zimbabwe underpins most aspects of the societal structures, including perpetuating gender structures as alluded to previously but, in Zimbabwe it plays a particularly important role in the current structures of the agricultural sector. The extreme economic crisis faced by most Zimbabweans is also driven by current political structures, and the symbiotic relationship between the two will be discussed in much

more detail in Section 4.4, but it remains important to review the current political state of Zimbabwe and the impacts of this.

The ruling party of Zimbabwe is the Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic Front, commonly referred to as ZANU-PF. ZANU-PF has been the ruling party since gaining independence in 1980. The political history of Zimbabwe is littered with political violence (which has sometimes been state-sponsored), undemocratic elections (Masunungure, 2011) and heavily censored media. The current regime has caused general economic and state service collapse (Chibwe, 2018). It is generally suggested by the literature that the ZANU-PF government is anti-democratic, violent and that the ruling parties discourse is exclusionary, nativist, narrow and grotesquely nationalist (Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; S. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya 2011). However, despite this, ZANU-PF remains dominant in the rural areas; perhaps due to the advocacy that by voting for ZANU-PF, individuals are deemed a patriot and authentic Zimbabwean, and that by voting for ZANU-PF, one is safe from beatings, torture, and threats from the party's militia (Chibwe, 2018). There are also reports of the political manipulation of food and services in the rural areas to ensure that power is kept within the political party (Phiri, 2018). A key implication of this is that many people's livelihoods and wellbeing are at the mercy of the ruling party and, therefore, are required to take drastic political stances to protect themselves and their livelihoods as mentioned by interviewee 504:

*'Women also realised that if they wanted to protect their land, they had to be part of the bigger political networks so they joined the ruling party and became active solely to protect their land.'*

- 504, Male Zimbabwean gender specialist

A detailed analysis of the political positioning of the Zimbabwean government is outside of the scope of this study, and the study was specifically designed to discourage any political discussion, due to the safety of the researchers and the research participants. It should be noted that several research participants expressed concern about the safety of themselves and their families due to their participation in this study because of political tensions and volatility in the country at the time of the study. However, it remains impossible to ignore that the current political arrangements have been the primary cause of the economic collapse of the country, which has wide implications on the extensive poverty and overall capacity for the development of Zimbabwe and on the current agricultural setting of the country.



#### 4.4 The economic state of Zimbabwe

Since the devastating hyperinflation and economic crisis that took place between 1997 and 2000 (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011) largely due to the land reform (reviewed in Section 4.5) and the governments controversial and unbudgeted decision to send 11,000 troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011), Zimbabwe remains in economic and financial free fall. The economic crisis and associated governmental activity meant that economic support from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was withdrawn and foreign investments dropped drastically. This caused foreign capital crashes and the exhausted foreign bank reserves in the Royal Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) (Kairiza, 2008). This kick-started inflation, which continued to spiral despite the RBZ banning all foreign currency bank accounts and being permitted to retain all export proceeds (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011), with the government continuing to excuse the inflation as a result of extreme profiteering rather than as a consequence of RBZ's loose monetary policies (IMF Staff Report, 2002). By 2003, the RBZ no longer had the hard currency imports necessary to print banknotes, which resulted in angry riots as the public was unable to withdraw their savings (Kairiza, 2008). With the failing market and lack of financial stability, the informal market increased. By 2005, 40% of Zimbabwe's workforce was in the informal economy (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011). 'Operation Murambatsvina' resulted in the government bulldozing whole townships and market areas to 'clear away the chaff' (Coltart, 2008).

In May 2006, year-on-year inflation exceeded 1000%, resulting in the RBZ replacing the Zimbabwe dollar with a new Zimbabwe dollar at 1000:1 (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011). However, this did not curb inflation. By 2007, despite extreme price controls, the informal black market in Zimbabwe was booming again (ibid). Meanwhile, food and fuel shortages were commonplace due to market instability. The extreme hyperinflation of the local Zimbabwe Dollar left it defunct; as the economy dollarized in 2008 after inflation was said to have peaked in September 2008 at 500 billion percent (ibid). In 2009, the Minister of Finance made tendering in the South African Rand (SAR) and the US Dollar (USD) legal, completing the dollarization of Zimbabwe which helped to stabilise prices, impose fiscal discipline on the authorities, and improve revenue performance (ibid). Since then, there have been intermittent cash flow problems which have added to the suffocating economy, and have resulted in varying shortages of fuel, power, and food leading to increasing percentages of extreme poverty, erosion of disposable incomes, and poor food security which compounded by climatic changes (The World Bank, 2019).

Due to the ongoing economic crisis, the country now operates on a multicurrency system (detailed in the following section), which has ever-changing exchange rates as the black market pushes prices exponentially upwards, causing many businesses and banks to collapse (Pasara and Garidzirai, 2020). Because of the distrust of the banking system, much of Zimbabwe operates on Eco-Cash, which is mobile money essentially in the form of airtime or phone credit. This means that Econet (the phone provider) holds the market as many people rely on this informal banking system to receive salaries and manage their money (Maune, Matanda and Mundonde, 2020; Robb and Paelo, 2020). Whilst fuel and cash shortages vary throughout the year (a detailed account of the fuel crisis experienced at the time of this study is in Section 4.4.1), they are a common problem that the Zimbabwean population must deal with. The severe economic shocks directly limit the ability of most to plan forward and save money, which in turn makes the next round of economic shocks or price inflation even more difficult for the general population to cope with. The unpredictability of shortages of cash and fuel limits business growth and operations of institutions which offer development assistance programmes.

This economic arrangement means that many vital areas of the economy, such as health care and, increasingly, education can only be accessed by those who have USD (GOV.UK, 2020) because they require imported goods. This arrangement marginalises the poor, as they are less likely to be able to access or afford USD, and this widens the gap between the rich and poor even further, making those at risk even more vulnerable and unable to step out of poverty. At the time this study was conducted, there was a substantial rise in the price of medication because most of it is imported and therefore must be paid for in USD. Most of the pharmacies were, and still are, only accepting cash USD, which renders a large proportion of the population without any access to medication. Many private hospitals require large upfront USD cash payments (The Herald, 2020) which again leaves large proportions of the population having to use underfunded and poorly resourced health clinics if they are even able to access them.

Many areas of the public service sector such as health care workers and teachers have been on multiple and extensive strikes due to low payments (compounded by the ever-growing black market currency exchange rates that remains largely unacknowledged by the government) and insufficient infrastructure and materials (BBC News, 2017, 2019a). These strikes mean that most of the population, who are reliant on public services, suffer from poor education and poor health care. Many of these strikes are met with violence and abductions (BBC News, 2019b) which limits public participation in any form of civil movement.

Given the contextual overview presented here, it is perhaps not surprising that 90% of the population is unemployed and an estimated 74% of the population were living on less than 5.50 USD a day (BBC News, 2018). A recent report by the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) and UNDP suggests that poverty levels are far worse in the rural areas than the urban areas and that 62.6% of Zimbabwean households are classified as poor, while 16.2% of households are within extreme poverty measures (ZimStat, 2013). The World Bank (2019b) suggests that a much higher rate of 34% of the population is living in extreme poverty. It is suggested that poverty varies significantly between province (Figure 4.2) and district (Figure 4.3) with Matabeleland North province holding the highest percentage of household poverty at 81.7% (ZimStat, 2013) with many districts holding high percentages of food poverty (Figure 4.3).

It can be concluded that Zimbabwe remains in arguably one of the worst economic crises in the past decade (BBC News, 2019a) due to a complex set of interrelated political and economic ventures. The on-going crisis and political situation drastically impact individual freedoms, business operations, development interventions and dictates poverty levels and people's capacity to escape multi-dimensional poverty. It must be noted that many small-scale rural farmers have been directly affected by the economic arrangements as noted below by interviewee 503, and that these constraints will have some impact on the agricultural communication systems this study is examining.

*'Farmers are being paid in Eco-cash and the Eco-cash is worthless ... so we are saying to communal farmers "Don't keep cash. Rather buy small livestock then at least you have a small asset that is worth something ..." You have got these savings and lending groups in the communal areas that have been saving for a decade and suddenly that is worthless... One of the good things about our economic crises is EcoCash. We have found that women are able to hold onto their money because husbands can't take it away anymore compared to actual cash ...'*

- 503, Male Zimbabwe communication specialist

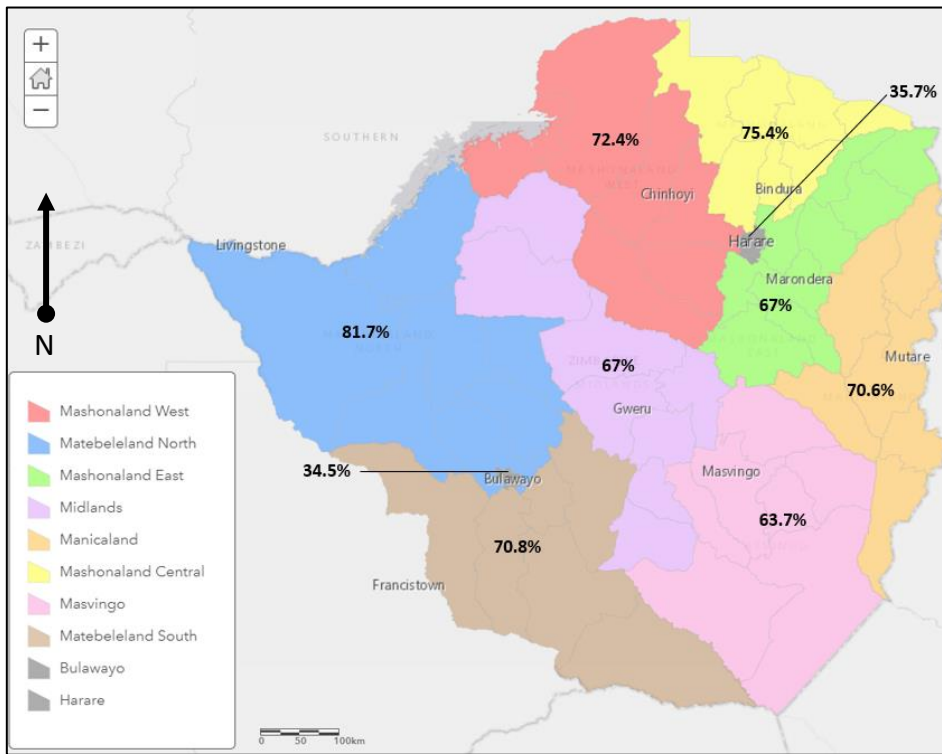


FIGURE 4.2: MAP OF PERCENTAGE OF POVERTY LEVEL PER PROVINCE (ADAPTED FROM ZIMSTAT 2013, P. I)

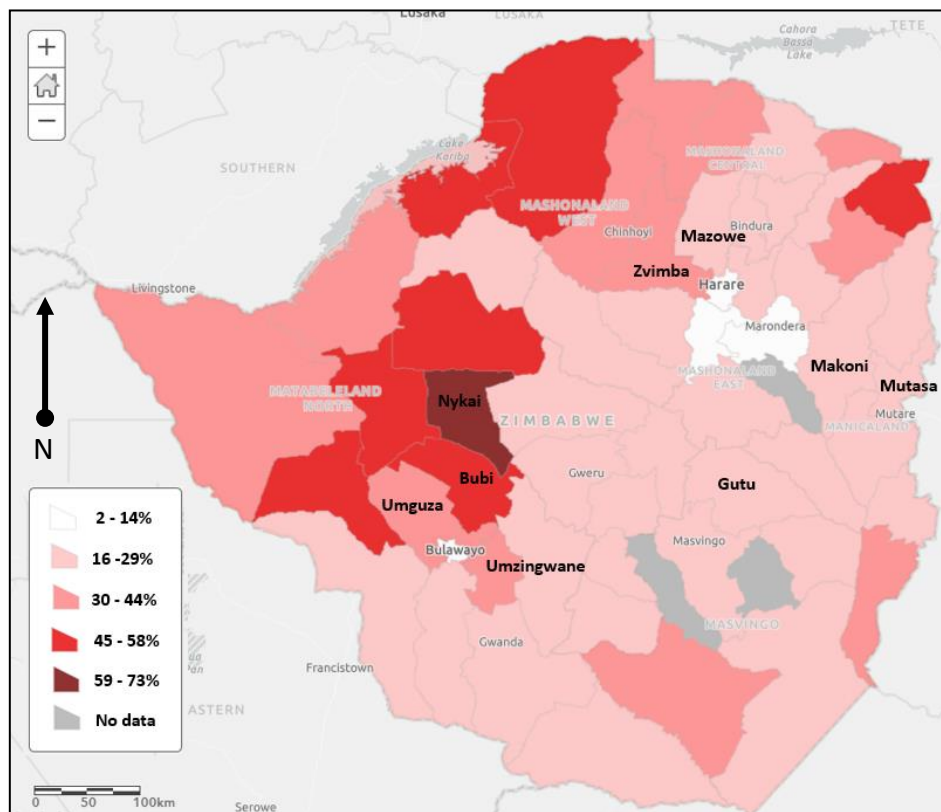


FIGURE 4.3: FOOD POVERTY IN ZIMBABWE BY DISTRICT (ADAPTED FROM ZIMBABWE NATIONAL STATISTICS AGENCY 2016)

#### **4.4.1 The political and economic climate at the time of this study**

Given the constant state of economic and political flux that Zimbabwe is in, it is important to summarise the situation in the country at the time this study was conducted. Based on the researcher observation, at the start of this study, the country was operating on three different currencies namely the Zimbabwe Bond Note, Eco-Cash and the USD. The government was insisting that the Zimbabwe Bond Note and Eco-cash were of the same value as 1 USD, but as these two currencies are not legal tender outside Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Bond and Eco-cash RTGS exchange rates started to rise. Upon arriving in Harare on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November 2018, the informal exchange rate was 3 Zimbabwe Bond or 3 Eco-cash to 1 USD. The only currency which could be withdrawn from local Zimbabwean bank branches was Bond notes at a rate of 1 Zimbabwe Bond to 1 USD, even if USDs had previously been deposited. Much of the population, including civil servants, were being paid in Zimbabwe Bond or Eco-Cash. As the RTGS exchange rates steadily rose, people's salaries remained the same, resulting in the cost of living in Zimbabwe trebling for most working and living there. Even though it was illegal, this also resulted in increased black-market trading of USDs because some essential commodities such as medication and fuel were only available if paid for in USD (as discussed in Section 4.4).

As reported in Pindula (2019) and observed by the researcher, major fuel shortages began to occur at the end of November 2018 due to fuel being an imported good and the fact that few were able to pay the fuel companies in USD because of the national USD shortage. These fuel shortages meant that large proportions of the population were sitting in 8-hour long petrol queues during the working week. As a result, many could not get to work which, in turn, meant that there were limitations of accessing the AEI workers and their associated TA members that this study was targeting. The fuel shortages worsened over the Christmas period with petrol queues said to be as long as 2 km in Harare. Some garages were only selling petrol to prepaid account holders who paid in USD. The petrol shortages had a knock-on effect on public transport systems and economic productivity. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 2019 the Zimbabwean president, Emmerson Mnangagwa, announced that petrol prices would increase from \$1.38 (Zimbabwean Bond) to \$3.31 (Zimbabwean Bond) per litre (Times Live, 2019). This official increase effectively acknowledged that the official exchange rate of \$1 Zimbabwean Bond to 1 USD was not the true exchange rate on the ground, which led to direct increases in the cost of goods whilst wages continued to remain the same (Times Live, 2019). Violent protests and national stay-aways (people staying at home) started on Monday the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2019, which shut down major cities centres including Harare and Bulawayo, as

the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) threatened to burn down businesses who remained open, stopped and stoned local commuter buses who were transporting people to and from work, overturned and torched cars, and looted shops. There were reports of shots being fired, commuters being stranded, and school children being urged to be collected by parents due to safety. The ZCTU riots were in protest of the going economic problems reviewed in Section 4.4, which were compounded by the fuel crisis and overnight price increase. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 2018, all main social media channels were shut down, and access to the Internet Service Provider was blocked resulting in no access to the internet throughout the whole country. This was termed a 'soft shutdown' thought by many in the local population to be initiated by the Zimbabwean government. ZCTU sent messages around that they would be targeting the Northern Suburbs of Harare; where I was based at the time. These threats meant that the majority of businesses shut down, all schools closed, and most of the general public remained housebound for four days. Whilst this situation had a limited impact on this study, it directly showcases the fragility and complexity of the economic situation that Zimbabweans are currently facing. It also directly showcases the level of control and power the current regime holds and the lengths it is willing to go to keep its power.

#### **4.5 The state of Zimbabwean agriculture**

Now that the social, economic, and political climates and structures of Zimbabwe have been reviewed, it is important to review the agriculture sector given that this is the focus of this study. Agriculture remains the backbone of the Zimbabwean economy because the majority of the Zimbabwean population relies on agricultural livelihoods and related economic activities (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). Despite providing income and employment for around 60-70% of the population, the agricultural sector only directly contributes to 15-19% of the country's annual GDP (ibid), indicating that a large proportion of the agricultural production remains as subsistence production.

Zimbabwe has a total land area of over 39 million ha, 33.3 million of which are used for agricultural purposes (ibid). As discussed in Section 3.3.1, the country has six defined natural farming areas which are referred to as Agro-Ecological Zones (AEZs) (Figure 3.1). Figure 3.1 shows that the most agriculturally productive zones in the country are found in the North East, receiving between 750 – 1000mm of rainfall per year. The least agriculturally productive zones of the country are found in South and South-West, receiving less than 650mm of rainfall. It is noted by Frischen *et al.*, (2020) that climate variability and associated vulnerability varies throughout the country, but it can be

observed that the AEZs roughly correlate with food poverty maps identified previously (Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3.)

This land is held by two major subgroups, which are based on land size. The larger of these groups comprises of about 7.1 million small-holder and communal farmers. The farms held by this group are generally found in areas of less productive natural AEZs due to reduced levels of rainfall, limited water sources and poor soil quality (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). These areas also tend to be far away from markets, social institutions and facilities and suffer from poor communication (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). This group of farmers is not classed as commercial farmers, because their agricultural produce is primarily for their consumption; and includes products such as the staple crop of maize, grains, groundnuts, vegetables, and milk (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). Until recently, the second group consisted of an estimated 4000 large-scale commercial farms which had sophisticated production systems and occupied around 11 million ha of land in the AEZs of high production potential. Commercial farmers concentrate on cash crops including tobacco, flowers, coffee, maize and livestock (ibid). Given the development angle of this study, it will be focusing on farmers that, under this categorisation, are classed as small-holder farmers.

A key event that shapes the current agrarian structure is the Zimbabwean Land Reform. Not only is the Land Reform at the heart of many of the country's social, economic, and political issues, but it is also an important factor that has determined the design and access of this study. Zimbabwe's Land Reform (or Fast Track Land Reform (FTLR)) is well documented as one of the most radical land reforms in the past century (Scoones, 2018a) and an event that has drastically changed the relationship between commercial production and land, as well as patterns to gender, class relations, social productions, and associated livelihoods (Scoones *et al.*, 2018).

Whilst a full review and discussion of the FTLR is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note that this dictated the current agricultural set up found in Zimbabwe today. This is because the FTLR aimed to redistribute the largely white-owned commercial farmland found in the areas of higher agricultural potential (Weiner, 1988) which has resulted in a new agrarian structure outlined in the following section. This process was initially planned as a fair redistribution, but became politically motivated, violent and resulted in severe racial tensions in the agricultural sector which are still prevalent and problematic (Hammar, 2001; Chaumba, Scoones and Wolmer, 2003b). The Land Reform was also central to the economic crisis outlined previously (Coomer and Gstraunthaler, 2011).

#### 4.5.1 The current agrarian structure in Zimbabwe

It is well acknowledged that the FTLR resulted in a large change in agrarian structure as over 4500 large-scale commercial farms were reallocated to new farmers (which equates to around 20% of the total country land area) (Scoones *et al.*, 2018). The current agrarian structure consists of commercial, A2, A1, and communal farms (summarised in Table 4.1).

The commercial farms are the source of much of the social, political, and economic tensions as previously mentioned. These were historically predominantly white-owned and were the primary producers of export cash crops and local food produce (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). Historically, these farms had significant investment and support. In some areas, some of the remnants of old structures such as the Tobacco Research Marketing Board (TRMB) and the Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU) are still functional, although their activity is limited and politically complicated. Currently, many of these farms are now non-existent; having either been portioned up to small-holder farmers (A1) or given to large scale farmers (A2). The operational commercial farms now largely rely on private extension services and noted by interviewee 506:

*'Commercial farmers ... have the capacity to pay for private extension services, so are largely dependent on private extension services. They also have strong support networks. Within private extension, we are not just talking of consultants, we are talking in terms of private agribusiness fields ... and providers of credit. If you are contracted with prime seed for producing commercial seed maize (for example), then obviously you will also get technical backstopping from them.'*

- 506, Male Zimbabwe Agriculture Communication Specialist

A2 farms are largely a result of the land reform process (Scoones, 2018b) and are large to medium in size. The productivity of these farms is contested as noted by interviewee 505:

*'Unfortunately A2 farming ... has not been as successful as it should have or could have been because a lot of people who got ... put onto A2 farming do not have the background and it has become a weekend or holiday home instead of a farming operation ... It becomes a status symbol with some of the commercial size farms ... that are not actually being utilised ... and that is having a huge impact on the economics of our country.'*

- 505, Female Zimbabwe Commercial Farmer



It is also noted by interviewee 508 that, although A2 farms are larger and are meant to be better resourced and therefore more productive, this is not the case, and this has some impact on the success of the A2 farms:

*'The A2 do not need help that much as compared to A1. We also have A2 farmers who are poor and do not even have money for inputs, hence the land reform, I can say was fast-tracked and not properly scrutinized, hence NGOs should surely come in.'*

- 508, AGRITEX Male Officer

This being said, there are reports of future investment by the government shifting to A2 farms (Scoones, 2018b) which is currently focused on developing A1 farms. Whilst these farms are an important part of the Zimbabwean agricultural structure, they are not the focus of this study, and therefore will not be referred to very often.

A1 farms are often referred to interchangeably as 'small-scale' farms and are the farms that this study's case study institutions were working with. A1 farms are of similar size and use as the historically labelled 'communal farms', in that they range between 5 – 6 ha (Scoones *et al.*, 2018) and are used for a mixture of subsistence (Parirenyatwa and Mago, 2014) and small-scale contract farming. The main difference between the A1 farms and the communal farms is that A1 farms came out of the FTLR program intention to reallocate land to congested subsistence farmers and are therefore found on previously commercially farmed land (Scoones *et al.*, 2017), whereas communal farms existed before the land reform. Because the A1 farms are found on land that was historically commercial (and therefore the most agriculturally productive), many of the A1 farmers are able to engage in contract farming as the market changes to fit the new land redistribution (Scoones *et al.*, 2017). This being said, many A1 farms, similarly to the communal farms, are used for subsistence farming. This is noted by interviewee 504:

*'The small-scale ones are really struggling because the small-scale A1 farms are a replica of communal areas and they have nothing to show. They are surviving on providing their cheap labour for the commercial farmers.'*

- 504, Male Zimbabwe Gender Specialist

Interviewee 505 also states that the A1 farms are currently more successful than the A2 farms because of the familial dimension that most of them operate under. This aspect is similar to how the communal farms operate but is combined with the fact that the A1 farms are on more productive land:

*'A1 farmers are often more successful than A2 farmers because they have to make it work for their whole family livelihood ... As an informal sector where there is no regular pay or anything like that, at the end of the day, that money comes back to the family unit so, it is very different (to A2 farms).'*

- 505, Female Zimbabwe Commercial Farmer

In terms of agricultural information provision, it is noted by both interviewee 504 and interviewee 506 that the primary source of information for small-scale farms is through the government extension arm AGRITEX:

*'I think [the main way small-holder farmer gets agricultural information] is through the agricultural extension service, although it is no longer very effective.'*

- 504, Male Zimbabwe Gender Specialist

*'For the small-scale farmers, which is quite an array of target groups, the major source of information for them ... is government or public extension systems. Why? Because we have quite a wide network and, ... before the fast track land reform program, we had as many as four (AGRITEX) extension agents per ward.'*

- 506, Male Zimbabwe Agriculture Communication Specialist

The communal farms existed before the land reform and are therefore found in the least agriculturally productive zones of the county (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003) and, as noted by interviewee 209, are some of the poorest farmers:

*'For the communal, we are looking at the lowest income farmers who are subsistence in nature. They live under a village head and they have community assets like a dip tank.'*

- 209, MLO Male AEI worker

These communal areas have been historically overpopulated, leading to land degradation and poor soil quality (Mbiba, 2001). Because of the historical legacy and poor productivity, communal farms remain very poor and mostly subsistence, with additional, but limited, income from supplying labour to any remaining and operative commercial farms. It is noted by interviewee 503 that before the land reform, livelihoods in these areas largely relied on selling their labour to commercial farms.

*'The communal areas and commercial farmers grew up alongside each other and they were almost symbiotic. The commercial farmers got their labour from the communal*

*areas, the communal areas ... got cash remittances back from working in the commercial farms... With the land reform, you saw those cash remittances have gone and suddenly agriculture became the primary source of income, so farming methods were not up to scratch and soil (quality) was a disaster.'*

- 503, Male Zimbabwe Communication Specialist

Although this study will dig deeper into information access and preference by the small-scale farmers to understand the gendered effects on these processes, some general observations about the main extension services used by each farm category can be made based on the quotes and literature which have previously been presented. As noted, the commercial farms are said to be largely dependent on private extension services, because of the perception that commercial farms have the financial means and social networks to access information, inputs, and funding. It is also noted that many of the commercial farms currently operate on large scale contract farming and so are supported with necessary extension requirements from the contracting company. Because of this, the current governmental extension focus is on the small-scale (A1 and communal) farmers. There is limited literature on the extension services of the A2 farms, although it is suggested that government investment may be shifting in due course to the A2 farms which have, so far had mixed progress (Scoones, 2018b). It is made clear from the interviews that the perception is that the primary information source for the small scale farmers (A1 and communal) is the government extension service. The current land structure and extension sources presented here are summarised in Table 4.1.

Having discussed the different types of farms found throughout the country, it is useful to comment on the main types of agricultural production and agricultural information provision bodies found throughout the country, given that this study will be looking at different models of agricultural extension information and the associated institutions.

Within the estimated 70% of Zimbabweans who rely on agriculture as their livelihood (FAO, 2013) sit two main groups of farmers: commercial and subsistence farmers. Commercial farming is typically referred to as high output farming; where the farmer can sell at least 50% of the output (Fredriksson *et al.*, 2016) for commerce (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). Commercial production in Zimbabwe is primarily cash crop production including tobacco (60% of the total agricultural production), cotton (10%), raw sugar (9%), tea and coffee, horticultural products, and maize (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). Commercial farmers also produce cattle for slaughter, pigs, goats, and sheep (*ibid*). As

mentioned previously, there is also large-scale commercial contract production, which remains out of the scope of this study.

Alternatively, subsistence farming has close links to a low level of economic development, is typically characterised by small external inputs and low productivity (Heidhues and Bruntrup, 2004), and the produce is primarily used for consumption (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). The term subsistence farming is interchangeably used with concepts such as low-input, or low-technology, small scale, resource-poor, or low-income farming (Heidhues and Bruntrup, 2004). Zimbabwean subsistence farmers primarily produce maize (the staple crop), beans, vegetables, groundnuts, and other grains (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). Typically, subsistence households also have limited livestock. The majority of Zimbabwe’s 1.5 million small-holder farmers are subsistence farmers (FAO, 2013), and many agricultural NGO organisations align themselves to work with this category of farmers because these tend to those most at risk:

TABLE 4.1: DIFFERENT TYPES OF FARMS FOUND IN ZIMBABWE

<b>Terminology</b>	<b>Land Size</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Current status</b>	<b>Extension source</b>
Commercial Farms	Variable but can be between 25 – 500 ha	These farms were historically white-owned and were the focus of many extension and commercial investment programs. At the time of independence, there were an estimated 6000 of these farms.	It is not clear how many of these farms are currently operative, but there are around 3.4 million ha of large-scale farming remains, much of it on large estates (Scoones <i>et al.</i> , 2018)	They are currently largely dependent on private extension services.
A2 Farms	50-500 ha (Scoones, 2018b)	These farms have largely been established post the land reform and are classed as medium-scale farms (Scoones, 2018b).	A reference to the ‘rise of middle-class farmers’ points to this category of farms who are typically owned by people who are well-connected politically and have urban businesses and connections. Their current productivity is contested. There are an estimated 25000 A2 farms (Scoones, 2018b).	There is currently limited information about this extension service.
<b>Terminology</b>	<b>Land Size</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Current status</b>	<b>Extension source</b>

A1 Farms	5-6 ha (Scoones <i>et al.</i> , 2018)	These are the farms that are classed as 'small-scale' and are largely the focus of this study.	Many of these farms are post land reform farms and are engaged in a mixture of small-scale contract and subsistence farming. There are an estimated 145000 A1 farms (Scoones <i>et al.</i> , 2018).	Currently heavily reliant on government extension workers and some NGO extension.
Communal farms	5 – 6 ha	These are communal rural homestead areas where communal farmers reside. They were largely established before the land reform and supplied labour to the commercial farms.	Currently, these areas are largely subsistence farms that sometimes produce excess crops that can be sold. These areas are largely overpopulated and generally are very poor with poor soil quality. There are an estimated 16500 A2 farms (Scoones <i>et al.</i> , 2018)	Currently heavily reliant on government extension workers and some NGO extension.

*'With the donor money, they are targeting the poorest of the farmers which are mainly communal.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

It was suggested that there were over 1000 multi-sectoral NGOs operating throughout Zimbabwe in 2009, but 'the political situation continuously influences the humanitarian situation and response' (Otto 2009 p. 5). The Agricultural Cluster brings together stakeholder operating in the agricultural sector of Zimbabwe lead by the FAO (FAO, 2012). This is a mechanism which is in place to co-ordinate Agricultural NGO activity and is reported to meet on a monthly basis, operating as one of the oldest and most effective clusters due its lengthy establishment, active engagement from local NGOs, and the wide range of technical expertise which includes the private sector and universities (Otto, 2009). Despite there being large debates around the effectiveness of NGO interventions and reports that NGO coordination remains fragmented and lacking strategy (Otto, 2009), this type of agricultural production support cannot be overlooked. NGO interventions play a substantial role in agricultural communication systems in Zimbabwe and thus, one of the case study institutions examined will be a classic development NGO model supporting subsistence farmers.

In Zimbabwe, an increasing number of small-holder or subsistence farmers are engaging in contract farming, which is viewed as a more commercialised form of agriculture that encourages market linkages, access to inputs and boosts farmers' incomes (FAO, 2013). It

is noted that, in 2012, 14,902 farmers were participating in contract farming in Zimbabwe (FAO, 2013); a number which has been growing. The role of contract farming, in terms of development and poverty alleviation, is highly debated; with views ranging from positive ones suggesting that the model supports agri-business development (Williams and Karen, 1985), through to issues around exploitation (Masakure and Henson, 2005). Due to the increasing numbers of small-holder farmers engaged in contract farming, the institutions involved in this process play an important role in the transfer of agricultural information to small-holder farmers. There are several institutions that play a facilitating and supporting role in assisting subsistence farmers to move into various contract farming schemes throughout the country. The second case study institution selected for this study has been chosen from this category.

There are also multiple entirely privately funded, commercially driven companies working directly with small-scale farmers in Zimbabwe. This is particularly the case in the tobacco industry, which is the largest small-scale contracting sector in the country, and through which many small-scale farmers are shifting from subsistence production to commercial production. This means that these private companies also play a large role in facilitating agricultural communication activities. The production of tobacco itself presents a set of factors that need to be considered given the scope of this study. Tobacco is grown in the 'Tobacco Belt' region of the country which covers the majority of AEZ IIa and IIb (Figure 4.4), which are some of the most productive agricultural zones in the country. This geographical requirement of the crop means that tobacco production is steeped in difficult history around land ownership, racial tensions and is at the centre of the land reform tensions (Tekere, Hurungo and Rusare, 2003). This export also recently had large taxes imposed on both the growers and the buyers, because it is the main export commodity of the country (ibid).

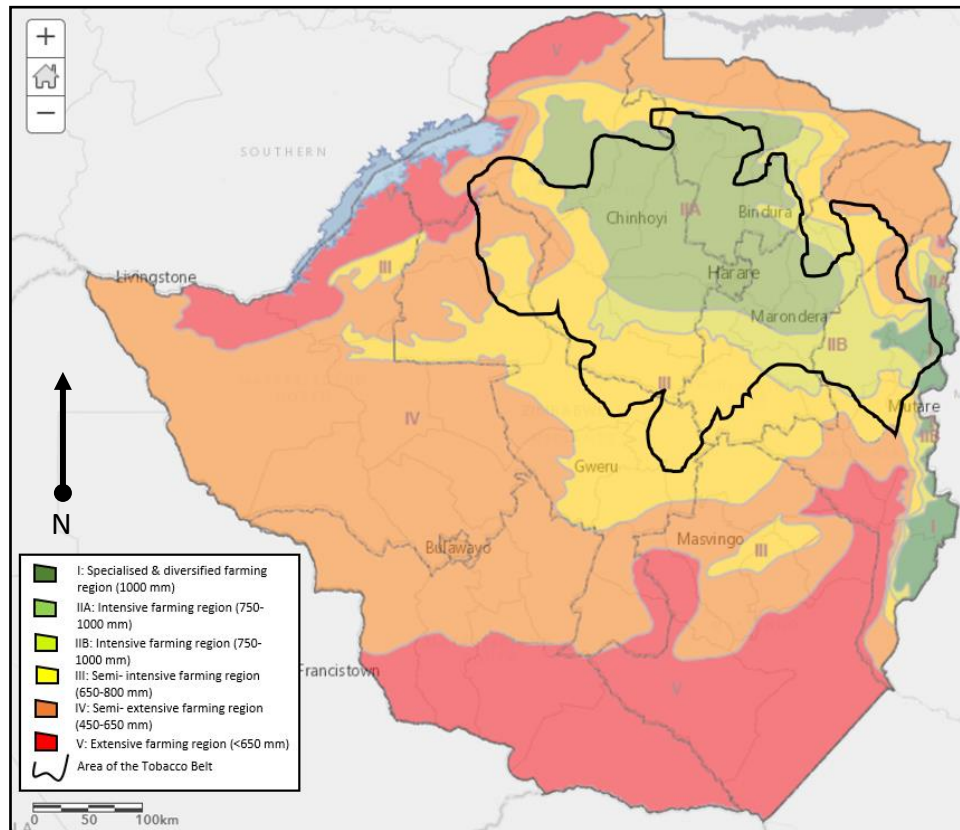


FIGURE 4.4: ZIMBABWE TOBACCO BELT AND AEZS ADAPTED FROM RELIEFWEB (2009): OCHA ZIMBABWE-AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES MAP)

Tobacco has seen a recent shift from large scale commercial production to small scale production. This shift that has been necessary due to the political land reform events reviewed in Section 4.5. This shift has opened opportunities for A1 farmers to engage in widespread contract farming across the Zimbabwe tobacco belt and has resulted in some of the highest levels of tobacco production seen by the country as noted by interviewee 123:

*'Pre 2000s we were [producing] around the 200 – 220 million kgs, it then dropped all the way down to 50 million kgs ... in 2008. Since then, it has jumped up and very recently it has moved up to the 200 [million kgs] and beyond market ... Of the 250 million kgs grown last year, 25% of that would be commercially grown which is roughly any farmer growing over 25 ha... 10% medium-scale, and then the balance of the crop, which is about 60%, is small-scale [farmers] which is under 2 ha ... [For small scale farmers] tobacco would be their main income.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

It should also be noted that, because of the current state of economic collapse the country finds itself in, space has been made available for tobacco companies to operate

successfully because they can loan money to small-holder farmers in a way that the national banking system, currently, cannot:

*'The only reason we have contracted floors at the moment is because no one lends money. The banks don't lend money, so the different companies have pushed their agenda within the market to get what they need out of the market. At the same time, if it wasn't us providing the inputs, the crop would be in the region of [producing] 100 – 120 million kilos. There is still a crop which is independently grown out there, notably, it is the small to medium scale growers. Commercially grown crops, no one can finance. There are a few people who are managing it through the banks but only in very recent times ... The only sustainable lenders are the tobacco merchants.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

The small-scale production success of tobacco in Zimbabwe and the prevalence of this contact farming model makes this aspect of the Zimbabwean agricultural landscape an appropriate aspect to examine in terms of agricultural communication processes, and therefore the third case study institution is a private small-scale tobacco contracting company.

#### **4.5.2 The national agricultural extension service**

It is important to briefly outline what the Zimbabwean governmental extension arm (AGRITEX) does as it plays a key role in the current agrarian structures, agricultural communication activities, and features prominently in all the data collected. This sub-section draws mostly on limited secondary data. The data is limited because there is very little recent reliable literature and data on AGRITEX due to the sensitivities around the land reform and the limited access to this department of the Zimbabwean Government. However, this sub-section provides a brief overview of the organisation and the mandate of AGRITEX which is necessary for the analysis chapters of this study.

It is noted that AGRITEX sits under the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture and is the principal agricultural extension service in Zimbabwe (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2002). Its mandate is to provide general agricultural extension services and training to farmers to support the use of new technologies. Operational objectives include creating awareness of landowners, identifying farmers that need extension support, promoting training schemes especially amongst farmers with limited resources, and assisting farmers to solve their problems to further agricultural development through increasing agricultural productivity (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2002). It is noted that primary extension mechanisms



used by AGRITEX include group extension (which comprises of engaging with general development interest groups of farmers), master farmer training, demonstrations, field days, competitions, and project extension (which is based on special interest projects) (ibid). The funding for AGRITEX primarily comes from the government and occasionally from donor agencies for specific interventions (ibid).

AGRITEX operates throughout the whole country and targets the small-holder farming sector as per the institutional mandate. They provide extension services to large-scale farmers upon request (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2002). AGRITEX has offices at national, provincial, and district levels. Each district is reported to be staffed by one district extension officer, three agricultural extension officers, three agricultural extension supervisors, and up to 20 extension workers (detailed in Figure 4.5). This distribution roughly equates to one extension worker per ward as noted by interviewees 504 and 506:

*'In fact, they (AGRITEX officers) are supposed to be located at ward level so that people won't travel long distances... Yes, one per ward but because of these issues, sometimes you find that there is one in a district and it becomes a problem because districts are quite big.'*

- 504, Male Zimbabwean gender specialist

*'If I am not mistaken, even before the fast track land reform program, we had as many as four extension agents per ward. So, given that we have about thirty wards per district, you are talking about 120. But still, given the population in a lot of the areas, there was no comfortable or appropriate extension agent to farmer ratio, why? Because in some areas you had something like 800 farmers and one extension officer.'*

- 506, Male Zimbabwean communication specialist

The ratios of AGRITEX extension worker to farmer varies between 1:50 in resettled and irrigated areas to 1:2000 in remote areas with a national average of 1:800 (Hanyani-Mlambo, 2002). Extension officers are expected to reach everyone in their allocated wards:

*'AGRITEX officers don't have a number a limited number (of farmers to reach), they are told to go for everyone because, you know, it's a government issue that everyone should be reached.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

There are issues indicated with the highly uneven ratios of farmers to AGRITEX officers, and in areas where the ratios are higher, the farmers are unlikely to be receiving sufficient information through this channel, which will be compounded by the fact these farmers are most likely situated in the less agriculturally productive zones and communal structures.

Historically, AGRITEX has had two different, but interlinked, organisational structures for agricultural extension information provision. One of these focused on providing technical information to commercial farmers, whilst the other focused on providing extension services to small-scale, resettled and communal farmers (Drinkwater, 1991). The operationalisation of how this setup is currently working is largely unclear as noted by interviewee 209, but for this study, the focus is on the agricultural services provided to small-scale farmers.

*'Ever since land reform, we haven't really had a review of the agricultural extension policy ... It would be interesting to go to AGRITEX and hear if there is a differentiation between the commercial training, if the people who are working with the commercial farmers their personnel or professional qualifications is still the same.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

The organisational structure of AGRITEX's small-scale farmer extension service is presented in Figure 4.5 based on the work of Drinkwater (1991) and Hanyani-Mlambo (2002). The key AGRITEX extension workers who were engaged within this study are found at the bottom tier of those titled 'Agricultural Extension Workers'.

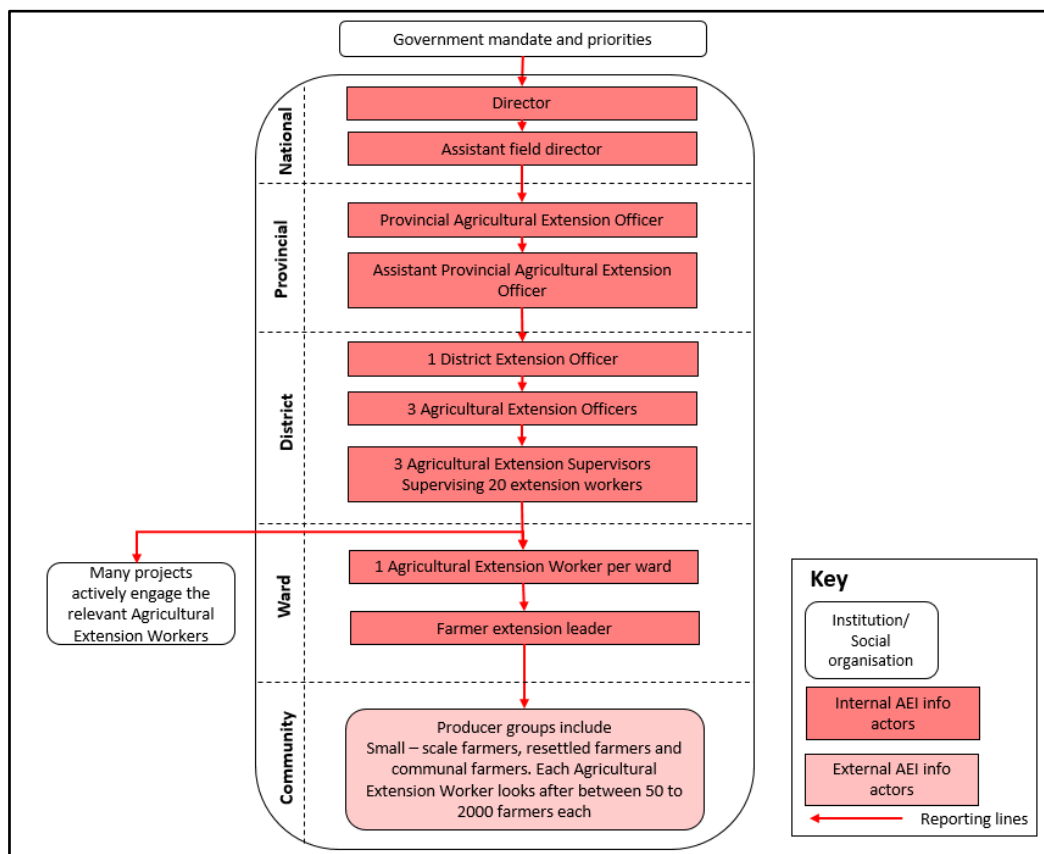


FIGURE 4.5: AGTRIEX SMALL-HOLDER EXTENSION ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE<sup>2</sup>

The specific roles and responsibilities of the Agricultural Extension Workers remain largely unclear, however, it is indicated by all three case study institutions that the AGRITEX workers play a key role in supporting the implementation of agricultural interventions and, to some extent, the extension training. Reports from the case study institutions illustrate a fundamental need to actively engage and involve AGRITEX (see Chapter 5) because of their mandate to drive agricultural extension:

*‘We have the government extension agents, so for crops generally we try to work through AGRITEX as they have the staff and the resources, and it is the government’s mandate to drive the extension.’*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

It noted by a number of the interviewees (102, 509 and 105) that AGRITEX extension workers are the first point of contact in communities, particularly for support in the production of food crops:

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from Drinkwater, 1991 and Hanyani-mlambo, 2002b

*'In Zimbabwe, we have the AGRITEX officers. They are the first step in the communities just because they are the government workers. They are the people with the farmers, so they are the first to provide information to the farmers.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

*'We have our Agricultural Extension Services who are positioned in farming communities. Although there might be issues of limited numbers because of lack of resources, but they are playing a key role in crop, horticulture and cattle farming. Much more needs to be done in new areas to the resettled, and those services work well.'*

- 509, Female Zimbabwean agricultural specialist

*'Other AGRITEX extension officers who are also running around to help other farmers who are not into tobacco contract farming, but grow cereals and other crops like soya beans, maize, etc.'*

- 105, Female Zimbabwean commercial farmer

Despite their prominence in the communities, it is noted that they are largely unsupervised:

*'But for the AGRITEX officers, their big bosses don't come down they don't monitor them. They don't supervise them and just say that as long as their salary is coming, they are happy.'*

- 224, MLO Female AEI worker

The reality of the effectiveness of the AGRITEX workers is contested, and some of the constraints faced by this AEI will be discussed through the lens of later analysis chapters, although the scope of this discussion will be somewhat limited due to the focus on the three Case Study AEIs, and will be aligned with how AGRITEX operated alongside these case study institutions rather than independently. Ideally, AGRITEX would have been a fourth case study but, given the political sensitivities around this AEI, this was not possible.

#### **4.5.3 Zimbabwean agricultural policy**

Having provided a detailed insight into the current structures and landscape of Zimbabwean agriculture, it is necessary to briefly identify the relevant national policy priorities. The Agricultural Policy Framework highlights the priority strategies for the development of the Zimbabwean Agricultural sector from 2012 to 2032 (Zimbabwe

Government, 2012). The policy outlines a set of challenges that the agricultural sector is currently facing with relevant ones for this study including a low level of farming skills amongst farmers and market participants lacking information.

Of the policy interventions to address these challenges, there are two sections that specifically focus on agricultural extension. The first is titled 'Agricultural Extension' with key priorities including improvement of resourcing to the national extension services and the development of appropriate extension processes and technology packages (Zimbabwe Government, 2012, p. 19). The second section is titled 'Agricultural Education and Training' and has key priorities around adapting curricula, promoting modern teaching based on evidence, promoting synergies among education, research and extension delivery services and the promotion of the private sector participation in agricultural education and training (Zimbabwe Government, 2012 p. 21). The only gendered aspect identified within these sections as being a policy priority include 'promoting the enrolment of women in (agricultural) training to commensurate with their role in the sector' which sits under the 'Agricultural Education and Training' section. This is the only gender focus within the policy except for 'promoting the development and implementation of gender sensitive HIV and AIDS mitigation measures by all sectoral actors' which sits under the 'HIV and AIDS in Agriculture' section (Zimbabwe Government, 2012 p. 15).

However, sitting separately to the previous themes mentioned, there is a section at the end of the policy titled 'Gender Mainstreaming in Agriculture'. This acknowledges the stand-alone role that women play within the agricultural sector and the disparities in information and decision-making processes. This section of the policy commits the Zimbabwean government to overcome these challenges by:

- Identifying barriers to entry of women into agribusiness and enhancing their participation by the removal of the barriers through policy, government incentives, and training;
- Identifying resources for investment, credit and partnership mechanisms that will enhance women's participation in the sector;
- Reviewing existing and potential financing arrangements and mechanisms for women's economic empowerment in the agricultural sector;
- Developing resources and a mobilization strategy for women's economic empowerment in the agricultural sector.

(Zimbabwe Government, 2012)

The priorities in this policy do align with the position and reinforce the rationale for the study and, although the evaluation of the effectiveness of these policies is out of the scope, the policy recommendations from the findings of this study are detailed in Section 8.5.

#### **4.6 Chapter Conclusions**

Using a mixture of primary data and literature, this chapter set out to determine the context in which Zimbabwean AEs are currently operating in by examining the key gender, economic, political and agricultural structures. As part of this analysis, it also aimed to define the different types of AEs currently operating in Zimbabwe. This analysis presents findings related to the structural layer.

It can be concluded that Zimbabwe is currently operating within an extreme economic crisis that has substantial implications on poverty levels and people's livelihoods throughout the country. This current economic arrangement also has implications for the Zimbabwean institutions who are key players in the process of agricultural communication and wider development movement. It is noted that the main drivers of the current economic crisis are a complex set of events that have happened under the current political regime which is nationalist, non-democratic and controlling and limits freedom of speech and civil society movement. This affects current dominant social structures throughout the country, and it can be concluded that Zimbabweans are operating within a highly patriarchal structure that is very difficult to challenge or to change at all levels of society despite the existence of a National Gender Policy. At the heart of the political and economic structures is the radical FTLR programme that has dictated the current use and allocation of agricultural land use.

It can be concluded that agricultural practices remain the dominant livelihood for the Zimbabwean population, and that the roles within this livelihood are highly gendered. Land use in Zimbabwe is split into commercial farmers and small-scale farmers. The small-scale farmers are further divided into A1 and communal farmers. Because the country has a varied agro-ecological geography, the agricultural potential of the land throughout the country varies dramatically and, often, those at most risk operate in the poorest areas of agricultural production potential. It can be concluded that there are three main types of AEs operating throughout the different AEs. These include the state agricultural extension arm (AGRITEX), commercial contracting companies (which are particularly prevalent in the tobacco industry), and non-governmental institutions. Each of these categories of AEs have different mandates which means that they target different groups

of farmers and provide different agricultural information services. The Zimbabwean agricultural sector faces numerous challenges including difficulties around effective extension to upskill farmers and overcoming gender barriers. These challenges are highlighted in the National Agricultural Policy, although gender issues appear to be poorly integrated. This is likely to be because of underfunding of the MoWAGCD (the ministry responsible for ensuring gender equality) resulting in limited support and accountability mechanisms of gender focal points in other ministries (Matonhodze and Guzura, 2014; Echanove, 2017).

## **CHAPTER 5**      **INSTITUTIONAL GENDER ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter will explore what gender approaches are being used by Zimbabwean Agricultural Extension Institutions (AEIs). By exploring the gender approaches, it will be possible to track how dominant gender discourses are being circulated by Zimbabwean AEIs. This section will examine both the internal gender approach and the external gender approach currently used by the AEIs. The internal gender approach refers to the gender structures within the institution, and the external gender approach refers to the gender approaches being used by the institutions to target their audience (which, in this study, are small-holder farmers). The case study institutions that will be analysed in this chapter were selected based on the criteria presented in detail in Chapter 3. As noted previously, a contract tobacco company (CTC), a market linkage organisation (MLO) and a community development organisation (CDO) were chosen.

The primary data used in this section is the Key Informant Interviews of the AEI workers and the associated Target Audience (TA) members of each case study AEI. To maintain anonymity the interviewees will either be classed as 'Male or Female AEI workers' and 'Male or Female TA members'.

The analysis will be structured around the 'Institutional Structure' component of the Applied Framework, which concentrates on an analysis of three aspects defined by Kabeer's Social Relations Framework (SRF) (1994) including 'power', 'rules' and 'people'. As noted in Section 2.5.1, 'power' refers to who decides and whose interests are served, 'rules' refer to how things get done and what the official and unofficial norms and values are, and 'people' relates to who is in and who is out of institutional activities and what tasks and responsibilities are held by such individuals.

As identified in the applied Framework, this section will answer the following research question:

### **RQb) What gender approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AEIs?**

Based on Kabeer's SRF, this chapter will identify who decides whose interests are served and who has authority, who is in or out of the AEIs communication process, their roles and responsibilities, and the official and unofficial norms and values.

The aspects of the framework that this chapter uses are presented below in Figure 5.1.



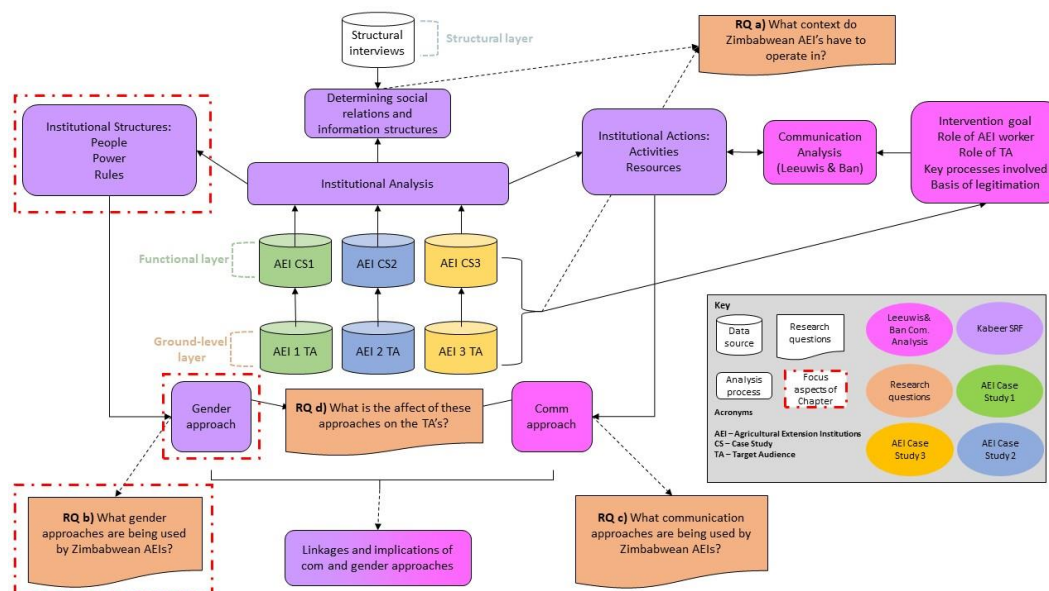


FIGURE 5.1: ASPECTS OF THE DGDDF USED IN CHAPTER 5

To answer bi. the aspects of each AEI that will be explored will include the intervention aims, the selection criteria of the TA, and the internal organisational structure. The analysis of the internal organisation structure will also lend itself to answering bii. The analysis of the internal roles and gender arrangements will support the answer to biii by identifying the dominant gender narratives that underpin bi and bii.

To discuss these questions logically, each case study will be examined separately first, and then wider comparisons and conclusions will be drawn at the end to compare the differences and implications of the gender approaches that are identified. Each section will start with an overview of each case study organisation, then proceed to answer the sub research questions posed above. Having answered each of the sub research questions, the AEIs gender approach will finally be classified.

## 5.1 Case study 1: Contract Tobacco Company (CTC)

### 5.1.1 CTC organisational overview and organisational drivers

CTC is a privately owned, commercial tobacco company that works with both large scale farms (referred to as A2 farms, which are over 10 ha) and small-scale farms (referred to as A1 farms, and are less than 6 ha) to produce tobacco which is sold to the international market. They operate on a contract farming model that has been used for many years as a way of organising commercial agricultural production (Eaton and Shepherd, 2001). Contract farming can generally be defined as ‘an agreement between farmers and processing and/or marketing firms for the production and supply of agricultural products under forward agreements, frequently at predetermined prices’ (Eaton and Shepherd

2001, p. 2). This arrangement usually includes support for the farmers provided by the purchaser through supplying inputs, crop chemicals and technical advice (ibid). CTC provides this support to farmers as noted by interviewee 123 and 103:

*'In essence what [CTC] is doing is that they lend out inputs ... They have based that whole model with the lending of inputs and providing an agronomy team for free.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI Worker

*'The growers agree that they have planted that number of plants and then, later on,, we ensure that the farmers know how to treat the tobacco, reap it, store it and correctly bail it. From there we do yield ... In doing this we can identify ... how much a grower will be producing... We give them ... enough to grow that crop ... and some money to assist with reaping.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

It is noted that 64% of the tobacco crop in 2017 was sold by small scale farmers, with 28% from commercial farmers, and 8% from medium-scale farmers indicating that small-scale farmers are currently the mainstay of tobacco production in Zimbabwe (CTP, 2018). Due to commercial sensitivity, it is not possible to specify the number of growers (or small-scale farmers) that CTC employs. However, there are an estimated 160,000 small-scale farmers contracted to grow tobacco throughout the country as noted by interviewee 123:

*'We [previously] had 4000 white growers who were producing 200 million kilograms of tobacco, now we have 160,000 [small-scale] growers.'*

- 123, CTC Male AEI worker

This large number of small-scale farmers implies that contract tobacco farming is an important avenue for livelihoods and agricultural communication in the Zimbabwean context.

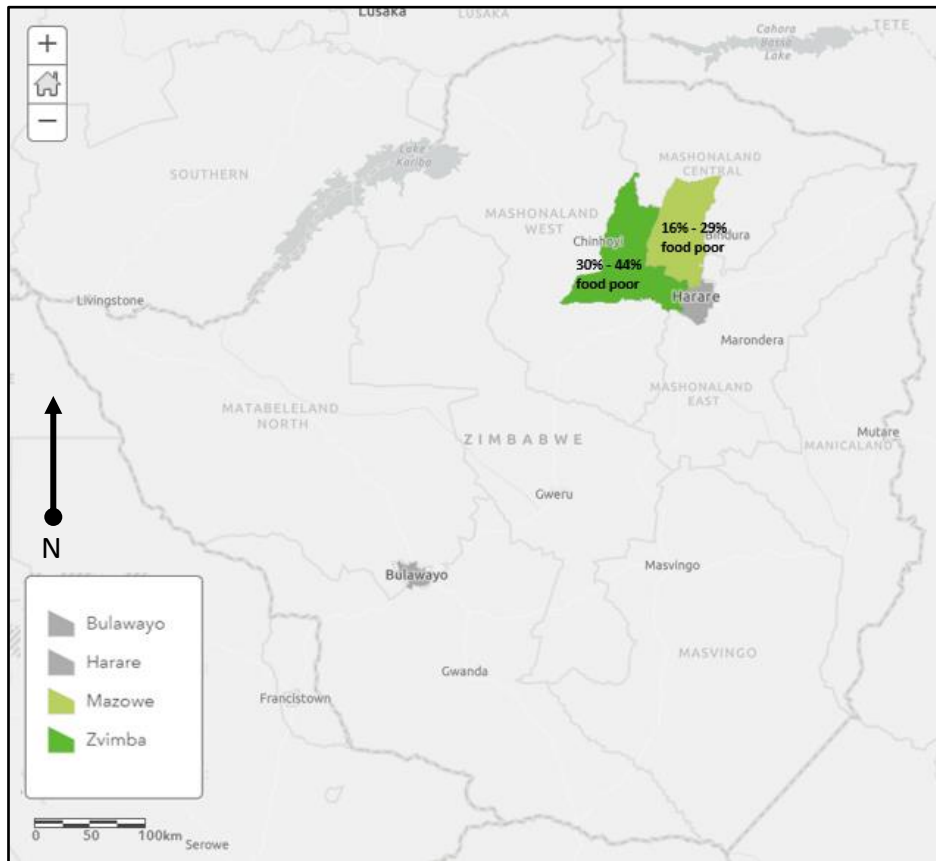


FIGURE 5.2: CTC TARGET DISTRICTS WITH POVERTY LEVELS

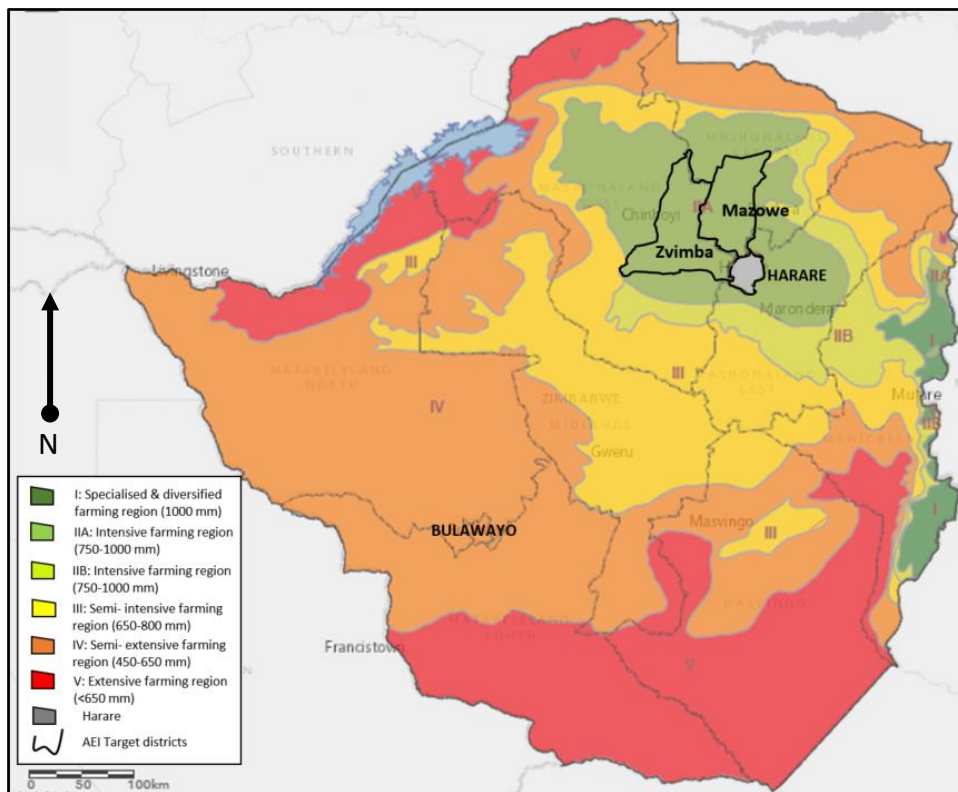


FIGURE 5.3: CTC DISTRICTS EXAMINED BY THIS STUDY AND AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES ADAPTED FROM RELIEFWEB (2009): OCHA ZIMBABWE- AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES MAP)

CTC operates in the ‘Tobacco Belt’ region of Zimbabwe (detailed in Section 4.5.2) where most other contract tobacco companies operate. The study sites observed for CTC were found in AEZ 1 (see Section 4.5.1) in the districts of Zvimba and Mazowe (see Figure 5.2). Both districts have low poverty rates compared to the rest of the country, with Zvimba having food poverty levels between 30 – 44% and Mazowe having lower levels of food poverty between 16 – 19% (ZimStat, 2013). As noted previously, these lower poverty levels are likely to be due to the historical use of this land, and that these districts are situated in the region of Zimbabwe with the highest agricultural potential (Figure 5.3).

Because CTC is a commercial company, its primary driver is to recover its loans to the contract farmers and make a profit. Also, because of its focus on the production of tobacco, CTC must operate out of the Agro-Ecological Zones (AEZs) that sit within the tobacco belt. The agro-ecological requirements of growing tobacco place immediate restrictions on which farmers can engage with contract tobacco farming and which cannot. CTC also has a detailed set of selection criteria for the farmers that they contract. Before being contracted, farmers must be background-checked by the AEI workers who do this by speaking with the Village Heads, local AGRITEX officers, and sometimes other farmers (see Section 5.1.2 for more detail). Once these background checks have been completed, farmers must meet the requirements noted in the following quotations to qualify for a contract with CTC:

*‘We have criteria we use in selecting these farmers. Does the farmer have barns, growing history and how long has the farmer been growing the crop? We would rather have a farmer that has been growing tobacco for more seasons than less.’*

- 101, CTC Male AEI worker

*‘The rule is that we must have suitable land to farm tobacco. They come and assess our land preparation and other facilities such as the barn for burning your tobacco.’*

- 113, CTC Male TA member

There are also mixed messages about the farmer needing to be able to show a land deed to qualify for a contract with CTC:

*‘Land ownership, yes, it is the requirement of the company, but then, sometimes, you will find that if you are strict to the farmers you may end up not getting the farmers because they will fail to provide the offer letter and, in most cases, the farmers who perform very well are those who do not have much access to the land.’*

- 106, CTC Female AEI worker

Interviewee 106 confirms that land ownership is a requirement for CTC to have a contract with a farmer, but it is also clear that there are wider difficulties around land ownership. This is partly due to complications arising from the land reform, which has led to many farmers operating on land that is not legislatively owned by them. The issue of land ownership also becomes an problem as women do not possess land titles for cultural and structural reasons (discussed in section 4.2.1). However, there has been a recent shift through governmental incentives to encourage farmers to have their own grower numbers<sup>3</sup> (TIMB, 2015) which potentially has some impact on making this avenue more accessible for female farmers facing structural constraints around land ownership:

*'In the past, a lot of them (female farmers) were not able to get growers numbers (because they do not have a land deed) ... Then along came the government ... [and] they introduced the export incentive ... [as a] drive to get as many people growing tobacco as tobacco is seen as the forex earner ... There are a lot of things behind it but, in essence, over the last couple of years there has been a drive to increase the grower's numbers and the growers have had their own drive to increase their number of growers because of the incentive.'*

- 123, CTC Male AEI worker

It is now clear that there are multiple selection criteria that the farmers must meet to obtain a contract with CTC. These criteria mean that a large proportion of small-holder farmers will not be able to access CTC's services, but, because the company is commercial and privately funded, these criteria are in place to ensure that the company remains commercially viable. Although this does not immediately point towards an inclusive, supportive, longer-term development approach, it is important to note that several of the farmers who are currently working for CTC explained that the company supports them where they can to help them meet the company requirements before farmers are contracted. CTC supports farmers in the following areas before they are contracted:

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<sup>3</sup> Anyone one growing tobacco must register with the Tobacco Industry and Marketing Board (TIMB). Once registered, the farmer will receive a grower number which is used for estimation of grower numbers and crop size by the TIMB. Failure to obtain a grower number results in fines or imprisonment (TIMB 2015).

1. Supporting in barn building:

*'Sometimes they (CTC AEI Workers) can actually lend you a barn if they think you need one.'*

- 113, CTC Male TA member

*'We go to our group trainings and train them (CTC TA members). We do daily visits where train them to build barns ... if they attend our trainings in advance, they will know what the selection criteria is.'*

- 101, CTC Male AEI worker

2. Providing smaller, more affordable and transparent loans:

*'The difference is that the CTC loans are lower than those of other companies and they are affordable to the farmer ... it is different from [other tobacco companies] whose loans are above ours, and they will be a burden to the farmers, but sometimes the farmers would just get contracted because they won't have many options to choose from.'*

- 106, CTC Male AEI worker

*'A receipt is given declaring how much the farmer is given and how much it is worth unlike other tobacco [companies] which give contracts where growers don't actually know how much the inputs and the contract is worth. We are very transparent. Whatever a farmer receives there is a cost to it so that growers can be confident in making a decision to take the contract.'*

- 103, CTC Male AEI worker

3. Supporting non-contracted farmers to quality check production before contracting them:

*'Yes, first year, they (CTC AEI workers) work with you and they go sell your produce. Next year, when they have gathered your history, they give you a loan.'*

- 115, CTC Male TA member

4. Allowing farmers who are not contracted to attend any training the company delivers:

*'Everyone is (allowed to attend training), even not CTC contracted growers are encouraged to attend trainings. Why? Is because at the end of the day those (near) our growers, their tobacco will end up coming through to us so, if that is going to happen, we rather have them know what we want and also in the next season they may also be contracted to us so we would rather have everyone know what CTC wants.'*

- 101, CTC Male AEI worker

This support is important as it showcases some of the benefits of having a mutually beneficial arrangement between AEIs and the TA because, if managed well, the TA has the opportunity to access small manageable contracts, and farmers who do not immediately meet the selection criteria have the opportunity to upskill themselves to get to a point of meeting those criteria in the future. This point leads into a wider, and well documented, debate about the role that contract farming could play in terms of wider agricultural development is out of the scope of this study, but an important point for reflection.

It is now clear that CTC is driven by making a profit and by market competition. This means that the training content and delivery is driven by wider market trends and developments. In doing so, CTC must respond to and work with the Tobacco Industry Marketing Board (TIMB). As noted on the website (TIMB, 2018), the TIMB controls and regulates the marketing of tobacco, collates statistical information of tobacco production, and distributes information and market studies about the crop:

*'We are lucky in Zimbabwe because we have a central source of information from the tobacco marketing board. All the tobacco being sold in Zimbabwe goes through a certain database being managed by the Tobacco Industry Marketing Board ... All the data is there, and all the growers have a copy of this data and CTC also has access to that database'.*

- 103, CTC Male AEI worker

The TIMB is relevant to this study because, as part of its administration and control of the tobacco delivery system, it plays a vital role in allocating farmers growers' number, which they must have to sell their crop:

*'The company made an arrangement that we just send a copy of the farmers ID to the CTC offices in Harare then [one of the directors] goes to TIMB and processes the farmers growers numbers while the farmer is at his or her home, and then the farmer gets their*

*grower number which we can later use to give the farmer their contract and which a farmer can later use to sell their tobacco'*

- 105, CTC Male AEI worker

In addition to the TIMB, CTC is also governed by other external factors such as the market demands and competitor companies (noted in Figure 5.4).

The commercial dynamic of CTC and the need to meet market regulations and competition means that the communication process is assessed by the outcome of TA members repaying their loan with quality tobacco. This means that there are consequences for the AEI workers should they not perform well:

*'Yes [the leaf tech] usually sets targets for [themselves] ... for example [they might tell themselves] that 98% of [their] farmers should sell their tobacco successfully.'*

- 106, CTC Male AEI worker

*'If the farmer produces well, obviously the leaf tech will receive a bonus and if the farmer doesn't grow well then there is a lot of pressure on the leaf tech ... It's that point where, for the Leaf Tech to win, he needs to make his bonus and he needs to keep his job and make a bonus at the end of the year. It's incentivizing him and the grower has to think "Well, I am getting something out this" otherwise, you know, in a very short time he thinks "I will go across to the other company..."'*

- 103, CTC Male AEI worker

Consequences such as not obtaining their bonuses if the AEI workers fail to persuade the TA to implement CTC's advised farming practices have direct implications for the communication approaches used (detailed in Chapter 6) and supports the reasons as to why CTC AEI workers are highly selective of which farmers they choose to work with. These consequences speak to the framework category of 'rules' and play an important role in AEI workers being able to meet their roles and responsibilities, and in keeping them motivated to perform well.

### **5.1.2 CTC organisational structure**

Having provided a broad overview of key external driving factors of CTC, it is now possible to examine the internal organisational structures in more detail.

The organisational structure (Figure 5.4) shows the people who are involved in the communication activities of CTC. The internal organisation of CTC consists of a hierarchical



set up involving the administration team which is based in Harare (often referred to as the 'town' admin team), Agronomists, Area Managers, Leaf Technician Supervisors (LTSs), Leaf technicians (LTs) and Trainee Leaf Technicians. The varying roles and responsibilities of these positions are detailed in Table 5.1.

As shown in Figure 5.4 and confirmed by interviewee 105, the line of management and reporting follows a hierarchical arrangement:

*'We have to produce results because there is a protocol which we use. I am a Leaf Tech, and there is a Senior Leaf Tech above me, and there is a Supervisor above the Senior Leaf Tech until we reach ... the Agronomist who manages our small-scale scheme. So, all these seniors should be able to see what came out of our trainings and demonstrations. For example, we take pictures and send to them via WhatsApp group with the Senior Leaf Tech, and the Senior Leaf Tech has to send that picture to the supervisor who then later sends the picture to the Agronomist and the head office in Harare.'*

- 105, CTC Male AEI worker

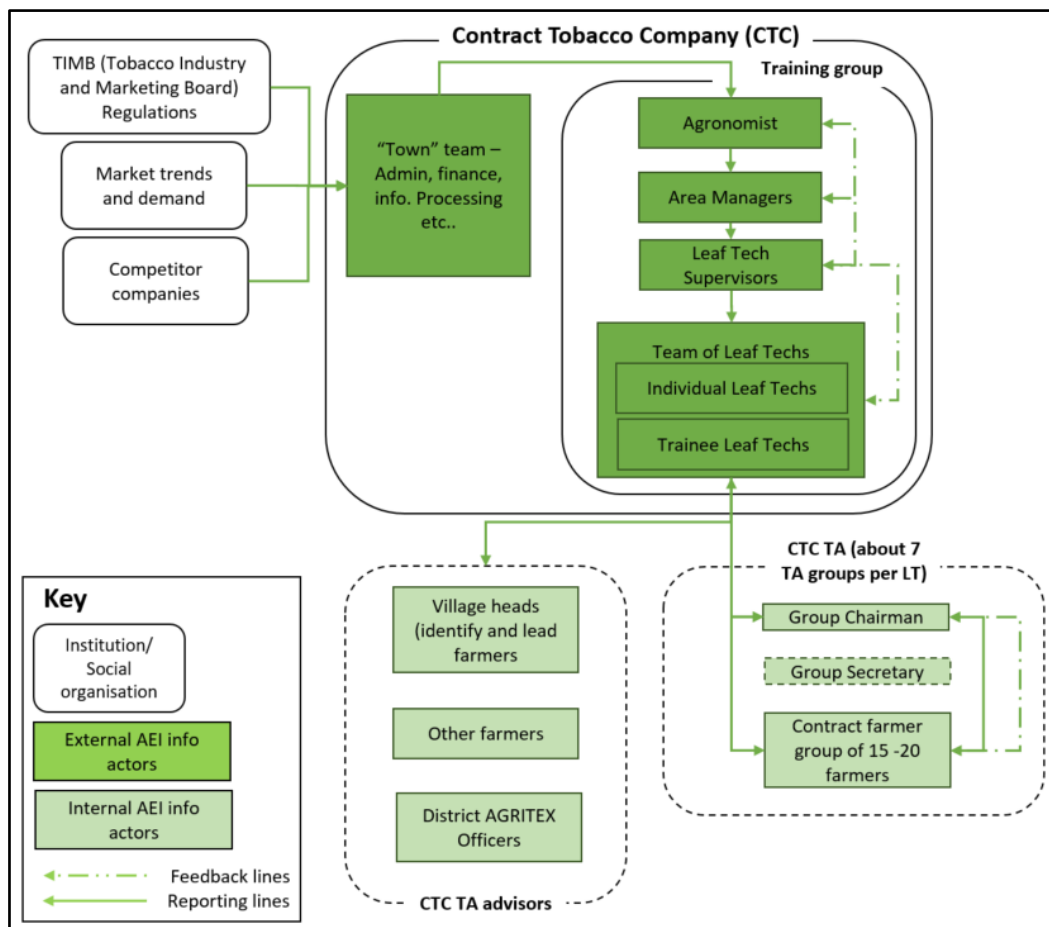


FIGURE 5.4: CTC ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

The set of people defined by interviewee 105 that include the LTs, the LTSs, the Area Manager, and the Agronomist are essentially the ‘field’ team, meaning that this group of people are directly involved in recruiting and training the contract framers. Because of this, this study will focus on these roles within CTC.

As noted in more detail in Table 5.1, the Agronomist’s key responsibilities are to oversee and manage the field team providing them with group training sessions on how and what to train the TA members on. They are also expected to keep up with wider market trends and demands and alter or design training according to this. The Area Manager sits underneath the Agronomist. The key responsibilities of the Area Manager include supporting all of the LTs with workload management and monitoring their performance on the ground. There are three Area Managers who are each assigned to different geographical areas. The LTSs directly line manage the LTs and are there to support LT training and monitor their work producing reports to feed up to the Area Manager. Finally, the LTs are the direct link to the TA members as they deliver training to the TA, are involved in the farmer recruitment and are responsible for ensuring that farmers follow CTC’s training advice and pay back their loans. There was mention that CTC also has positions for Trainee Leaf Technicians as a way of upskilling individuals into the LT role.

TABLE 5.1: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CTC AEI WORKERS

<b>Role</b>	<b>Responsibilities</b>	<b>Illustrative quotation</b>
Agronomist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recruit and train all LT’s</li> <li>• Manage all LTS</li> <li>• Keep up with market trends and research to ensure that the design of the training meets market requirements</li> </ul>	<p><i>‘[The agronomists] key responsibility is ensuring that that [the] team in the field runs efficiently and viably. The key responsibility of [their] job is to ensure that contract farmers, through a team of field workers, will firstly pay us [CTC] back our debt, but more importantly, pay us back our debt in the form of tobacco sold to the company.’</i></p> <p>- 123, Male CTC AEI worker</p>
Area Manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communicate training plans from the Agronomist to the LTS</li> <li>• Lead LTS and LTs by example and support work plans</li> <li>• Conduct field visits to check training quality</li> <li>• Collect all LTS reports and share with the Agronomist</li> </ul>	<p><i>‘From [the Agronomist, The Area Manager] will gather this knowledge [on operational procedures and how to train the growers] ... and pass it down towards our growers ... [The Area Manager] has to communicate this [information] with [their] team very effectively to motivate and inspire them. Likewise, this information passes from [The Area Manager] to the LTS to the LT to the farmers ... [The Area Manager] role is to manage and lead from behind ... [The Area Manager and the LT team] meet on Saturday every week to discuss, draw up the work to be covered in the following seven days and then everyone goes to the field to deliver the information and also perform practical trainings ... [The Area</i></p>

<b>Role (cont.)</b>	<b>Responsibilities (cont.)</b>	<b>Illustrative quotation (cont.)</b>
Leaf Technician Supervisor (LTS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Directly manage the LTs</li> <li>• Monitor training delivered by the LTs</li> <li>• Collate all LT reports and give them to the Area Manager</li> </ul>	<p><i>Manager] does follow-ups – [They] will go with an LTS to the field to see what he is doing in his area.’</i></p> <p>- 103, Male CTC AEI worker</p> <p><i>‘It is up to the LTs to ensure that the registration procedure is correct and [the LTS] will go around and check if those procedures are being followed ... As [The LTS] goes around, [they] check and ensure that the correct training is done and have to monitor that the LTs do the correct training. So, from seedbeds up to marketing, you are looking at 5/6 trainings and bi-weekly trainings across 450 farmers across [each LTS’s] three LTs and [the LTS].’</i></p> <p>- , Male CTC AEI worker</p>
Leaf Technician (LT)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deliver technical farming information</li> <li>• Monitor TA performance and attendance</li> <li>• Perform demonstrations</li> <li>• Generate daily reports for the LTS</li> <li>• Recruit farmers to CTC</li> </ul>	<p><i>‘The LT is the actual appointed person in CTC who does the recruitment.’</i></p> <p>- 103, Male CTC AEI worker</p> <p><i>‘[The LT] has to see each of [their] 150 farmers twice a month ... as a LT in [their] area of operations. Usually [the LT] invites [their] supervisor the LTS and sometimes [they] invite ... other LTs to assist in the training.’</i></p> <p>- 102, Male CTC AEI worker</p> <p><i>‘[LTs] also have a training attendance registry so [they] make sure that every farmer is there and if a farmer is not there for any reason, that farmer is the one to target on the next site visit ... It is up to the LTs to ensure that the registration procedure is correct.’</i></p> <p>- 101, Male CTC AEI worker</p>

As noted in Table 5.1 by interviewee 102, each LT supervises an average total of 150 contracted farmers. These farmers are grouped into 15 – 20 people and are expected to fulfil their contractual agreements with CTC by growing quality tobacco by following what they are told in CTC trainings and then selling the crop back to CTC. Each group has an allocated Group Chairman who is the main link between the TA and LTs and is an information source and a liaison point between the two, supporting the coordination of the CTC training sessions. In some cases, the groups also have a Group Secretary who supports the Group Chairman. Also playing an important role in CTC’s work, but separate to the farmer groups and therefore not directly under the LT supervision, are the Village Heads, local AGRITEX workers<sup>4</sup>, and other farmers in the area. These three groups of actors play a vital role in supporting the LTs’ recruitment by recommending who would be good growers. This means that this group holds a position of power alongside the CTC AEI workers. The key roles and responsibilities of these people are noted in the table below:

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<sup>4</sup> AGRITEX workers the national extension workers who directly engage with the farmers and are responsible for implementing of agricultural interventions and the extension training. See 4.5.2.

TABLE 5.2: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN CTC TARGET COMMUNITIES

Role	Responsibilities/actions	Illustrative quotation
Contract farmer/ Grower	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attend CTC training sessions</li> <li>• Follow CTCs growing instructions</li> <li>• Grow tobacco and sell it to CTC thereby repaying their loan and fulfilling their contractual agreement</li> </ul>	<p><i>'If [the] farmer doesn't come to the training, at the end of the season there is going to be a default on his/her loan because obviously, he is not going to do what he was told to do ... At the end of the season, as we are paying these farmers, they need to repay their loans.'</i></p> <p>- 101, Male CTC AEI worker</p> <p><i>'We contract farmers ... that will firstly pay us back our debt but more importantly, pay us back our debt in the form of tobacco sold to the company.'</i></p> <p>- 123, Male CTC AEI worker</p> <p><i>'All they (CTC) need is their money, in fact, all they want is the tobacco. They usually say they don't have insurance, so all they do is to come and look at your farming area, to look at the reasons why it failed, but still the loan you will have to pay.'</i></p> <p>- 115, Male CTC TA member</p>
Group Chairman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The key contact point in the community for the LTs</li> <li>• Relay information to all TA members in the CTC group about CTC training times and places</li> <li>• A point of contact and information for other TA members in the group</li> <li>• Report TA member issues back up to the LTs</li> <li>• Ensure that CTC trainings do not clash with any other NGO activities</li> </ul>	<p><i>'The chairman is from the area and is someone who is knowledgeable and the star leader from the group so, when we send a message, the group gets information, and also information is passed up through the leaf tech.'</i></p> <p>- 103, Male CTC AEI worker</p> <p><i>'They (CTC LTs) call the Chairman, then he is responsible for disseminating the information to other members. Usually, [the chairman's] groups are divided into clusters that are easily accessible.'</i></p> <p>- 110, Male CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'If it takes long to get help from the extension workers I can always go and ask the group chairman for ideas.'</i></p> <p>- 109, Female CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'As a group, we inform the chairman. He will then forward this information to the company. The chairman gives us feedback as to whether our suggestions or grievances have been taken on board.'</i></p> <p>- 113, Male CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'[The LT's] ask the group chairman if they have any group trainings on particular times [from NGOs] and ensure that [they] do trainings when there is no clash.'</i></p> <p>- 101, Male CTC AEI worker</p>
Group Secretary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support the Group Chairman if required</li> </ul>	<p><i>'[The LT's] may also bring in a group secretary if the leaf tech wants to appoint a group secretary.'</i></p> <p>- 101, Male CTC AEI worker</p>
Village head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide advice to the LTs on which farmers in the areas are reliable and which are not</li> </ul>	<p><i>'[CTC] has some trusted leaderships in the communities. When [the LT's] have the names (of the farmers), [they] consult with them about the farmers. If they know the farmer, they help to guide [the LT's].'</i></p> <p>- 102, Male CTC AEI worker</p>

<b>Role (cont.)</b>	<b>Responsibilities/actions (cont.)</b>	<b>Illustrative quotation (cont.)</b>
District AGRITEX officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide advice to the LTs on which farmers in the areas are reliable and which are not</li> </ul>	<i>'From the government extension workers, [the LT's] get information concerning good farmers to work with.'</i> - 106, Female CTC AEI worker
Other farmers in the area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The LTs can use other farmers to support the AGRITEX and Village Heads recommendations on farmers to recruit</li> </ul>	<i>'Whenever [the LT's] get the information (from the Village Head) that he (the farmer) is bad, [they] will not just accept it because some people hate each other. [The LT's] will go around making further investigations. When [they] find 3 or 4 people saying the same rumour then [they] know this farmer is no good.'</i> - 102, Male CTC AEI worker

It is clear through this structural analysis that there are strong power arrangements within CTC in terms of hierarchical reporting lines (identified in Figure 5.4), and penalties for under-performance. However, it is also important to note that there are power structures between CTC and the TA. The contractual arrangements between the TA and the company immediately place power relations and structures between the company and the growers, but, in the case of CTC, this appears to be a two-sided power structure because both need each other. Other power structures present include the pivotal position that the national agencies such as TIMB and AGRITEX play in determining how CTC operates. TIMB enforces marketing policies that CTC must adhere to, and AGRITEX positions itself as the gatekeeper to accessing farmers. Similarly, it must also be noted that AGRITEX and community leaders hold a position of power due to their role in the recommendation of farmers that CTC should work with. These power arrangements can be viewed in the types of power presented by (Rowlands, 1997) and are shown in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5. shows that TIMB and AGRITEX have power over CTC because CTC has to report to TIMB and follow their guidelines, and CTC relies on AGRITEX to support their engagement with the farmers. This dynamic means that these institutions have the power to limit CTC's progress. There is a two-way power over arrangement between CTC and the CTC TA. This has been classed as both having power over one another because they rely on each other's services to perform and engage in the contract farming and production of Tobacco. CTC has power over the TA to contract and pay them, whilst CTC TA members have power over CTC to not meet production requirements, thereby limiting the commercial progress of the institution. Finally, it must be recognised that AGRITEX also holds power over the TA members because they have the power to advise CTC which farmers to engage with or not. These power relations play a vital role in dictating how the company operates and why they are structured as they are.

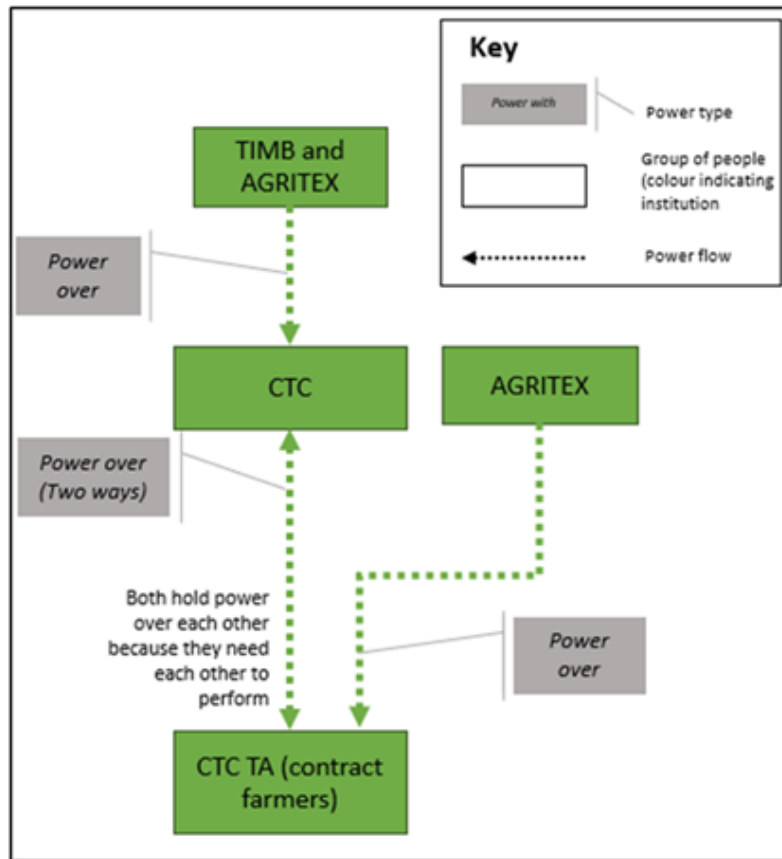


FIGURE 5.5: POWER ARRANGEMENTS OF CTC (ADAPTED FROM (ROWLANDS, 1997))

### 5.1.3 CTC internal roles and gender

At the time of this study, the Agronomist and all Area Managers and LTS were males. Only one LT was female who was working as a Trainee Leaf Technician at the time:

*'Last season only 1 lady was employed out of 55 [AEI workers]. Actually, she was the first lady to be interviewed for a job as an [AEI worker] at CTC.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker (Supplement interview)

This heavy gender imbalance was readily recognised by all CTC AEI worker interviewees with many confirming that having a female leaf technician was a new venture, and some explaining that this was a trial or a test to see how a female AEI worker performed:

*'Mine was a trial, they want to see if ladies can perform... It is only me in the whole country and everyone at the office knows it.'*

- 106, Female CTC AEI worker

*'For the past number of years, we had no female leaf tech, the one we have started this year. They want to see how a female leaf tech performs from her. Then I am sure, as time goes on, they will take more women.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

The passive response shown by interviewee 104 indicates that there is an acceptance of the current status quo, which could pose potential stalls on the necessary active change to support gender equality.

Despite having only one female AEI worker, it is clear from the comments made that this is deemed a large step for the tobacco contract companies. The effect of the internal gender arrangements on the target audience will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7, but it is important to evaluate the reasons why the gender imbalance in this area is so high.

The reasons behind this imbalance are numerous and provide some detailed insights into some of the gender norms that are found throughout the Zimbabwean social structure. The most frequently identified reason for this gender imbalance was that the job is physically demanding with 4 out of 7 of the CTC AEI workers identifying this:

*'Agronomy tends to be male-dominated because the nature of the job is highly demanding because you have to be on the motorbike all day every day and you can imagine that being done by a lady would be very challenging... This job is labour intensive, so women tend to prefer to be in the office than the field.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

*'There are few female Leaf techs. Maybe it is challenging for them to ride a bike for a long distance, I think so just because they are not restricted from applying or to be employed, but maybe the females see it as a challenge to ride a bike for some long distance.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

*'The other thing is how does my team get around? They get around on a motorbike. In normal society out in the rural areas ... how many ladies ride bikes? The only ones you will find riding bikes are the people doing that job. It's as you know that lady has to be strong, a lot stronger than her male counterpart.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

3 out of 7 AEI workers noted that women prefer other 'less demanding' jobs, such as administration as quoted by interviewee 103:

*'To be honest with you here in Zimbabwe ... women tend to say, 'agricultural work is so tough' and for this new generation that we have, they often want soft collar jobs like being a teacher or a nurse. So, to go to an agricultural college would be the last option to take. We are also getting fewer and fewer agricultural diploma or trained people on the market.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

This claim implies females are less likely to be qualified for the job because they will be trained in other areas of their choosing. However, the reasons underpinning female job preference are likely to be dictated by more complex social structures than indicated by interviewee 103. One of these is noted by interviewee 509 who says that women often feel unable to do demanding job roles because of the familial obligations:

*'We as women we restrict ourselves because of the roles in the family and biologically we shy away from more pressing commitments because we can't compromise our role.'*

- 509, Female Zimbabwean Agricultural Specialist

It is not unreasonable to deduce that these gender obligations play a role in female engagement in the job as an agricultural extension worker.

The issue of physical safety of female AEI workers was raised by one CTC AEI worker because, in CTC, the AEI workers need to work at night during the selling season to ensure that no side marketing is happening:

*'When it comes to the time of marketing and selling tobacco we don't have [set] hours ... I can even wake up at 1.00 am to make a follow up with the growers. So, we have to make follow-ups in the night because some of them bail the tobacco in the night ... So, it's difficult for a woman to ride a bike during the night, it's risky to drive a bike during the night.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

Women would be more vulnerable in operating at night than men due to the wider patriarchal societal norms mentioned in Section 4.2.1, and if confrontation is needed, this is likely to place females in more danger than males. Linked to this, interviewee 123 notes that because of the wider social norms, females face difficulties around relational jealousy



and potentially sexual harassment and often must overcome assumptions around women being promiscuous:

*'Because it's a male-dominated society, a lot of the ladies (within the TA) also think that this woman (the AEI worker) is here to steal their husband. There are all sorts of factors that I don't understand, but I do see in the majority of cases that ladies find it very difficult ... It's immediately seen in the circles that she must have had some form of relationship with one of the supervisors to get that position ... Sexual harassment, you know, it's one of those issues that happens. The problem is keeping it at a professional level in this society where we live in.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

It is also noted by one of the AEI workers that there are difficulties of men listening to women and women listening to women:

*'Socially ladies find it very difficult in the agricultural environment simply because it's a male-dominated society. Men don't want to be seen to be listening to women ... women don't want to be seen to be listening to women, even more so than men sometimes.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

Whilst this will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 7, the power balances between genders are said to make this type of work challenging for females operating in a patriarchal setting, and, as noted by Gender Specialist interviewee 502, there remains judgement, social punishment and lack of respect between women themselves:

*'Here there are a lot of things that go on with us as women ... We also do judge each other ... We do judge because we carry our own traditions from home and we also carry them into the workplace... You can tell by the stares when you say something.'*

- 502, Female Zimbabwean Gender Specialist

Linked to this, interviewee 104 notes that another barrier to women taking on this post is a lack of confidence in being able to apply for the job, and that CTC did not previously actively encourage female applicants:

*'But all the while we had no female leaf tech...I think the belief of the company ... never tried to associate male and female workers in extension work, they had not tried it in the past. So, it's very fortunate that, this year, they considered it and found a qualified female in Bindura who can be a Leaf Tech. So, she was asked to submit her papers and*

*she was accepted. This means that maybe women were afraid as well to submit their qualifications and the company as well was not concerned.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

It must be noted that, so far, all these reasons have been presented by male CTC staff. The only female was interviewed, and the primary reason given by her for the limited number of female employees was that men believe that women are lazy, and therefore do not give them the chance of operating in this male-dominated space:

*'I think they (men) believe that women are lazy.'*

- 106, Female CTC AEI worker

This assertion is largely contested by the male CTC AEI workers with 3 out of 7 of them specifically noting that they felt that the job role could be carried out successfully by a female and displaying positive attitudes towards female AEI workers:

*'The (LT) roles that can be done by females can be done by males and the roles that can be done by males can also be done by females. Right now, we have some women who can drive buses which was not the case in the past, and I think gender equality is playing an important role. There is no more roles that are primarily for women or men ... I don't think a female leaf tech will fail anything. They can do everything. There is nothing difficult about the work we do.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

*'I am currently looking for a leaf tech in my region and we advertise to everyone, we don't discriminate against women. People must just hand in their applications and then independent interviews are conducted by our HR personnel in Harare. If the candidate has passed there, we accept. It's unfortunate but in my group, I do not have any ladies.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

*'It's not the company saying we don't employ women. I would love to. I don't have an issue with it. They are very interested parties when you get a bit of interaction at the professional level.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

Even though the reasons presented above are mostly by men, it is clear that there are multiple and systemic obstacles faced by any commercial tobacco company trying to

improve their internal gender imbalance. This is further exacerbated by CTC's primary function of making a profit, implying a fundamental need to have effective LTs on the ground. This is not to say that females could not do this job role. But rather that, due to wider societal norms and challenges addressed in Section 4.2, women are less likely to have the opportunity to develop the technical skills required because they are less likely to access a full education (United Nations Zimbabwe, 2014) and move into the traditionally male-dominated field of commercial agriculture (FAO, 2017). A key point that this discussion must note is that there has been a recent decrease of enrolment into agricultural courses in Zimbabwe, a trend is being reflected around the globe (Garwe, 2015). It is also noted that until the mid-1980s Zimbabwean agricultural colleges did not cater to women (FAO, 1994), and whilst there is limited information on current female enrolment rates, this presumably remains low which limits their opportunities to work for companies such as CTC.

The links between gender discourses that limit female participation in the LT role and those dominant gender discourses identified previously at structural level indicate that CTC's internal structure is both a product of wider dominant gender discourse, but also that these discourses are being circulated within CTC.

Even though there is a clear gender role imbalance presented by the CTC case, it is important to note that there is an open acknowledgement of this imbalance within the male employees, and that much of this imbalance is due to wider societal structures rather than an unwillingness to recruit women into the LT roles. The gender imbalance presented here exemplifies a clear example of how gender norms and associated gender inequalities are perpetuated throughout the whole societal structure and have a direct impact on women's ability to access certain job roles, but also institutions' ability to recruit women. CTC shows itself as an institution that is subject to and a product of wider dominant gender discourse and, because of its current gender structures, presents some difficulty in its ability to alter the recycled gender assumptions.

#### **5.1.4 External gender approach for CTC**

Having examined the internal gender structures of CTC it is important to comment on the gender approach used for their TA. It is made clear from 3 out of 7 AEI CTC interviewees that CTC does not target male or female farmers specifically, but that gendered roles within the TA affect who is able to participate:

*'If we look at our trainings, everyone is there to access the information. It's just when the tasks are divided that the men do certain things and the women do others.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

*'There is no criteria to say how many women or men have to be recruited. It's only that since some females were being blocked ... it was difficult for them to get the opportunity. But right now, with the number of growers that I have, I can say that 30% of my growers are female.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

*'CTC doesn't assist male farmers only, but they assist every farmer whether male or female... Looking at the present situation we are giving inputs starting at half a hectare to both women and men.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

It is also noted by interviewee 104 that CTC tries to contract both the wife and husband as a strategy to avoid side marketing:

*'We usually contract the men and the women ... If we do not contract both the man and wife you will find that in a household the man is working for CTC whilst the wife, for example, is working for [another company]. The threat is big for side marketing so if we get both the husband and wife under one house it's better.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

These assertions indicate that CTC is currently taking an external gender neutral approach.

3 of the 7 AEI workers also reported preferring to work with female farmers because they are noted as loyal and reliable and better to teach:

*'Women are actually more loyal farmers than the men because, in our society now, women are basically the backbone of the family ... Say in a family of eight children you will see that the female is the one who takes care of everyone. Besides the husband being there, you will see that the day to day tasks in the field such as weeding, or cropping is done by the women. So, when it comes to contract growers, I would prefer it all of my farmers were women because they are more loyal. They want to learn rather than the old guys and young men who are unreliable.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

*'The females are better just because they take it seriously. But the problem with males is that they may receive the information or the message whilst he is at the beer hall and he forgets about it.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

*'Female farmers are some of the most understanding people. They are the ones who ask more questions especially in my groups where I have females mixed with men. They would ask more important questions than men and perform very well in the field.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

It is also noted that women are better attendees than men. One reason for this could be that the farmers operate within gender roles dictating that women remain in the communities whilst men are away herding cattle or looking for other work:

*'Sometimes the husbands are away herding cattle whilst the wives have gone out to get wood so this means that attendance can be a problem. There is always a 10-20% absence which doesn't please us but it's difficult to correct.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

*'I also find that, in a lot of cases, even when it is the man who is the contracted party, the lady wants to be there to learn or to be involved. They are less likely to be the loudmouth know it all. They are very interested in going to the trainings, they want to find out about it, they are not normally the trouble causers ... Ladies in a lot of cases are the people who are doing the work. Ladies, especially in their cultural environment, are left to do the work, husbands go off they go to Botswana, South Africa, Zambia and they go to Harare or their town and ladies are left in rural areas.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

Another reason identified for the more positive qualities of the female farmers is that they have not had as many opportunities as men in the past and so make the most of it:

*'It's like, from the past it was difficult for them to access all those opportunities but right now they are getting the opportunity, so they want to utilize it. But men tend to take it for granted.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

Two of the CTC AEI workers suggested a need to target more female farmers in the future

because of the positive attributes noted above:

*'I think in the future I have to increase it to 50% or 60% just because women are easy to work with. They listen so much and whenever I instruct them to do whatever, when I make a follow-up, I see that it is done.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

*'If we can have 50% women and 50% men pushing for a common agenda then we can achieve better.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

However, despite AEI workers preferring to work with women, and the external gender neutral approach taken by CTC, more men are contracted in tobacco farming than women. 4 out of 7 CTC AEI workers say that they have more male than female farmers, and only one says the numbers are equal. Some of the reasons for this include the gendered nature of crops. Tobacco is typically a cash or commercial crop and therefore seen as a male crop:

*'Females are only venturing into tobacco production now, but previously they used to leave tobacco farming to males thinking it's a crop for men. It's only now when females are realising that they can as well do it, especially given that they can get a loan under contract farming ... Even though some women are participating, there are others who are still left behind and hesitant, and this affects the numbers of women participating in agricultural programmes.'*

- 105, CTC Male Leaf Tech

It is also noted by interviewee 101 that, historically, women have had less opportunity to be part of this commercial production than men because of the gendered nature of tobacco, and the role of women is, traditionally, growing subsistence crops for the household:

*'In Zimbabwe in the entire industry, it is tobacco that is the only crop that is growing so everyone now wants to grow tobacco because they know that they will definitely ... make something out of it. Rather than growing subsistence crops, people would rather grow tobacco and earn more money at the end of the season, so I think that women are now seeing that.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

These dynamics showcase a myriad of aspects that need to be dealt with to encourage equal participation on the ground level layer, many of which point to wider societal structures. Given this, it still must be concluded that despite CTC's external gender neutral approach, there remain more male farmers participating in this activity than females.

The training observed for CTC noted that participation of men and women was fairly similar in terms of attendance numbers with there being six women (some of which had children with them) and around four men not including the research team and AEI workers (Photograph 5.1). However, it was noted that, when asked to participate in the demonstrations, male TA members always did this.

Chapter 7 will further evaluate gender participation and engagement with TAs and the AEIs as part of the discussion of the effect of the gender approach identified here.



PHOTOGRAPH 5.1: CTC MALE AND FEMALE TA PARTICIPATION

### 5.1.5 Summary of CTC gender approaches

Because CTC is a commercial company, its main driver is to make a profit. This affects how the company chooses who to work with in their TA and who can be internally employed by them. Employees of CTC are expected to perform well, and their performance is continually assessed by the company leaders who hold positions of authority. The internal structure of the company is hierarchical to ensure that reporting and career progression lines are clear.

This positioning of CTC has implications on the gender targets both for internal and external recruitment. It is clear that CTC does not have specific targets for employing

equal numbers of men and women in the internal agricultural communication area of the company, and it remains clear that there are large, structural barriers for women to obtain the qualifications required to perform at the level CTC necessitates. It must also be noted that there are a set of gender normative narratives that are being recycled through current assumptions around female participation in these roles. Aspects such as safety and physical ability may sound reasonable, but women are capable of undertaking this role successfully, and more could be done internally to alter these discourses and overcome the general acceptance of the status quo. Having said this, there is also a clear willingness and mutual respect for women displayed in all of the AEI worker interviews. Such attitudes could support the starting point of providing a stable platform to begin to overcome gender imbalances by supporting positive discourses and thereby challenging wider dominant discourses. However, it must be acknowledged that such attitudes alone are not enough. This case study has shown that women continue to be underrepresented despite such discourses due to wide stereotypical norms. This indicates that a much more complex and holistic set of changes at all levels of society remains vital in properly improving gender equality.

Based on the analysis presented in this section and on Kabeer's SRF (Kabeer, 1994), it can be concluded that CTC's internal gender approach can be classified as a gender-aware, gender neutral approach. This is because it can be concluded that, although it does distinguish between men's and women's needs and priorities, it mostly leaves the distribution of job roles within the agricultural communication area largely unchanged with limited investment into structures that may increase female participation.

In terms of its external gender approach, CTC does not specifically have set targets in terms of male and female farmers but, because of wider contextual factors such as gendered cropping, opportunity constraints, and domestic commitments, there are currently more male farmers contracted than females. In terms of Kabeer's SRF, this places CTC's external gender approach also in the gender-aware, gender neutral approach because, although the company is aware of the gender dynamics on the ground-level, the interventions currently leave the existing distributions of resources and responsibilities largely unchanged.

Having defined CTC's gender approach within the SRF, it is important to reflect that the largest set of factors determining gender imbalance in both CTC's internal and external gender approach are less so caused by the approach taken by the institution, but rather a result of the wider contextual factors. These factors include limitations in female participation in education and the agricultural sector, and complex relations between



males and females that are embedded with power structures determining aspects such as the safety and the reputation of female participants.

## **5.2 Case study 2: Market Linkage Organisation (MLO)**

### **5.2.1 MLO organisational overview and organisational drivers**

Operating on donor funding, MLO was founded in 2010 through the FAO to create commercial opportunities for Zimbabwean farmers and link them to the market. They do this by facilitating partnerships between small scale farmers and private and public organisations:

*'What MLO does is marketing linkages. It doesn't get involved in other areas where other NGOs go but, typically, it goes to NGOs with sustainability [issues] and it helps them grow. So, we could have been tempted to get into production, water and sanitation but we just focused on markets ... We have had so much work on donor funding to continue just with the market's basic stuff.'*

- 200, Male MLO AEI worker

*'In our projects, mainly our work is to be a facilitator ... of linking farmers to markets ... It is important to build that trust and that is the role we are playing; to provide the knowledge to the farmers.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

*'We are a partnership trust and a local non-government organization... The other thing about MLO is that we are into development work. That is our core business. We link farmers to markets regardless of your religion or affiliation.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

In addition to the facilitating role, MLO also supports the process of negotiation and upskilling needed for small-holder farmers to meet the requirements of contracting and commercial companies:

*'We work with companies that have mature business models. It might not be technical, but financial management systems, and they are usually gaps ... that are a risk for small-holder farmers. So, we put experienced business skilled people from the external environment and they do come to help, especially on the business plan ... Then on the farmers side, definitely we assist them with training and contract farming, which is*

*going through the analysis of how a commodity can make money for them helping them through our field officers.'*

- 200, Male MLO AEI worker

Because of the facilitating role, MLO needs to be part of a consortium to ensure that all necessary areas of expertise are covered. This includes the technical expertise of the crop production and wider development expertise on areas such as nutrition and disease management:

*'We make sure that, for every project that we work for, we have a partner who is stronger on the production side of the extension ... as they bring in the expertise we don't have which is on production, disease management, and other components to do with nutrition.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

MLO positions itself as a temporary structure which means that it ultimately aims to leave the community directly engaging with the commercial company. MLO also actively engages with the permanent national extension service AGRITEX to promote the long-term sustainability of agricultural information services for farmers:

*'In the first year where we are introducing the crop, we are quite present on the ground, but we would want to fade away because we know in the future we are not there. So, in the second year and third year we try to give more responsibility to AGRITEX and the market, but these are the main trainings that we do – deliberately, we don't want to train on production. It is not our mandate. It is the AGRITEX mandate, so we would want them to do that. Even the company would want to do that. We are not the owners of the crops; we are not technical experts on the crop. Therefore, it is up to the company and AGRITEX especially when you come to the quality aspects and all that - the company has to discuss that.'*

- 209, Male MOL AEI worker

Because MLO is reliant on donor funds, donor priorities are a major external driver that dictates what and how MLO does its work. This means that the areas of the country MLO work in are determined by the donor priorities which are based on aspects such as poverty or malnutrition:

*'So, we get introduced to where they (the donors) want work to be done. So, they will have their own selection process like poverty or malnutrition or a number of different*

*things. Because we are market linkages, we have to join a consortium because donors want more work done than purer market linkages and they want production to be increased and we need that otherwise, we can't market.'*

- 200, Male MLO AEI worker

*'We get our funds from the donor community so if a donor ... put[s] up a call for a proposal outlining the major areas which the project is supposed to look into, ... we respond to that call by identifying districts that have got a need. So, before we engage into the project, we start to look for ... companies that might be interested and we also look into the agro-economic regions where the project is going to be working and other opportunities we can work on.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

This aspect differs from CTC because target areas of CTC are determined by the AEZ required to grow tobacco and, to some extent, by historical legacy. This situational difference is important because both have institutions have similar aims of producing commercially through contract farming, but differ because MLO is driven by farmer development, whereas CTC is driven by profit.

MLO works on multiple donor projects, but this study will focus on just one of these which sits under the umbrella of the Resilience Fund. For reasons of confidentiality, the project name will not be used. As noted by interviewee 209, the donor focus of the Resilience Fund is operating in the 18 most vulnerable districts of Zimbabwe. It is also noted by interviewee 209 that these districts were selected by UNDP who undertook a vulnerability ranking that was supported by local government structures to ensure that projects are aligned with larger, national policy priorities. Interviewee 209 also states that the project MLO is involved in is committed to reaching 30,000 farmers. This is another key difference between how CTC and MLO operate because CTC has no capped number of farmers it is trying to reach:

*'They put up a fund which is called the Zimbabwe Resilience Fund which is working in 18 districts in Zimbabwe. So ... we are only working in four [of these] districts ... For the districts that we are working in, it was UNDP that selected them and they did a vulnerability ranking of all of the districts in Zimbabwe and they selected the 18 most vulnerable districts and those are the ones that we are working in... Obviously, with the donor money, we are expected to reach a certain number of farmers. We signed a contract to reach 30,000 beneficiaries ... Once you get the project, you come down to*

*select the districts and the wards. This is done through the government stakeholders in the ... Rural District Council (RDC)... These other people ... help us to identify which wards should be concentrated on ... We work with our RDC because we are developing the district's wards. The RDC has the Strategic plan ... and based, on the budget, we see what we can do within that community.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Of the 18 vulnerable districts the Resilience Fund is targeting, the selected donor project is operating in the province of Matabeleland South in the districts of Nkayi, Bubi, Umguza, and Umzingwane (Figure 5.6). It has been noted that this project has benefited a total of 27,125 farmers, 10,654 of which are male, and 16,471 of which are female (The Zimbabwe Resilience Building Fund, 2018). The large beneficiary numbers indicate that this institution is playing a sizable role in delivering agricultural information to small-holder farmers in this part of Zimbabwe.

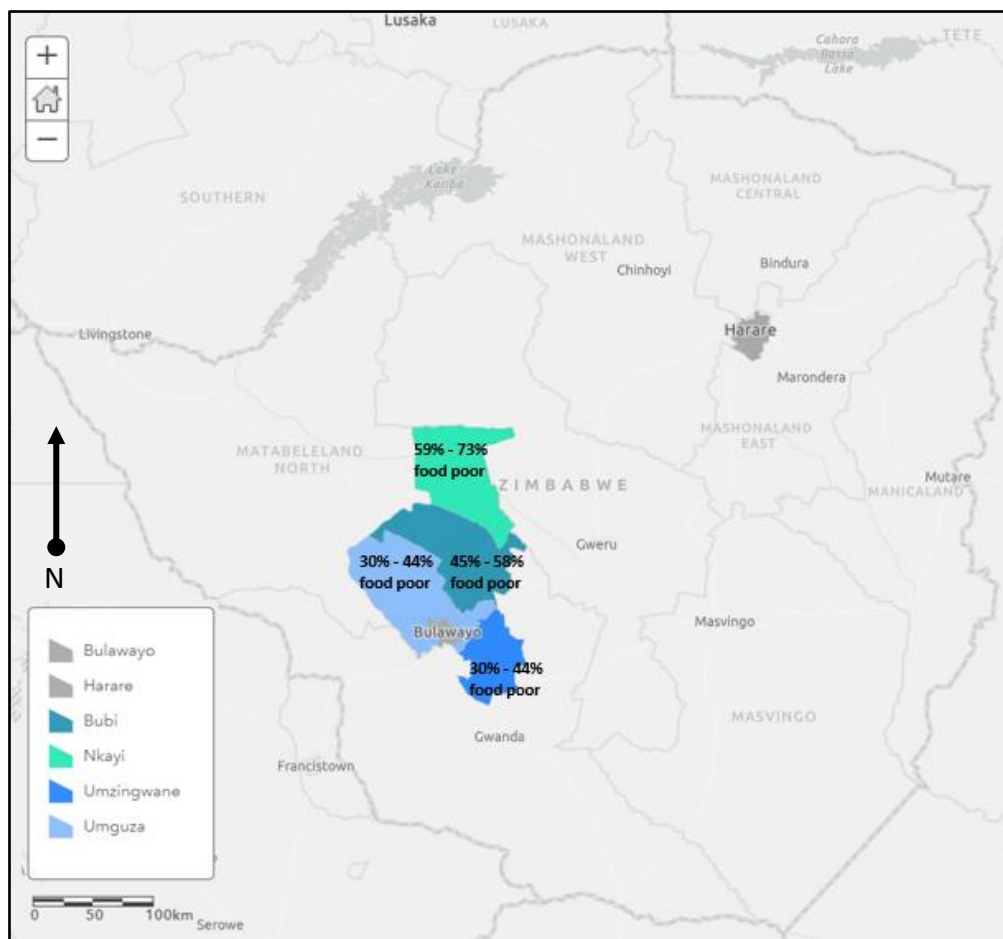


FIGURE 5.6: MLO TARGET DISTRICTS WITH FOOD POVERTY LEVELS

These are also regions of severe poverty levels with Umguza and Umzingwane having food poverty rates between 30 - 44%, Bubi having food poverty rates between 45 – 58% and

Nkayi being one of the poorest districts in the country with food poverty rates between 59 - 73% (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2016) (Figure 5.6).

These districts are all found in AEZs IV and V (Figure 5.7) which are the areas of lowest agricultural potential due to very limited rainfall:

*'There are key crops which we are looking at especially for this region; small grains is number one. We are obviously in region IV and V which produces little rains so small grains are suitable. Then it is a livestock area so, strategically, those are the crops we are looking at.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

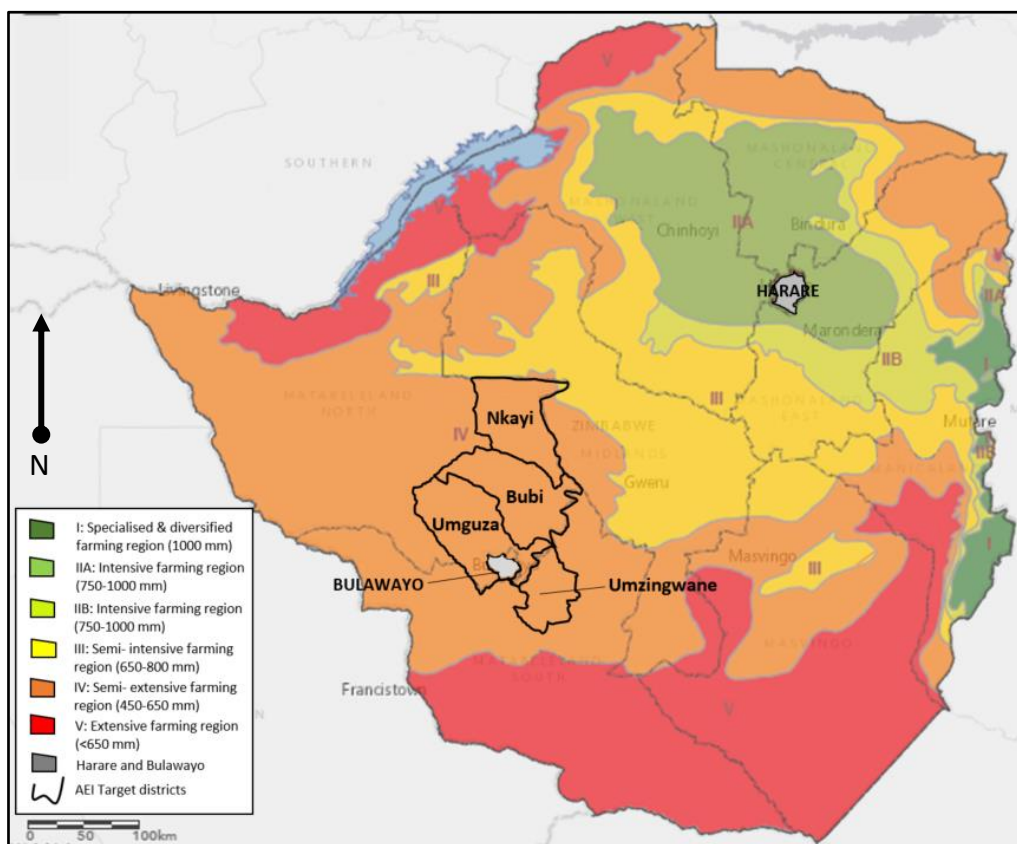


FIGURE 5.7: MLO DISTRICTS EXAMINED BY THIS STUDY AND AEZs ADAPTED FROM RELIEFWEB (2009): OCHA ZIMBABWE- AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES MAP)

The crop yield assessments of these areas show that they are extremely food insecure (The Zimbabwe Resilience Building Fund, 2018), with casual labour opportunities being the most important source of income followed by crop production (ibid). It is noted that the province of Matebeleland South has the most households in the country currently operating in emergency coping strategy levels which limits the ability of these households to be able to invest in future opportunities (ibid).

Working in this region, the selected donor project aims to improve resilience planning and productive infrastructure at an institutional level, improve and increase livelihoods and food security to better resilience, increase economic opportunities and market development, and strengthen social networks (The Zimbabwe Resilience Building Fund, 2018). The project has a specific communication strategy that aims to improve the digital literacy of their TA, increase the use of SMS extension and podcasts and videos, and engage with AGRITEX and the volunteer Community Resilience Champions (ibid). Although mostly outside of the scope of this study, aspects of this communication strategy will be examined as part of the communication approach analysis in Chapter 6.

This institution was chosen as a case study because of the partnerships process that MLO facilitates, as the market linkages play a key role in the skillset or information exchange processes to upskill and move farmers from subsistence to commercial producers. This dynamic positions MLO as an intermediary a bridge between the commercial approach of CTC, and the classic development assistance model displayed by CDO (Section 5.3).

### **5.2.2 MLO organisational structure**

Having provided an overview of MLO's positioning and the project scope, it is important to note that this study will be focusing on the agricultural communication aspect from the AEI to the TA which will be reflected in the organisational structure analysis (Figure 5.8). It should be noted that this structure varies for MLO depending on the project.

It can be observed that the organisational structure of MLO is less hierarchical than CTC and has several additional, outside actors who are more actively involved in the communication process. The inclusion of these additional parties is partly to do with MLO's role as a facilitator between commercial companies and the target communities, and partly to do with trying to overcome sustainability issues presented by short term donor-funded projects – an aspect that commercial interventions have less concern over.

The key internal people involved in the information exchange process include the Director, the Market Linkage Advisor and three Market Linkage Officers. The roles and responsibilities of these people are detailed in Table 5.3. The Director of MLO plays a vital role in competing for funding opportunities. He also works closely with the Market Linkage Advisor on undertaking market analysis which involves researching what crops can be sold to the market, what companies are able and interested in providing contract farming, and what crops would suit the environment their TAs operate in. Although they work closely together on the market research aspect, the Market Linkage Advisor reports

to the Director. The Market Linkage Advisor also collects information from and liaises with the Market Linkage Officers regularly, becoming the main link between the Market Linkage Officers and the Director. The Market Linkage Officers report to the Market Linkage Advisor about their activities on the ground, although the Market Linkage Advisor is also involved with delivering on the ground training. The Market Linkage Officers play a vital role on the ground with the communities by identifying target farmers, supporting community organisation and training processes, and connecting and coordinating with local AGRITEX officers and the commercial companies identified by the market analysis. Although the reporting lines and processes are less stringent than those identified in CTC, the Market Linkage Officers report to the Market Linkage Advisor and he reports to the Director. All these actors reported that a key part of their job is as a facilitator.

Table 5.3 shows that the MLO AEI workers play a vital role in connecting farmers and commercial companies and AGRITEX. They are positioned as the catalyst for these relationships to start and continue successfully. This model is built with the aim that these relationships and networks can continue once the project comes to an end. This means that there is an additional layer of communication actors that sit between the MLO AEI workers and the TA members. These key people are presented in Table 5.4.

The Company Officer provides the technical support required for the contract crop that is being grown by MLO TAs (in the TAs observed by this study, the crops included chillies and sesame). Technical support can include production specification and market requirements. As noted by interviewee 210 in Table 5.4, often these Company Officers are unable to be consistently on the ground with the TA which is most likely due to distance and work commitments, so the AGRITEX officers play a vital role in filling this gap. This means that the Company Officer is responsible for passing the technical information on to the AGRITEX officer. This process is initially facilitated by the MLO AEI workers. Because the AGRITEX officers are deemed to live in or near the local communities, they are then expected to pass this technical support onto the farmers in the absence of the Company Officer. The Company Officer, AGRITEX officers and MLO AEI workers form the Project Team.

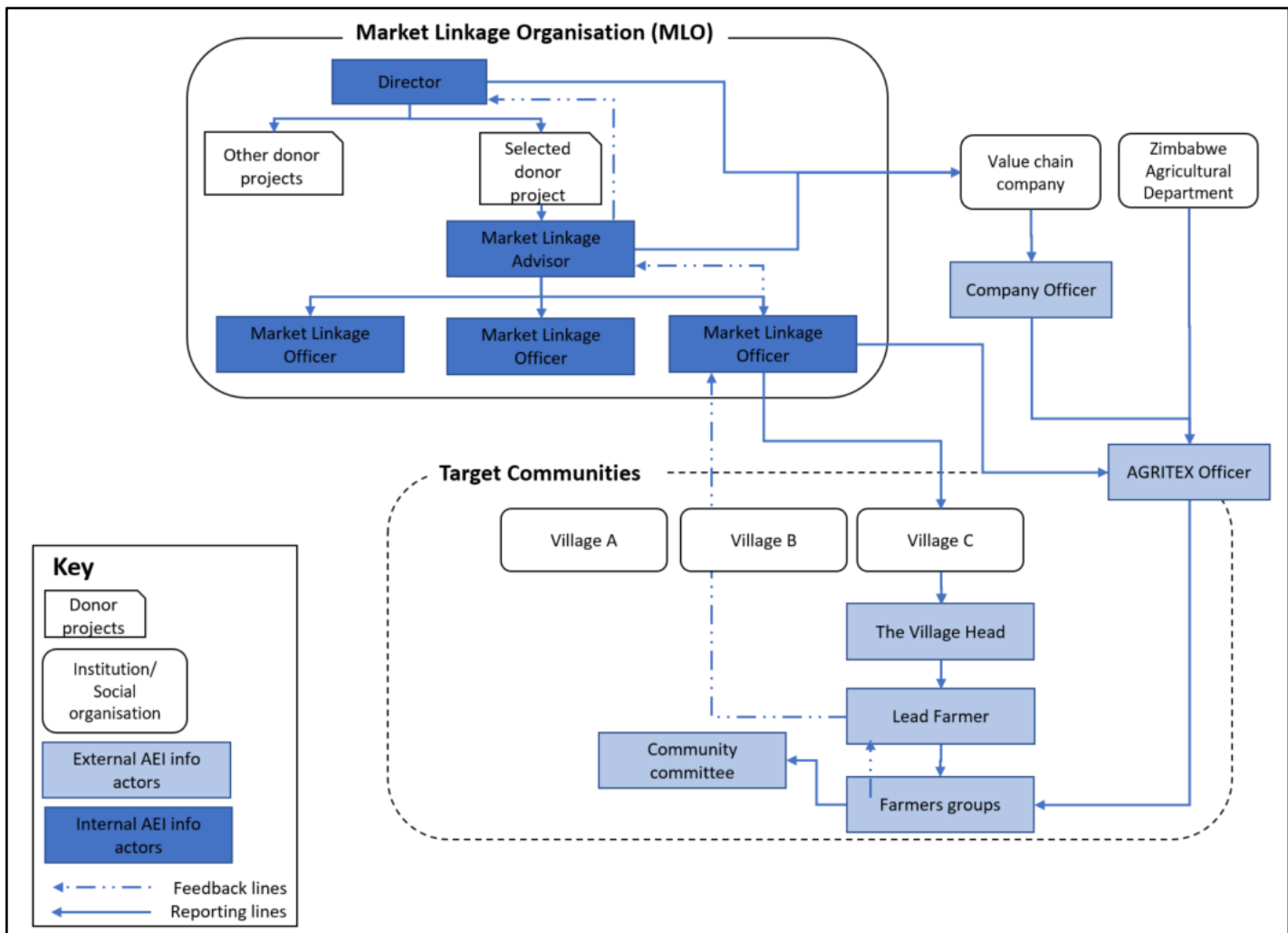


FIGURE 5.8: MLO ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE



TABLE 5.3: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF MLO AEI WORKERS

Role	Responsibilities	Illustrative Quotation
Director	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prepare and submit applications for donor grants</li> <li>• Recruit and manage the team</li> <li>• Work closely with the Market Linkage Officer to conduct market analysis and identify strategic crops and companies</li> </ul>	<p><i>'[When] there is a call for a proposal ... the lead organization who applied for the project finds collaboration with partners ... In our case for [MLO] ,... the ... director ... is the one who contributed to that application.'</i></p> <p>- 210, Male MLO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'When we first came into Matabeleland [the director and the Market Linkage Advisor] did market scoping studies to look into which value chains are already existing [and they] did a ranking of those value chains according ... the feasibility of growing this crop... [They worked out] if [they] can have a crop which [will] benefit 10 000 farmers so [they] will trade off how many farmers are going to be reached. Then the other component is to do with nutrition, can farmers consume that crop which is very important because [MLO] can't bring something that can't be utilized and as much as there is a market for that crop.'</i></p> <p>- 209, Male MLO AEI worker</p>
Market Linkage Advisor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct commercial market analysis with input from the Director and Market Linkage Officers</li> <li>• Coordinate between the companies and the communities</li> <li>• Feedback reports and updates from the Market Linkage Officers to the head office</li> </ul>	<p><i>'[The Market Linkage Advisor] is the one who will look at the markets in town and give us the numbers on the ground.'</i></p> <p>- 224, Female MLO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'The Market Linkage Advisor [is] working with a team of three field officers who are at the ground-level so [the director] is in Harare, and [the director and the Market Linkage Advisor] ... coordinate that with the current economic environment. The administrative town is Harare and all the markets and companies are based in Harare so [the Director and the Market Linkage Advisor] play a coordinating role where [the director] is with the companies in Harare... [the Market Linkage Advisor is] with the farmers and [they] exchange information and collaborate in that way.'</i></p> <p>- 209, Male MLO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'We have the Markets Linkage Advisor who is the coordinator and [they] will look at the markets in town and give [the Market Linkage Officers] the numbers on the ground.'</i></p> <p>- 224, Female MLO AEI worker</p>
Market Linkage Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identify potential and relevant crop markets within the communities</li> <li>• Identify of farmers able to engage in commercial production</li> <li>• Facilitate of the relationship between AGRITEX, farmers and the markets or commercial companies which often involves conflict management</li> </ul>	<p><i>'In our projects, mainly [the Market Linkage Officer's] work is to be a facilitator ... but the facilitation of linking farmers to markets. But there are critical components of making a value chain and a new crop successful. We need training, production and service markets.'</i></p> <p>- 209, Male MLO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'[The Market Linkage Officers] usually [do trainings] for value chains... [Their] purpose is to link farmers to the markets... If they feel like they can't resolve [conflict] on their own, that is when they call [the Market Linkage Officer] as their mediator to come and help them.'</i></p> <p>- 210, Male MLO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'If [the Market Linkage Officer] identifies that there are small grains but no market, [they] will then link the company to come down and buy from the farmers so that is [the Market Linkage Officer's] duty ... [Their] job is to identify the potential farmers who want to produce for marketing ... [and] to show them how to make a farm as a business ... [They] go around the ward and organise meetings with the</i></p>

<b>Role (cont.)</b>	<b>Responsibilities (cont.)</b>	<b>Illustrative Quotation (cont.)</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Plan, organise and conduct training with the TA members and with the markets alongside AGRITEX</li> <li>Report to the Market Linkage Officer</li> </ul>	<i>councillors and AGRITEX officers to share with them what [the project] is and what [they are] doing to try and ask them if they are having problems with marketing their produce ... If [the Market Linkage Officer] see[s] that the quantities are of a good size ... [they] will then communicate with companies.'</i> - 224, Female MLO AEI worker

TABLE 5.4: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF INFORMATION POINTS OF ACTORS BETWEEN MLO AND THE COMMUNITIES

<b>Role</b>	<b>Responsibilities</b>	<b>Illustrative quote</b>
Company Officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide the technical support about the crop they are contracting TA member to grow</li> <li>Train the relevant AGRITEX officers</li> </ul>	<i>'The markets or the companies will be doing technical support, but ... you may find that for this value chain system we don't have a resident officer, so he comes here and there. That is why [MLO] chose to work hand in hand with AGRITEX ... We will be facilitating the information flows from the Company Officer who is the specialist in that value chain. ... That specialist will be training farmers and because of time and ... pressure he cannot reach all the farmers. He or she shall train AGRITEX - a training for the trainers - so that these AGRITEX officers have been trained and then train the farmers. That is why [MLO is] working with the AGRITEX officers because they were trained by a company officer ... And then for the AGRITEX work to be easy for them to reach as many farmers as possible, [farmers are grouped] according to local geographical areas such as village A, Village B, and Village C.'</i> - 210, Male MLO AEI worker
AGRITEX Officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Undertake training from the Company Officer and provide continuous, specialist support to the TA members in the absence of the Company Officer</li> <li>Guide the allocation of Lead Farmers</li> </ul>	

Key people within the community structures who also play a role in the communication process include the Traditional Leaders or Village Heads, the Lead Farmers, and the committee. Their roles and responsibilities are noted in Table 5.5.

It is clear from Table 5.5 that the Village Heads hold significant power in determining access and influence within communities in Zimbabwe. Therefore, it is vital that they are involved with and positive about the projects to ensure access into the communities, and to support active engagement of the communities in the projects. Village Heads also play an important role as an intermediary between the communities and the Project Team representing and communicating the community needs MLO wants to the Project Team. They also play a role like the AGRITEX officers by identifying potential Lead Farmers. Lead Farmers are reported to be selected by the other farmers themselves as they need to be an accessible individual. However, there are also reports of the Lead Farmers needing to be 'the best' farmer which would be recommended by the local AGRITEX officers and local

TABLE 5.5: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF KEY INFORMATION ACTORS WITHIN THE MLO

COMMUNITIES

Role	Responsibilities	Illustrative quote
Village Head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enable access, and promote the projects to the farmers</li> <li>• Guide the wants and needs of the community</li> </ul>	<p><i>'The traditional leadership has so much power, so it is very important that the company or us put the traditional leadership in the loop so that they can enforce on the ground-level the importance of maintaining a good relationship with the buying companies. Traditional leaders play a critical role in ensuring this relationship between the farmers and the companies because we have had cases where the traditional leaders at large play a role in protecting each other to say that "We want this buyer in our community."'</i></p> <p>- 209, Male MLO AEI worker</p>
Lead Farmer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Distribute training materials</li> <li>• Lead by example</li> <li>• Act as a point of contact for the rest of farmers and call farmers meetings and mobilise the farmers</li> </ul>	<p><i>'There will be a lead [farmer]... and when training materials are delivered they will pass through the lead farmers ... the [selection] process (of the lead farmer) is being spearheaded by AGRITEX and the community leaders such as the village head, because they are the ones who know the dynamic of their community ... So, if the lead farmer calls a meeting, all the other farmers are able to access the meeting. So, they [the farmers] choose their own farm leader.'</i></p> <p>- 210, Male MLO AEI worker</p>
Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support and attend training sessions</li> <li>• Manage community savings</li> </ul>	<p><i>'For the implementation (of trainings) ... there's obviously a committee and a lead farmer from amongst the farmers, but they are not part of MLO.'</i></p> <p>- 210, Male MLO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'If we have challenges with our irrigation, we report it to [the project team] to ask for assistance, or, if we are able as committee members, we can contribute a certain amount and purchase the part for the irrigation.'</i></p> <p>- 212, MLO Female TA member</p> <p><i>'If we had a problem with our engine of part of the irrigation equipment we could as members of the committee take out money to buy the part that's needed for the machine to work.'</i></p> <p>- 215, MLO Female TA member</p>
TA members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-organise in groups</li> <li>• Attend trainings</li> <li>• Assist other farmers</li> </ul>	<p><i>'They (the Project Team) told us that they were interested in working with us as long as we were in groups. They gave us a form to fill in and we filled it in and soon after these formalities were done we started working with them'</i></p> <p>- 206, MLO Female TA member</p> <p><i>'[The Project Team] asked us to group ourselves and we were given certain projects to do ... The [Project Team] tells us well in advance if the workshop is for a day or if it will take up more than two days to give us time to prepare at our households before attending the training.'</i></p> <p>- 203, MLO Female TA member</p> <p><i>'What we do as farmers is, we get ourselves into groups so as to assist each other in out fields.'</i></p> <p>- 204, MLO Female TA member</p>

leadership. Although MLO operates differently to CTC, both AEs work with the traditional leadership systems in similar ways. They also both rely on the AGRITEX officers to provide information about the local farmers. The Committee has a less clear role than the Village Head and the Lead Farmer, and this may be because there often different types of committees within communities. The Committee referred to by the MLO TA members and AEI workers here is most likely to be the Irrigation Committee which has some role in managing community savings, but doesn't seem to play a particularly important role in the information exchange process in this setting.

The TA members are asked to organise themselves into groups so that they can support one another and work together. They are also expected to attend training sessions and provide basic information for project reports.

It is clear through this structural analysis that there are some power arrangements within MLO that must be acknowledged.

Figure 5.9 shows that the traditional leadership and AGRITEX hold power over MLO because MLO needs their approval and support to access their TAs. MLO and the contract companies have a power with arrangement because, by working together, they benefit each other's goals (MLO to support small holder farmers into commercial production, and the contract companies to contract farmers who can produce their product needed for market). The contract companies have power over the MLO TA because they have the power to determine the contract regulations, and the choice of which farmers to contract. Whilst there may be a two-way power over arrangement between these two as with CTC and their TA members (the TA's have an element of power over because the company relies on their production of the contracted product), this aspect was not explored in enough detail in this case study to confirm this. Finally, Figure 5.9 shows that MLO has a power to arrangement with the MLO TA members. This is because MLO provides their TA's with the contacts and associated skillset to engage in commercial production should they want to, but it is up to the TA members to act on this.

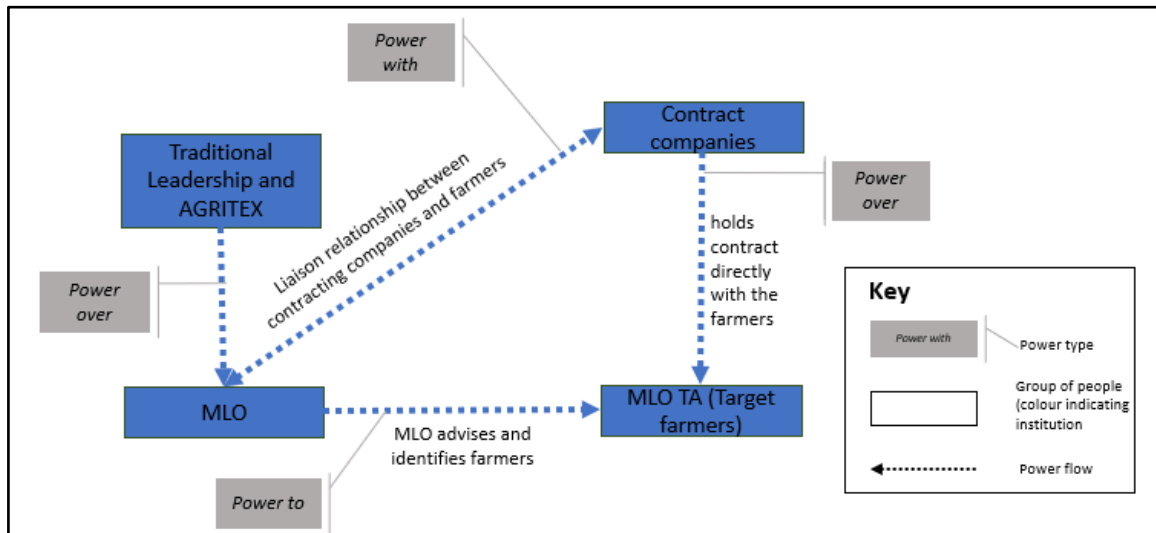


FIGURE 5.9: POWER ARRANGEMENTS OF MLO (ADAPTED FROM (ROWLANDS, 1997))

Comparatively, it can be observed that MLO has hierarchical reporting lines but, unlike CTC, there is no notable punishment for underperformance by the AEI workers. The power relations between the CTC AEI workers and the TA members also differ from CTC in that the contractual arrangements lie between the company officers and the farmers, not with MLO. This places a significant difference in the relationship that MLO AEI workers have with the TA because of the role MLO plays, there are less ‘power over’ arrangements between the two. Other power structures that are worth noting include the power that the traditional leadership holds, and the power that AGRITEX holds, which could be used to dictate where and how MLO can engage with TAs.

### 5.2.3 MLO internal roles and gender

As noted in Section 5.2.2, the MLO team involved in the transfer of information is much smaller than that of CTC. Within this team, the Director and the Market Linkage Advisor were both males and, out of the three Market Linkage Officers, two were male and one was female. Because of this significant size difference, it is difficult to compare MLO’s gender structure with CTC’s, but it must be noted that, here too, there are significantly fewer females in these jobs than males. However, as noted by interviewee 209, there is a mandate given by the Donor Project that MLO is involved with implementing to have an equal number of male and female employees.

*‘For MLO, they are not very gender sensitive. We only have one lady and the rest are men but within the bigger [project] consortia, I think there was a deliberate need to make 50% women.’*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Because this gender initiative was part of the wider project motivations, it was largely out of the scope of this evaluation due to the focus on the internal structures of the selected AEIs. However, this gender approach should be recognised.

The reasons noted by the male AEI workers which underpin the internal MLO gender imbalance are similar to those identified for CTC. Interviewee 209 says that there remains a general perception that men are better than women, and it can be deduced that this underlying assumption could mean that males are the preferred candidates throughout the hiring process:

*'One general perception is that men are better than women.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Interviewee 209 also says that there is an accompanying assumption that farmers will listen to male AEI workers better than they would listen to female AEI workers. He further indicates that, as a female AEI worker, there is a need to prove that you are a competent worker to overcome these gendered assumptions:

*'If you are a male extension officer and you stand in front of all the farmers, they are going to listen to what you are saying. But for women, you have to prove yourself because the belief is that this is a male-dominated field.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Finally, interviewee 209 says that agricultural extension work is seen a male job, which indicates that it is a difficult space for females to engage in due to assumptions and associated social pressures discussed previously:

*'It's a male job, especially the extension work.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Adversely, the female MLO AEI worker noted different reasons as to why there are fewer female extension workers. She noted, similarly to reasons indicated by CTC, that the job is physically demanding:

*'I like being an extension worker even though it has challenges. Like our work requires riding (a motorbike) and I am a lady and .. I have big muscles from riding and spending the whole day on the bike.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

As in CTC, the female MLO AEI worker also noted physical safety as a factor that limits female engagement with the AEI worker job role:

*'Another challenge is that we move in forests and there may be a thicket that you pass through and if you get a flat or experience a problem with the bike when you are alone, then you just have to pray to God for protection. So, this is the most challenging thing. Our areas are big, and they are very rural where there are lots of animals like elephants, but I am strong.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

She also says that many women perceive this job as a male job, but notably displays strong characteristics of self-confidence. Given the biases found in this job role, it is not unreasonable to deduce that such personality traits are needed for women to enter the male-dominated space.

*'I like competing among women. There are some who are not eager to ride motorbikes because they say that it is for men but I say to myself 'No. Whatever is done by a man I can do it. As long as I have 5 cents, air and hands I can do it better than them.' So, I have the courage to do better than men.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

The female MLO AEI worker also points out that her holding this job challenges her husband, but the challenge has been received in a positive light by her partner with him recognising that he might need to take on the traditionally female role of cooking:

*'Even my husband at home says I am now fixing the electrics and what what, and I am a scientist and I can do anything. He says he feels challenged and he tells me that he must challenge me by cooking at home.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

Based on this, it can be suggested that in addition to having high levels of confidence, females also need supportive partners to undertake the AEI job role. However, despite these negative reasons presented, 2 out of 3 of the MLO male AEI workers interviewed portrayed very positive attitudes towards female AEI workers. Interviewees 200 and 209 report that they were impressed with the MLO female extension workers' performance, and that her performance has been altering the assumptions and perceptions of her colleagues. Interviewee 200 says that she is very capable in advising male cattle farmers, and 209 says that she is very capable in terms of her ability to ride a motorbike.

*'I wanted to work with a lady for many years ... I've seen her abilities and it was not a gender issue but her capabilities were amazing... How could I have a woman advising these male cattle farmers? But [224] is inspiring so far, and it comes again to individual capabilities, and women can get out of tough situations. She has a way of getting out of anything and that's an advantage too.'*

- 200, Male MLO AEI worker

*'Even myself, I always say about the lady who does extension for us; I am always impressed by her skills on a motorbike. It is supposed to be normal, but I am still shocked anyway. The way she rides and she can fix a tire if it goes flat and everyone is impressed. But it shouldn't be like that. I think those perceptions exist.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

The narratives underpinning the AEI worker gender imbalance presented here echo those identified by CTC. They also have linkages to gender discourses that were identified at the structural layer, impressing the point that gender narratives are found and circulated at the functional layer, but also that these are being challenged by females occupying this space.

Given the gender bias of the occupation of the AEI worker roles, it is important to identify if there are biases within these internal structures towards working with male or female farmers. Similarly to CTC, it is noted that there is a preference for one of the Male AEI workers to working with female farmers because they show traits such as loyalty and reliability more so than men:

*'I would [rather] contract a woman farmer than men because they are committed and hardworking, loyal and reliable.'*

- 200, Male MLO AEI worker

However, it must be noted that the general preference for working with female farmers found in CTC comes across less strongly in MLO with none of the other MLO workers mentioning this. As with CTC, despite positive discourses surrounding female virtues that support agricultural production and participation, the participation remains unequal in both the occupation of the AEI worker role and the farmers (see Section 5.2.4). This supports the argument presented in the CTC case study that positive attitudes alone are not enough to bridge gender inequality, but that systemic changes are required to alter stereotypical norms that stop women from engaging in agriculture.



#### 5.2.4 External gender approach for MLO

Because of MLO's position in the donor arena, it is openly noted that it is subject to wider donor demands of working with an overall total of 60% female farmers:

*'I think all the donors come in with 60% participation of women. I haven't seen any call for a proposal which calls for 50%, so it is something we (MLO) do. Say we want 50% of the beneficiaries or 60% being women.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

This gender participation percentage can be seen throughout many development proposals, is a byproduct of gender mainstreaming approaches discussed in Section 2.2.1. However, it is further noted by interviewee 209 that this participation ratio fails to question the deeper difficulties within gender inequalities such as power structures and relations between men and women:

*'Yes [there is a focus on] women (farmer participation), but we don't really look deep down to see who is playing the role. At times in a community with a lack of resources, the men can just say women go and register but who actually makes the decision? I think if we challenged it through our partners, even in our knowledge and reports, we have lacked to put in the gender issues.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Whilst MLO is subject to these gender participation percentages outlined by the donors, it is noted by one of the MLO AEI workers that the institution itself encourages the participation of both men and women:

*'MLO is encouraging the participation of everyone, both male and female, it doesn't discriminate. It says anyone who has the potential of getting into this project should ... If a female does produce good results and, at the end of the day, excels, more men will be jealous and say is it true that this lady has gone so far and produced these results while we are here.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

Interviewee 224's comment of female farmer participation altering male perception echoes assertions made about the AEI worker job role. The MLO selection process differs to that of CTC. The only clear selection category is that they are targeting low-income farmers which, given where the project is operating, would likely be most rural small-

holder farmers. It is stated by both interviewee 210 and interviewee 224 that the project and associated training is open to all farmers:

*'The targeting of farmers begins with the targeting of the project ... Project targeting is targeting community wards which means we are targeting people who have a low income. When we come with a value chain, we are coming with the value chain for all farmers in that category. We don't select, it is up to the farmers to take the value chain or not. The opportunity is given to them all to choose ... Men and women have the equal opportunity.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

*'[We have] to identify the potential farmers who want to produce for marketing ... Anyone who has the potential of getting into this project should.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

It is also noted by interviewee 210 that MLO actively tries to educate TA members specifically on gender equality which varies from CTC.

*'The first point to note is that we are already doing that by involving gender issues in our training and trying to cascade the roles of women and men to add to the equality of them ... We try to include all those topics for them to participate equally. Even in decision-making for men and women to help each other in making decisions.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

However, it is also noted that are some selection criteria when it comes to choosing the Lead Farmers.

*'We have other criteria. For example, if we are growing sesame then the lead farmer should have knowledge on growing sesame not just to choose someone random, there are standards.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

This statement alludes to the idea that Lead Farmers need to be 'good farmers' or, as previously mentioned 'the best farmers', which is likely to exclude female farmers because of the opportunity inequalities identified previously such as less access to support and inputs (FAO, 2017).

The Lead Farmers are identified by the local AGRITEX officer and the community leaders and need to be 'the best farmers' in the community (interviewee 209) and a full-time resident of that community (interviewee 210):

*'Lead Farmers ... are better farmers than the others.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

*'A Lead Farmer should be full resident in that area because you often find that some farmers in a village are there for a month then go away and come back. So, a Lead Farmer needs to be a permanent resident.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

The selection of the committee members is not clear; however, they play a limited role in the communication process. It is reported that during the selection process an equal number of men and women are chosen to be on the committee, which implies that gender is one of the key selection criteria:

*'The other option which I think that we are already doing is to ensure that, as we select the committee's for the groups, there should be a percentage representation for women and a percentage representation for men because, at times, if you look at a dip tank committee there are no such regulations or by-laws and you can find that 100% of the committee can be men. So, we encourage groups to look into this matter when drafting their constitutions to ensure there is a balance between men and women.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

Despite these efforts to establish gender equality, levels of male and female participation do not reflect this. It is noted by interviewee 209 that men are often in the urban areas looking for work whilst the women remain behind in the communities; a point that was also made by CTC. This interferes with attendance and engagement levels of male and female farmers:

*'Men are out there trying to work in the informal or formal sector in town, and the women and families are in the rural areas.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

It is also noted by two of the male AEI workers that women mostly engage with training around crop production, whereas men engage in cattle production:

*'It varies for example at the chillies projects it's done more by women, then if we look at cattle it's mainly done by men and only 20% of women.'*

- 200, Male MLO AEI worker

*'When you go to livestock, you find less women and more men so those are the other topics we tried to introduce when doing all trainings; gender mainstreaming. They need to see the difference for them not to characterize value chains as being for women or for men ... If you call for a livestock meeting you will get more men than women. If you call for a meeting for groundnuts you will get more women than men which means we need to educate them more on gender equality and gender imbalance.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

The trend of more female participation in crop production than men was also supported by the field observations of MLO. The first observed training on sesame production comprised of around 12 women and three men (Photograph 5.2) and the second observed training on diversification of crop production comprised of 14 women and around four men (Photograph 5.3). The obstacle of gendered crops is well recognised and has been discussed in Section 4.2.1, and the narratives supporting this show that gendered cropping directly effects participation of farmers and therefore, directly effects information access for both male and female farmers. It should also be noted that, in both photographs, the women and men sat separately segregated and in Photograph 2, the men sat on a log (top right) and the women sat on the floor (left side of the picture). These differences in attendance and seating arrangement points towards wider gender norms around certain production commodities and underlying power structures.



PHOTOGRAPH 5.2: OBSERVATION OF MLO TRAINING 1 ON SESAME PRODUCTION



PHOTOGRAPH 5.3: OBSERVATION OF MLO TRAINING 2 ON DIVERSIFICATION OF CROPS

The power structures within the TA are also identified by interviewee 209 who reports that, when a contract needs to be signed, the men are usually present, or are the power behind the decision making:

*‘During the contract signing, you find that it is the men who come and sign because it is time for decision making. But the actual production is done by the women, so it is really complex ... Women first wait for the men to speak but if the men speak again they don’t oppose anything ... [but] when a woman speaks something wrong the man will interject. So, I think that the man is the head of the household, so I think, on the engagement side, the men are still dominant. So, this is why we have certain quotas to ensure that we have 60% women. It is to empower them... At times, in a community with a lack of resources, the men can just say “women go and register”, but who actually makes the decision?’*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Chapter 7 focuses on understanding the gender dynamics and associated effects within the TA, but it is important to note here that, despite the gender approach taken by MLO, many wider narratives that are directly linked to the structural level need to be addressed should gender equality at the functional and ground-level layer be improved. These structural changes link to previous arguments made that positive attitudes towards female farmers and even, as shown by the MLO case study, directive female participant numbers remain an inadequate approach to overcome stereotypical gender assumptions that keep women from fully and equally engaging in all agricultural development opportunities. This is particularly identifiable in this case study in terms of the gender cropping noted previously.

### 5.2.5 Summary of MLO gender approaches

The main driving factor of MLO differs from CTC because MLO is donor funded. This means that MLO is subject to donor demands and gender approaches such as 60% of female participation of the TA, and 50% female employment within the project. However, despite this, it must be observed that MLO faces very similar challenges to CTC in their internal gender structures including female recruitment and participation in the job role of an AEI worker. The reasons identified for this gender imbalance are almost identical to those noted by CTC which point to wider gender norms such as the gendered job roles, male domination, physical ability and safety. The reflections from the AEI worker interviews, like CTC, openly identify that there is a gender imbalance. However, it must also be observed that in the MLO AEI worker interviews, there was a general recognition of the capability of females in this role having seen their female colleague operate so successfully in the field. Using Kabeer's SRF framework (Kabeer, 1994), it can be concluded that, similarly to CTC, MLO's internal gender approach can be classed as gender-aware, gender neutral because, although there is an awareness that gender assumptions and practices affect wider opportunities for women to enter this space, their institutional policies largely leave the existing distribution of job roles unchanged. The donor project mandate of having 50% female employment has not been included in the gender approach categorisation as it is not one of MLO's mandates. It is also worth noting that this indicates a tension between donor-imposed ratios of male and female participation, what MLO implements and how gender directive norms, such as gender cropping, go against such initiatives.

MLO differs from CTC in their external gender approach as they have a clear mandate to reach 60% of female farmers and 40% of male farmers, and MLO specifically teaches TAs about gender equality. Although this gender representation varies on the ground due to wider gender constructions such as gendered livelihood activities and crops at the ground-level, this mandate places MLO's external gender approach in the gender-aware, gender specific approach. This is because the external approach indicates that there is awareness of gender differences and interventions have been altered to overcome these difficulties by specifically targeting more women than men.

Having defined MLO's gender approaches within the SRF, it is important to reflect that, as with CTC, many of the constraints faced by the internal approach are due to much wider participation and opportunity issues that women face that limit their ability to engage in the job roles. It is also important to identify the need for a further reflection on the impact

of gender specific policies compared to gender neutral policies. This will be examined in more detail in 0.

### **5.3 Case study 3: Community Development Organisation (CDO)**

#### **5.3.1 CDO organisational overview and organisational drivers**

The Community Development Organisation (CDO) chosen for this study is a registered NGO that has been working in Zimbabwe for 33 years in multiple community development areas including training and education, HIV and AIDS, water and sanitation, and agriculture. The institution runs development projects in the Zimbabwean provinces of Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland West, Harare, Manicaland, and Masvingo:

*'[CDO] is a local organisation which started to operate in Zimbabwe in 1980. We continued ... working with the government of Zimbabwe, and we developed our programmes into different thematic areas ... where we are focusing on working with the children, looking at the areas of health and hygiene, immunization, water and sanitation and, right now, we are operating in Rushinga, Shamva, Bindura, Guruve, and Mutasa. ... Another ... [area] we do is food security where we are working with small-holder farmers in food security and nutrition, and also organising them to utilize their land effectively, and also intercrop diversification ... We are working in Makoni with 1200 farmers, and in Makuto with another 1000 farmers, and Mutasa with 1000 farmers, so these are the programmes which we are doing ... in the Farmers Clubs. Recently we have started another one in Masvingo which is also complementing our experience for the work which we have done in this.'*

- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

This study will focus on CDO's Farmers Club initiative that promotes agricultural development through information exchange. The Farmers Clubs aim to empower small scale farmers and improve food security by increasing their skills and knowledge through working in organised farmer groups to explore conservation farming techniques and encourage community development in the face of climate change:

*'Our focus is much on climate change ... [so CDO] is trying to come up with agricultural programs which include this issue of climate change because they see ... that as farmers, they were lacking information about global warming and climate change. So, it is fusing agricultural programs which also take these issues of mitigating climate change.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

CDO promotes a movement away from intensive agriculture towards conservation agriculture which focuses on using natural methods and agricultural products:

*'We should put the mitigation methods before we do that activity or action. Think first; if we want to plough, how are we going to do it considering if it is environmentally friendly? We put our focus on the environment first and that is why we are here ... it is about giving information to the general public of the community but through farmers' club members because we expect that these members shall teach their neighbours.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

*'We encourage [farmers] not to have the pesticides which they buy in the shops. We encourage them to use traditional ways of spraying their vegetables ... Here we are promoting Farmers Clubs by using conservation agriculture where we talk about organic matter ... Firstly we started to talk about the soil and we also talk about climate change. Where we talk about the trees, don't cut the trees. If you want to cut a tree plant ten trees before you cut one down ... So, we are fighting hard so that they adopt these [practices].'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

This focus on conservation agriculture differs significantly from CTC and MLO because it limits commercial production. However, CDO's approach takes a more holistic community improvement approach than the other two AEIs. As with the other two case studies, this study will focus on the communication processes and actors only within the Farmers Clubs.

The Farmers Club initiative is said to have reached 3,200 farmers in the Makoni, Mutasa and Gutu Districts (Figure 5.10) and reports a 95% increase in the use of conservation farming practices. Adversely to MLO, CDO is operating in districts that are in the lower end of the food poverty section, with all three districts falling into the category of having 16-29% of people in food poverty (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2016) (Figure 5.10). In terms of AEZs, CDO is operating in the central AEZs which are mostly IIb and III (Figure 5.11).



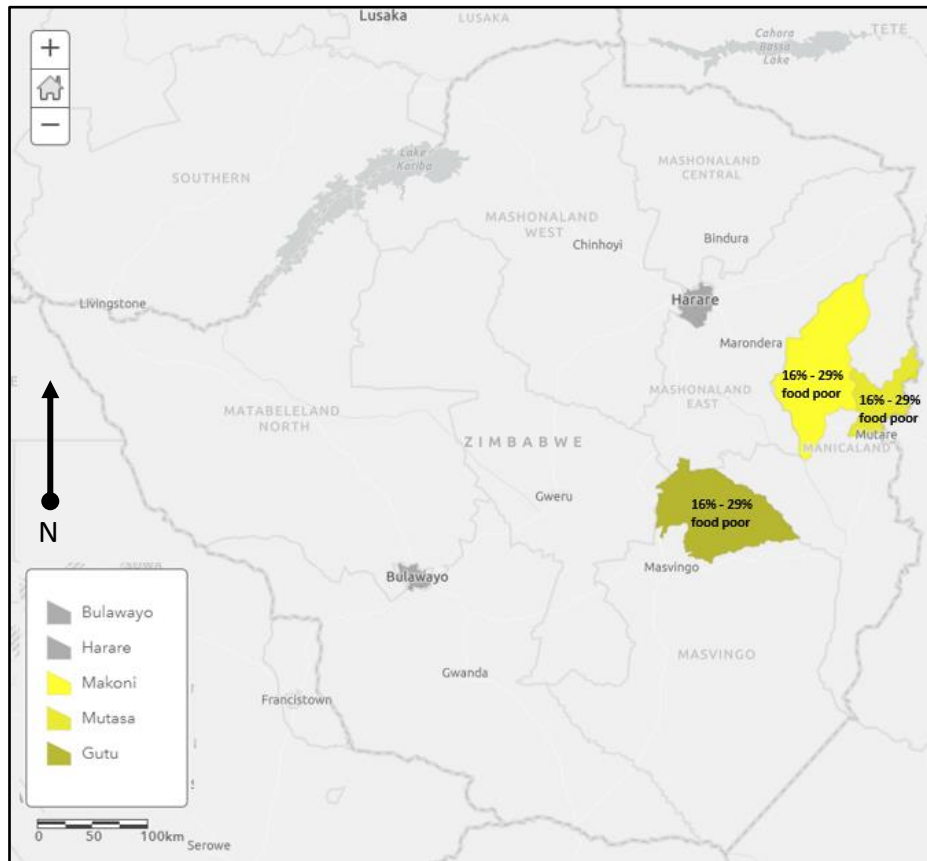


FIGURE 5.10: CDO FARMERS CLUB TARGET DISTRICTS

Whilst the number of farmers reached by the Farmers Club initiative is much less than the farmers reached by the CTC and MLO initiatives, the development model used by CDO is representative of many other NGO development approaches operating throughout Zimbabwe, and so remains an important avenue by which small-scale farmers may receive agricultural information.

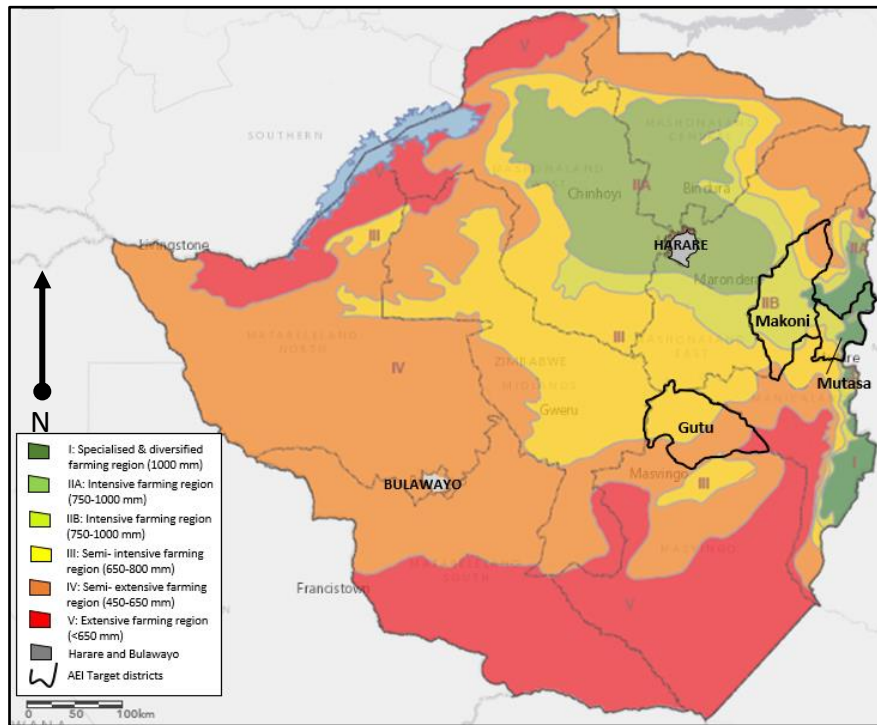


FIGURE 5.11: CDO DISTRICTS EXAMINED BY THIS STUDY AND AEZS ADAPTED FROM RELIEFWEB (2009): OCHA ZIMBABWE- AGRO-ECOLOGICAL ZONES MAP)

Because CDO is reliant on donor funds, it can be assumed that the selection criteria of the geographical regions and the TAs is similar to MLO, although this process is not clear from the data collected. Upon establishing the areas of focus, CDO must work with the local authorities to gain permission and access into the relevant communities (noted in Table 5.6). Once this is accomplished, CDO registers farmers who are willing to work with them (also noted in Table 5.6). There are no specific selection criteria identified to choose which farmers can participate in the Farmers Clubs, only that the farmers need to be operating in the target geographical areas and willing to work with them:

*‘So, what we do is, in the first stage, we register the farmers who are willing to work with us. We are needing to work with people who have the environment at their hearts and that makes it possible to work with us even during our absence.’*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

CDO has been selected as an AEI case study because it takes a more traditional development approach than CTC and MLO because of its inclusion of multiple aspects of community life. This orientation is different from MLO and CTC because it is not focused on driving commercialisation, but rather on wider, holistic community development; a key component of which is the provision of agricultural information.

### 5.3.2 CDO organisational structure

CDO manages their TA members through a series of sub-groupings which are displayed in

. Similarly to CTC and MLO, CDO must obtain permission from the local leadership structures before engaging with their TA:

*'The first time we came here we met the chiefs, the headmen and the councillor. They gave us authority. So, they tell their people to come to one place so that they register their names, so all of them registered their names'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

It is noted that CDO also must ask the Headman, who is part of the local leadership, to allocate some land for demonstration plots.

*'The headmen just provide [land] for ten people.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

In the Makoni district CDO is working in two wards. In each ward they are working with 600 TA members who are small-scale farmers. Each ward has four Project Leads, and each Project Lead works with 150 farmers:

*'Our goal here is [to reach] 1200 farmers. So, we divide 600 [farmers] from ward 16, and 600 from ward 12. So, in 600 there are four project leaders, divide again, each project leader has 150 farmers.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

This group of 150 farmers is subdivided into three groups of 50 farmers, and then this group of 50 is then further split into core groups of 10 farmers. Each core group has an allocated Lead Farmer. The Lead Farmer is also referred to as the Step-Up Farmer or the Chairman. This is noted by interviewee 311:

*'[We] register [the farmers] in groups of 50 as it is a manageable size ... We divide them into core groups. Each core group should have 10 members including the Lead Farmer.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

Once on the ground, there are several key actors in the communication process. The first group of these includes those within CDO, the roles, and responsibilities of which are detailed in Table 5.6. The second group are people involved in the communication process

but sit in between CDO and outside the TA (detailed in Table 5.7). The third group consists of those individuals within the TA who play a role in communication processes (detailed in Table 5.8). The organisational structure of these actors is depicted in Figure 5.12.

Within CDO, the key people involved in communication processes include the Project Organiser and the Project Leads. Although the director was interviewed, he was not noted as actively involved in the communication process. The Project Organiser reports to the Director and oversees three Farmers Clubs in wards 12 and 16 in the Makoni district. He manages the financial requirements for the Farmers Clubs, monitors and collects reports from the Project Leads and creates reports for the CDO head office. The Project Leads are the direct link between the TA members and CDO and reside within the TA communities whilst the project is ongoing. They have a wide range of jobs around communication including identifying information gaps in the communities, putting together, and running and reporting on training sessions, supporting the farmers saving clubs, and monitoring TA member's progress. They also train the committee members so that the committee members can train the other farmers in their absence. They have an important role in liaising with the local AGRITEX officers who, similarly to MLO, are important information actors in this process.

CDO actively works alongside the local AGRITEX officers who share training sessions with the Project Leads either as a partner or in the capacity of a specialist. As noted in Table 5.7, CDO believes that it is important to work with the AGRITEX officers so that consistent information is provided to the TA members and, as noted by interviewee 327 in Table 5.7, to ensure that CDO is also acting in line with national policy initiatives. There is also an indication that CDO must work with AGRITEX so that they can access their TA. AGRITEX, as noted in both the MLO and CTC case study, hold the power to block NGO and commercial activity within communities.

Within the community, there is a complex, and somewhat unclear, hierarchical structure in place. The key people involved in the communication process within the communities are the Lead Farmers, the Committee Members, the Club Secretary (who is part of the Committee) and the farmers themselves whose roles and responsibilities are detailed in Table 5.8. The Lead Farmer is the main link between the Project Leads and the TA, and his roles include covering the Project Leads in their absence, coordinating trainings and gathering training attendance information to give to the Project Leads. The Lead Farmer also plays a role in monitoring TA member's activities and reports any resistance to the Committee Members.

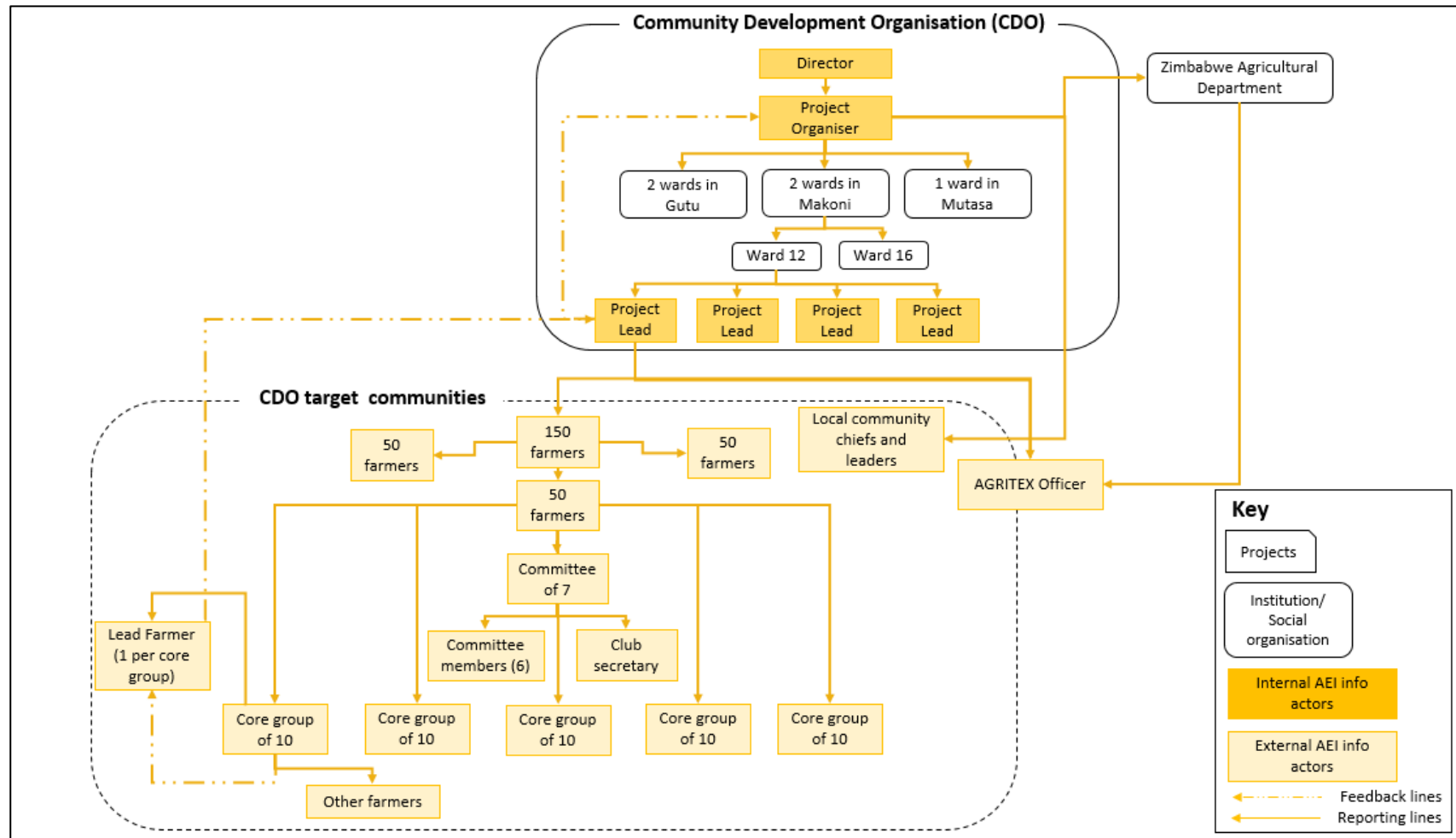


FIGURE 5.12: CDO ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

TABLE 5.6: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CDO AEI WORKERS

Role	Responsibility	Illustrative Quote
Project Organiser	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collect reports from the Project Lead about the training</li> <li>• Create reports from these for the Head Office</li> <li>• Monitor Project Leads through community visitations</li> <li>• Manage the finances of the Farmers Clubs</li> </ul>	<p><i>'[The Project Leader is] an organizer or, what we can say, a unity leader. [They look after] three Farmers Clubs [each]. So, from all the club secretaries [they] shall receive the information in to [their] logbook, it is part of [the] record keeping. [Project Leads] should keep records from the grass level up. Then, from that, [The Project Organiser] should also tally with the information that is beyond those mountains (Head Office), that's what we do. And after that [The Project Organiser] plans together [with the Project Leads] ... They (Project Leads) request money from Project Accounts so [The Project Organiser] has to authorize and to see if it is a correct sequence that they have used.'</i></p> <p>- 311, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'[The project organiser] is there to give a hand where it is needed. He collects the information from [The Project Leads] as pools and also sends it to the head. He is there to coordinate between [The Project Leads] and our big office.'</i></p> <p>- 312, Male CDO AEI worker</p>
Project Lead	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Run workshops and trainings with the TA</li> <li>• Identify what areas the TA needs training in</li> <li>• Research on what to train them on</li> <li>• Visit individual TA members to check progress</li> <li>• Feedback from the community to the directors</li> <li>• Support the savings club – guide money expenditure decisions of the saving club committee</li> <li>• Train the committee to train the other farmers</li> <li>• Register attendance for reporting which goes to the project organiser</li> <li>•</li> </ul>	<p><i>'We have a project leader who is responsible for these 150 [farmers], working together with the ministry of agriculture, making sure that the farmers are trained. They are identifying ... what the farmers lack in the training, then they design the training for those farmers together with the ministry of agriculture, and they give the training ... to those farmers, and they follow up, continuous follow up with the farmers to make sure they are doing the right thing at the right time.'</i></p> <p>- 327, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'A project leader is the one who holds trainings. ... If [the farmers] fail to get a solution [amongst themselves] they can also ask a question to the Project Leader then the Project Leader might not provide an answer at that particular time but after research, he/she will ask other Project Leaders about the issue and then the project leader will bring feedback back to the farmers.'</i></p> <p>- 311, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'[The Project Leads] are always close to the community because some of the community are also researching. If [the Project Lead] goes to the community, sometimes they won't listen to [them]. They will say 'How can [the Project Lead] reteach them the information of long back?'. So [the Project Lead] has to read and research and coordinate from the farmers .... up to the directors that [they] have this so what can [they] do to ensure that these people get this information. That is why it is back and forth because there is no barrier.'</i></p> <p>- 313, Female CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'When [Project Leads] do individual checks on the garden [they] can see that people are doing things so they are always busy from their demonstration garden to theirs ... The (savings) clubs they run themselves ... It is the committee (who decided on how to spend the money) ...</i></p>

Role (cont.)	Responsibility (cont.)	Illustrative Quote (cont.)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Liaise with AGRITEX (see Table 5.7, 327 quote)</li> </ul>	<p><i>They agree, [the Project Lead] just there to hear and facilitate. [The Project Lead] drives them where they are going wrong.'</i></p> <p>- 313, Female CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'We have what we call TOT, that is training of trainers. So [Project Leads] train the committee.... They (the farmers) come at one place and [the Project Lead] train them. They go back in their groups and train others ... [The Project Leads] use the participatory register where they (the farmers) register their names and they sign... If [the Project Lead] finishes the program with the farmers, [the Project Lead] will go and write a report and stick these forms in a file... The reports, they help our organiser to compile the final report.'</i></p> <p>- 315, Female CDO AEI worker</p>

TABLE 5.7: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF INFORMATION POINTS OF ACTORS BETWEEN CDO AND THE COMMUNITIES

Roles	Responsibilities	Illustrative Quote
AGRITEX officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Work with the CDO Project Leads to design and run the training sessions</li> <li>Provide specialist information at the trainings</li> </ul>	<p><i>'Sometimes we combine [training] with the AGRITEX officer so when we will be helping each other.'</i></p> <p>- 315, Female CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'With the AGRITEX, we work with them very well. We train together with them ... because we support the government's efforts, that is why we work with AGRITEX so that our work will be recognized. Even if want to get partnership, we cannot get partnership without the AGRITEX because they will give us recommendation. That is why there is an MoU between us and Makoni Rural Council because they are the very authorities ... If we have some trainings, we just collaborate with AGRITEX ... The best way of carrying out training doesn't require one person; it needs three to four people. Then AGRITEX will come with another topic, CDO with another topic, another organization with another topic so it will be a very good way of how to train farmers because if you train whilst you are one, they will end up disappointed.'</i></p> <p>- 311, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'They (Project Leads) also invite experts from the Department of Agriculture or the Department of Livestock to make sure that there is a combination of ideas, that there is consistent information from AGRITEX orders and also we do this in order to ... make sure policy consistency is also put into the training of the farmers.'</i></p> <p>- 327, Male CDO AEI worker</p>

The Committee presented here is one that is specific to the training aspect of CDO's work. There are reports of a separate committee that is involved in the Internal Savings and Lending Club (which is out of the scope of this analysis) but there is likely some cross over between these people and roles. The Committee members are trained to be trainers by the Project Leads so they can train the TA themselves and support the Project Leads with tasks such as the distribution of seedlings or input. They also play a role in dealing with

any difficult TA members the Lead Farmers are identify. Within the Committee sits a Club Secretary who collects attendance information from all the core groups via the Lead Farmers. Finally, the TA members within each core group are expected to attend the

TABLE 5.8: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF KEY INFORMATION ACTORS WITHIN THE CDO COMMUNITIES

<b>Role</b>	<b>Responsibility</b>	<b>Illustrative Quote</b>
Lead Farmer (also referred to Step-up farmers or Chairperson)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The link between the Project Leads and the TA</li> <li>• Record and report on activities done by the core group</li> <li>• Co-ordinate trainings in the absence of the Project Lead</li> <li>• Monitor TA members</li> </ul>	<p><i>'When we form the committees, we also have Step-up Farmers which are the Lead Farmers... If [The Project Lead] is not here, [the Lead Farmer] is the one who acts as the leading farmer. All information gathered is gathered by them ... Then when [the Project Lead] comes back, he is the one who reports back to me and he goes back to the group to discuss what has been discussed.'</i></p> <p>- 314, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'That Lead Farmer should have a register so that the activities that will be done by that core group will be recorded ... we also have a club register whereby the core group leaders will report to the club secretary.'</i></p> <p>- 311, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'There is a core group leader who is going to coordinate that we are together ... If these leaders have a challenge, they will come to the group and explain they are having resistance so the chairperson will go and explain everything and say how things are shared ... We have a demand that each farmer is going to plant 50 trees and he (the Lead Farmer) has to follow up these 10 farmers to see if they have planted the trees and have a nutrition garden.'</i></p> <p>- 313, Female CDO AEI worker</p>
Committee Members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Undertake training so that they can train other farmers</li> <li>• Support the Project Leads with other tasks such as input or resource distribution</li> </ul>	<p><i>'[We] identify leadership [of] a seven-member committee'</i></p> <p>- 311, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'Those 50 people ... have a committee so [The Project Lead] doesn't have to sweat to do everything for [themselves]. [The Committee Members], they have the responsibility to receive the trees. It is from the farmer now who registers what trees are taken.'</i></p> <p>- 312, Male CDO AEI worker</p> <p><i>'[The Project Leads] train the committee.... They (the Committee members) come at one place and [The Project Lead] trains them. They go back in their groups and train others.'</i></p> <p>- 315, Female CDO AEI worker</p>
Club Secretary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collect attendance information</li> </ul>	<p><i>'The Club Secretary will put all the information from the core groups together then ... [the] Project Lead will take statistics from each of the clubs.'</i></p> <p>- 311, Male CDO AEI worker</p>
Farmers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attend training sessions</li> <li>• Pass the information onto other farmers</li> </ul>	<p><i>'Each farmer has a code number ... so that when they do not turn up to the lesson, they just know each other by code number .... Then farmers are organized. There are some specific days where they meet and discuss the issues, challenges and success stories of farming so that whenever they meet a challenge in a core group they will also share ...so that they will bring a solution.'</i></p> <p>- 311, Male CDO AEI worker</p>



trainings and work with other core groups and farmer clubs and share the information and find solutions to challenges together. They are also expected to share information with other farmers who may be outside the clubs.

As with MLO and CTC, there are power arrangements for CDO that need to be acknowledged. Figure 5.13 shows that the traditional leadership and AGRITEX hold power over CDO as they determine their access to CDO TAs. There is a two-way power with arrangement between CDO and CDO TA members. This is because CDO has no production pressures or accountabilities, so the dynamic between the CDO AEI workers and the TA members is one with limited power arrangements. This power arrangement is further reiterated by the data presented about the CDO AEI workers being part of and living with their TA communities.

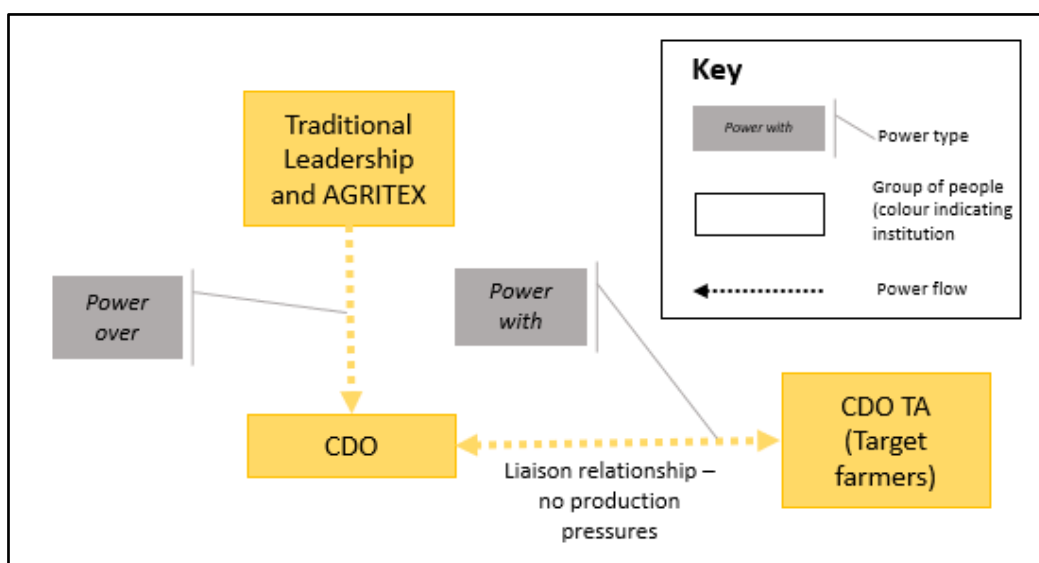


FIGURE 5.13: POWER ARRANGEMENTS OF CDO (ADAPTED FROM (ROWLANDS, 1997))

It is clear through this structural analysis that, similarly to MLO, there are hierarchical power structures within CDO's internal structure, but there is no notable punishment for underperformance. The power relations outside of CDO are also like MLO because there are no contractual arrangements between AEI and the TA, therefore there are limited 'power over' arrangements in place. It is apparent from the data that, because the CDO AEI workers are permanently living within their TAs, there is a strong mutual feeling of 'power with' between the two which is stronger than MLO because of their intervention position. However, AGRITEX and the traditional leadership similarly maintain power over CDO as with MLO and CTC.

### 5.3.3 CDO internal roles and gender

CDO, like MLO, is subject to donor demands of gendered participation although these were not specified in the data collected. However, within the AEI workers, it is noted that there are more men than women, but CDO has the highest number of female AEI workers out of the three institutions. As noted by interviewee 313, out of the total of eight project leaders, there are three women and five men. The director at the time of this study was a male, and the project organiser was also male.

One of the reasons for the higher number of female AEI workers in CDO can be attributed to the Frontline Institute which is a training mechanism that the other two case study AEs do not have in place. The Frontline Institute is an international training institute that has trained more than 3000 participants who were identified as future leaders in basic and advanced project management. More than 90% of those trained at the Frontline Institute still work within CDO. It is noted that 'the students at Frontline Institute have all been active in development projects and have experienced what it takes to create development ... Most of them have been living in the same communities and have been part of the everyday struggle to deal with conflicts and poverty and to make things go forward. They learn to be driving forces in the development and be cornerstones that people can rely on'<sup>5</sup>.

Although this institute does not specifically focus on upskilling women, men and women can get involved in working for CDO through starting by volunteering and then get upskilled and employed through the Frontline mechanism as noted by 3 of the CDO AEI workers:

*'From school, after my O' Levels, I was about to go somewhere and work then CDO came to a project ... and there were these CDO people who were saying they were looking for people with passion that they wanted to work with. So, I went for an interview - I just carried my bag and went there. Then they said ... "We don't want certificates. We just want people who have passion to work with the people"... We remained 25 of us and there were 5 ladies ... After six months he (CDO recruiter) said "Congratulations girls we want to interview you for Child Aid work" ... After a year, we went to the Frontline institute, our school, where we were trained [in a] basic management course.'*

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<sup>5</sup> To maintain the anonymity in the ethics protocol, it is not possible to cite the organisational name which published this document.

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

*'We were doing some ... outreach programs to educate people on how to take care of themselves when it comes to HIV/AIDS ... Upon doing so, my project leader in Bindura, she was the one who motivated and encouraged me that I should take the opportunity to [volunteer] ... until I was employed. I got a scholarship to go to Frontline Institute.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

*'Firstly, I started working as a volunteer in Bindura with the Hope Project. Hope - they work with HIV/AIDS - so I was working there as a volunteer then, later on, they saw my strengths and offered me a scholarship, so I went to a college for CDO which is Frontline Institute in Zimbabwe.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

This recruitment process benefits those who have not have the opportunity to undertake formal education which would allow them to access AEI job roles; a primary structural challenge that has been noted as one that curbs women's participation in AEI work in the two previous AEI case studies.

Another reason for the larger number of women in this role might be CDO's wider development focus. Because it is positioned as a community development institution, there may be more room for women in these less agricultural and commercial spaces; issues of which were previously flagged by CTC and MLO, and a trend that is supported by and reflected in wider dominant gender discourse about the gender roles of women.

Despite having a more inclusive recruitment process, CDO still faces similar challenges as pointed out by CTC and MLO in employing female AEI workers. As noted by interviewee 327, issues such as mobility, women needing to have the strength of character to go against the social norms, educational disadvantages and enrolment preferences limit female opportunities to access the AEI job role:

*'We are very much looking that we empower also ladies, and they are in the forefront of taking the leading position in our organisation... [but recruiting them] is a challenge. Some, they might have the right qualifications, but, as you know, [in] the extension services, you have to be very mobile. Sometimes the biggest challenge that you find is that women don't want to ride a motorbike, or a bicycle, so it becomes also very difficult. And sometimes we have to respect also their wishes. If they say that "I can't", you can't say 'you will whether you like it or not!' So, this is some of the challenges that*

*you find. But there are some who are very forthcoming, who say "I can do anything. I will wear my work suit, I can ride a motorcycle, I can do anything the men can do!" So, we have some such kind of women who are ready to do that.... If you look on the history of girl child in Zimbabwe ... Sometimes they are very disadvantaged, sometimes they only ... reach up to grade 7 ... [and] the parents might decide "Now, I think it's enough", but, well the boy child, he will have a chance to go to the university. However, these days, this is changing... but you find in many ... households ... that the boy has to be given the first priority, then the girls.'*

- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

In a similar vein, it is important to note is that one of the female CDO AEI workers noted that she didn't have any difficulties when working with male farmers, despite reasons given previously in CTC and MLO that women may have some difficulty maintaining authority in the communities:

*'I don't have any problems with the men that I have. They are very supportive.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

The other CDO AEI interviewees had limited comments on difficulties that women in their TA might face in entering this institution and field of work, which perhaps is due to the more equal gender distribution and the notably smaller obstacles faced in the role access to reasons aforementioned. This case study shows that providing a mechanism that can support women to gain the skills required for the AEI job role can be beneficial, but it also highlights problematic gender norms which continue to determine where women work. As noted previously, CDO is a community development organisation which means it is not focused on commercial production, but rather household improvement. It is not unreasonable to posit that this orientation means that this space is more open to female participation given gender norms highlighted in Section 4.2.1.

#### **5.3.4 External gender approach for CDO**

It is noted that CDO are advocating that both male and female farmers should be equal partners:

*'We are advocating that men and women among the families ... should be equal partners in farming, and we are advocating that also in the general African setup, or in the Zimbabwean setup.'*

- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

It is also noted by 327 that they are targeting both male and female small-holder farmers:

*'When we are giving our lessons, when we are doing interviews, we are not only targeting ... the men. We should be targeting both (men and women).'*

- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

Because CDO is not focused on contract farming or moving farmers into commercialisation, they have no selection criteria around success rates (such as MLO indicates) or assets ownership (such as CTC indicates). However, there is mention that CDO, similarly to MLO, can facilitate the relationship between farmers and contracting companies, but this did not seem to be a priority for the institution as it was only mentioned once out of all of the CDO respondents.

*'What we do is we invite the contracting companies, then they will speak directly to the farmers and the farmers also read their contract agreement. If they understand, they can sign, but if they don't understand or if the contract isn't favourable to the farmers, they won't sign.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

The selection criteria of the farmer Committee groups are not clear with the explanation that CDO 'makes a strategy to identify leadership':

*'We make a strategy to identify leadership which is a 7-member committee. Then from there, we also say this is a club.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

It is not unreasonable to presume that this process of identification is supported by the local leadership and the local AGRITEX officers similarly to both MLO and CTC, however this is not clearly noted in the data. It is noted that Lead Farmers in the group are identified by other farmers based on their activeness within the community and their ability of farming. This is very similar to the processes used by MLO.

*'When we gather, we have to know who is so vibrant in farming and the one who is not lazy is chosen ... [the farmers] choose themselves as they know who they are. They have to choose for us, that's how it is.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

As in the MLO case study, given that Lead Farmers need to be most successful and, in the case of CDO, popular, it is likely that females will be excluded from this selection process because of gender inequalities surrounding access and participation in commercial agricultural activities and gender imbalances found in leadership positions (FAO, 2017) as noted in Section 4.2.1.

Interviewee 327 notes that the reasons for targeting both men and women are to try to overcome the power imbalances in ownership and decision making between the two and to encourage mutual respect:

*'We can see that men are more powerful than women, so we are trying to make sure that we cut this powerful position of men that they have also respect of their women so that we are treating them as equal partners in farming and, by so doing, we want to avoid that men ... are dominating taking decisions ... which can suppress the women in taking also very influential decisions in their farming ... So, we try, as much as possible, to make sure that ... when husband and wife, they are into the programme, ... we treat them as equal ... partners in this. And we make sure that when we pay them their money, we try ... to make sure they have a joint account, so that the ... husband and wife are signing together, they are making decisions about their money together, which we see, it is helped to make sure that women are more respected ... What works well is this inclusion of the two. When we are giving our lessons ... we should be targeting both, and in that way, you find that they start to respect each other.'*

- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

However, despite this approach, it is noted by 5 out of 6 CDO AEI workers that the Farmer Clubs groups largely consist of female farmers. 3 out of the 6 CDO AEI workers noted that the reason behind this farmer participation imbalance was due to cultural norms. The norms included that females are more interested in training programs; a point that was made in the CTC case study:

*'Some of the [participation] issues I might say are cultural. In Zimbabwe, most women they are very much interested in programs compared to men. That is what I have realized.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

Two AEI workers noted that one of the other norms that determine farmer participation numbers is that women are expected to stay behind in the community, and the men go

into the urban areas to look for work. This factor was also identified by both MLO and CTC:

*'I think culturally here we believe to say ladies should be housewives and men should go and search for food and money for the family.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

*'Men here are a challenge because some of them, with the economic challenges, are away looking for jobs, so the men that you see are the ones who are staying at home. The young and middle-aged ones are out there looking for work. That is the main challenge why men are few. If you go to the shops, you will see that men are there drinking, and the women are here. So that is why I say agricultural work is mostly done by women.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

One of the CDO AEI workers attributed the participation difference to men not wanting to grow crops such as maize due to gendered cropping – a trend that was highlighted in the MLO case study:

*'The big number is for women. You know, that is the challenge we are facing. Maize, they don't want to adopt the men, they just say 'ah it's for ladies' but it's not true ... I don't know [why] because we tried to convince [the men]. But hey, it's hard but we thank God that those ladies are coming. We work with those that are willing to learn.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

Finally, one noted that more females attend the training because there are simply more women than men in the area's they are working in which may be a result of the male urban migration:

*'We have been discovering that men are harder to deal with to accept the programs. But, right now, they are coming but the most number of which we are receiving is ladies... [because] according to the number of men and women in the areas, we see that women are more than men.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

The gender participation imbalance referred to by the AEI workers was also supported by the field observations made by the research team. Photograph 5.4 shows when the research team (top right) was being introduced to the CDO TA (left of the photograph)

before a garden training session. It can be noted that there were around 15 female TA members (some of which had children with them), and around six male TA members attending on that day. It can also be noted that the male and female TA members were segregated.



PHOTOGRAPH 5.4: OBSERVATION OF CDO TA MALE AND FEMALE NUMBERS

It is not unreasonable to posit that, because of CDO's community development focus, women are expected to engage with these activities more than men, whereas with commercial production this is typically a more male-dominated space as seen in CTC and MLO. The FAO (2017) also notes that 90% of those engaged in conservation agriculture are women and, given that CDO is driving conservation agriculture, this is deemed to be a female space.

It was noted by interviewee 313 that there is a need to engage more men to ensure that they understand that they are an important 'part of the parcel':

*'[Male farmers] say they need to try get other men to join. So, for myself, I was thinking we should make some men's forums where we can discuss this thing about agriculture so that they also understand that they are also part and parcel.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

To explore this further there needs to be a more detailed understanding of the gender structures within the communities which will be presented and explored in Chapter 7 as part of the discussion around the effect of the AEI communication and gender structures on TAs.

Similarly to MLO and CTC, CDO is having to grapple far reaching gender norms which dictate male and female participation. The main difference is that CDO has the opposite



problem because it struggles to equally and fully engage male farmers. This issue can be directly linked to stereotypical gender norms around allocated areas of responsibility and, as with the previous case studies, much broader changes than organisational target numbers need to be made to overcome the systemic gender inequalities dictating male and female engagement. It is also worth noting that CDO provides a case study of how males can also be excluded – a point that is often overlooked as identified in wider literature highlighted in Section 2.2.1.

### **5.3.5 Summary of CDO gender approaches**

It can be concluded that more women occupy the AEI worker job role in CDO than in CTC and MLO. Although reference is made to similar constraints presented by CTC and MLO such as physical exertion and limited education access, there are two aspects that the higher number of females participating in this job role can be attributed to. The first is that CDO has a much more diverse spread of development activities it is undertaking than MLO and CTC. Being entirely development focused, CDO lacks the commercial pressure and aspect that both MLO and CTC have. This could mean that the institution is more attractive or more accessible to females than the other two because it remains more in line with wider gender norms. This aspect was mentioned in Section 4.2.1 as being a determining factor for female internal participation in this sector. Another key aspect that must be considered as a possible reason for the increased female participation within CDO is the Frontline Institute. This institution provides a mechanism by which people can engage in initially volunteering for CDO which requires no qualifications, and then successful volunteers can undertake training through the Frontline Institute. Clearly this arrangement would work in the favour of women who have been unable to access formal education as readily as male counterparts. It must also be noted that this arrangement is probably more suitable for development work because commercial outputs are not as important, and therefore slower processes of upskilling staff are appropriate. Having discussed these factors it can be concluded that, using Kabeer's SRF (1994) the internal gender approach for CDO can be classed as gender-aware, gender-redistributive because the institution has an intervention that is transforming the distribution of job roles by opening classically male-dominated jobs to wider groups of females.

In terms of external gender approaches, it can be concluded that, like MLO, CDO is donor-funded and therefore driven by donor demands in terms of target areas of Zimbabwe. What is less clear from the data collected is if CDO is driven by the same donor gender approaches. There is nothing to indicate that CDO operates by the same gender

mainstreaming approach that MLO is expected to operate by, however it is not unreasonable to assume they must adhere to donor gender targets. It is noted that CDO tries to target both men and women equally. However, there are significantly larger numbers of female farmer participation than male farmer participation without the specific gender quota in place. This difference can be linked to wider trends of the majority of participants involved with conservation agriculture and community improvement being female (FAO, 2017). This is likely the case because there is little commercial production from this form of intervention. Again, this points to wider gender structures at community level where men typically undertake commercial roles over women. Using Kabeer's SRF (1994), CDOs external gender approach falls under the gender-aware, gender neutral classification because, although there is clear awareness of differences between male and female farmers, the interventions do not indicate a redistribution of resources or responsibilities.

## **5.4 Chapter Conclusions**

This chapter set out to answer the following research question for each case study AEI:

### **RQb) What gender approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AEIs?**

To answer this question this chapter identified who decides whose interests are served and who has authority, who is in or out and what are their roles and responsibilities, and the official and unofficial norms and values.

Based on the evidence presented, the concluding point for research question bi. is that each AEI has a different set of external drivers which dictate both internal and external participation and whose interests are served. The commercial AEIs services are bound by public institutions such as the TIMB and the wider market and are driven by a need to make a profit. This impacts the recruitment and employment of AEI workers because of the need for consistently high performance. The NGO AEIs are bound by donor demands and are therefore expected to operate in predefined areas and with predefined TAs. These institutions are driven by reaching farmer numbers rather than by making a profit. These driving factors have implications for the longevity and sustainability of the AEI services within an area, with MLO being devised as a temporary structure, CDO being embedded within the community but reliant on funding, and CTC being operational within the TAs so long as it is economically viable. Each AEI also has an internal hierarchical arrangement that aligns with authoritative structures. Although these vary between each

AEI, commercial companies have more hierarchical structures in place than the less commercially driven ones. External power arrangements also vary between the AEIs, with CTC displaying the highest levels of the 'power over' dynamic out of the three. The effect of these arrangements on the relational role between the AEI workers and the TA members will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

To answer bii. this section presented a detailed set of data outlining the main roles and responsibilities of key actors involved in the communication process of each case study AEI. It can be concluded that again, these roles differ between each institution, but that there are important roles that sit outside each institution which are fundamental to enabling successful communication between the AEIs to the TAs. The roles of AGRITEX and the local leadership were key enabling roles that sat between the AEIs and the TAs and were identified by each AEI. It can also be concluded that the role of an AEI worker remains a largely male job role, although this discourse is changing and varies significantly between different institutional spaces, with one of the major drivers appearing to be the commerciality of the AEI. Selection criteria of the farmers varies along with the AEI drivers with CTC having multiple selection criteria which many may struggle to meet, and CDO having none. This is similar for the gender selection criteria with the NGO AEIs showing that they have having specific targets identified for female participation, whereas CTC has none in place. It can also be concluded that AEI information services are also geographically bound to their target areas which are based on factors such as agricultural production potential and poverty levels. This means that farmers outside these identified areas are less likely to have access.

Finally, to answer biii, this section presented and discussed the social norms that underpin the various gender balances, and it can be concluded that there remains an overarching dominant discourse that reinforces that the AEI worker role is for men in each institutional AEI, but that these discourses are largely a product of wider assumptions and social structures that can be linked up to the structural layer reviewed in Chapter 4. The primary reasons that were identified by all three case studies for extension work being structured as a male role included the physical ability to ride a motorbike, covering long distances and physical safety. Additional reasons identified included that women prefer other jobs, such as office jobs, and the need for a strong character to break into this male job role and challenge assumptions. Aspects such as historically low female enrolment numbers within tertiary agricultural programmes, and social and cultural norms about difficulties of living away from home and extension work being a male job role, reinforce the dominant gender discourse that maintains male dominance in this area. The norms point

to similar trends identified by the literature about equally capable women underperforming compared to their male counterparts due to aspects including overt discrimination and lack of cooperation from colleagues (Bagues and Esteve-Volart, 2010) and social attitudes, norms (Jayachandran, 2019) and gender identities requiring women to behave differently with male colleagues (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). These issues are directly reflected throughout this chapter. Examples include CTC female AEI workers needing to be 'trialled', MLO female farmers being constricted to participating in certain crops ascribed based on their gender, and males being excluded from activities that are deemed as 'female' because they are about household improvement rather than commercial production. All of these aspects point to towards an underlying pressure of expected gender performance which is damaging pathways towards gender equality.

It can be concluded that CDO has the highest number of female workers which is likely to be due to its orientation towards wider community development and the ability to upskill individuals using the Frontline institution.

Based on the data presented in these sub-sections, in answer to RQb, it can be concluded that each AEI is classed as taking an internal gender-aware approach. Both CTC and MLO were classed as taking gender neutral internal gender approaches, whereas CDO was classed as taking a gender-redistributive internal approach because of the mechanism of the Frontline Institute. All case study AEIs were classed as having external gender-aware approaches. CTC and CDO were classed as taking external gender neutral approaches, and MLO was classed as taking an external gender specific approach due to its gender participation policies.

It is important to conclude that, although it might be tempting to assign a rank to Kabeer's defined gender approaches, this is not necessarily helpful. Whilst it might be assumed that gender-redistributive policies are the best, what this chapter has presented is that different driving forces of institutions construct the reality of the gender approach taken. For example, commercial companies have higher consequences and different motivations for engagement and, therefore, have a different set of realities than that of a purely, long-term development institution.

It is also important to conclude that, whilst it may be simple to allocate one of Kabeer's gender approaches to an institution, gender approaches are made up of a complex network of institutional priorities and resources and, perhaps even more importantly, by the wider contextual and structural arrangements and constraints they and their TAs operate in. This reiterates findings by Tegbaru *et al.*, (2010) who emphasize the

importance of understanding that change processes in gender relations are influenced by multiple factors that are outside the control of any singular institution. This aspect was showcased by each institution in slightly different ways. CTC, despite being aware of both internal and external gender imbalances, is largely constricted to altering internal gender balances because of wider educational limitations. MLO, which reported having a 60% participation rate of female farmers, reported that participation of farmers was largely determined by the commodity they were focusing on which were inherently gendered. CDO, despite having no specific external gender approach, has much larger numbers of women participating in their training than men due to their community development and conservation agricultural approach. But, despite these increased numbers, it must be acknowledged that CDO was driving community development by improving aspects such as nutrition and environmental awareness rather than commercial production. This focus implies that there are limited opportunities for increased income, and therefore limited power alterations between men and women, and therefore limited alterations in decision-making processes. The gender participation differential findings in this study echo those of Tozoneyi *et al.*, (2020) who suggest that there is a 10-20 % gender productivity gap against female plot managers with gender differentials being found in non-food or commercial production, and none being found in food production. These gender differences in crop production are directly related to social systemic gender structures that effect participation and opportunity of female smallholder farmers in commercial agricultural production. This discussion will be presented in Chapter 7 but, before that, it is important to present the findings on communication approaches used by the AElS further link to and determine gendered access to agricultural information.

## **CHAPTER 6**      **INSTITUTIONAL COMMUNICATION APPROACHES**

Chapter 5 presented an overview of each of the Agricultural Extension Institution (AEI) case studies and explored the organisational structures, roles, and responsibilities of those involved in the communication process, as well as internal and external social norms to establish the gender approach taken by each institution. Building on this institutional analysis, this chapter will explore what communication approaches are being used by each of the case study AEIs using primary data collected from the AEI workers and the Target Audience (TA) members.

The analysis in this chapter encompasses the 'Institutional Actions' component of the Applied Framework detailed in Section 2.5.3, which focuses on the activities and resources as defined by Kabeer's SRF (Kabeer, 1994), and will be structured around the Communication Typology Analysis (CTA) from Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004). As reviewed in Section 2.5.2, the CTA presents a framework to support the identification of both the communication strategy and the communication functions in each case study organisation.

To define the communication function in each case study AEI, it is necessary to examine the intervention goal, key communication activities that are taking place to meet the intervention goal, the relationship between the AEI workers and the TA members, and the communication process.

By conducting this analysis this chapter will answer the following research question:

### **RQc.) What communication approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AEIs?**

It will do this by evaluating the key aspects of the CTF which are identifying the communication intervention goal, the information services that are being provided to meet the intervention goal, how the services are being delivered, the roles of the AEI workers and the TAs in this process, and finally the communication approaches are being used by the AEIs.

The aspects of the framework that this chapter uses are presented below in Figure 6.1.

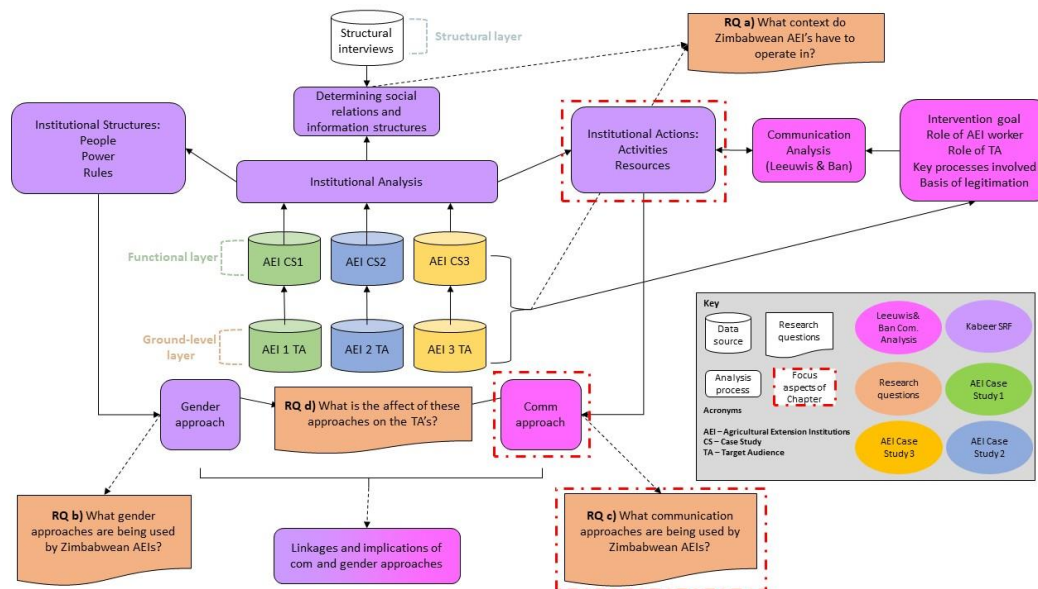


FIGURE 6.1: ASPECTS OF THE DGDDF USED IN CHAPTER 6

As with Chapter 5, analysis of each case study institution will be presented separately with wider discussion and conclusions being drawn at the end of this chapter.

## 6.1 Case study 1: Contract Tobacco Company (CTC)

As reviewed in Section 5.1, CTC is a private commercial small-scale contracting company that uses the model of contract farming to produce tobacco for the international market. The CTC data found in Table 3.2 forms the basis of the communication analysis. As noted previously, the male dominance in the CTC AEI worker key informant interviews is because, due to the internal gender structure of the institution at the time, there was only one female CTC AEI worker available.

### 6.1.1 The communication intervention goal and information services of CTC

It has been established that CTC is an AEI driven by commercial viability and profit. Because of this their activities, and therefore the success of their communication approaches are vital to ensuring that the TAs produce sufficient and quality tobacco. This dynamic means that CTC's communication approach is to persuade and ensure that the contract farmers adopt the tobacco farming practices the CTC prescribes. This approach is noted by three of the CTC AEI workers:

*'We make sure that we show them how it is done.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

*'We do them (the trainings) to make the farmers produce the quality of tobacco that the company wants.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

*'If they want to be successful at farming they better do as we advise them.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

Two of the CTC TA members confirm this approach noting that CTC's training is delivered to ensure that the tobacco is produced:

*'The CTC worker then promised to work closely with me to ensure that the curing of tobacco goes well so that I don't end up incurring losses, and so I decided to work with him as he promised.'*

- 108, Female CTC TA member

*'All they need is their money, in fact, all they want is the tobacco...so all they do is to come and look at your farming area, to look at the reasons why it failed, but still the loan you will have to pay.'*

- 110, CTC Male TA member

The intervention goal of CTC is summarised by interviewee 119 who says that ultimately, the CTC AEI workers do not want to be in a position where the farmer cannot pay their loan back:

*'The extension officer doesn't want the situation where anyone of his farmers won't be able to repay the loan.'*

- 119, CTC Female TA member

The reasons for this, as originally discussed in Section 5.1, is because AEI workers will lose their payment bonus if they fail to perform and the company must remain commercially viable and able to turn a profit.

To deliver on the intervention goal, CTC provides several information services. The first and primary information service that CTC AEI workers deliver is providing their TAs with information about farming tobacco:



*'We go around and make sure that every single farmer we have is aware of the type of season we have and what type of techniques they need to be implementing in their fields to have an effective season.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

*'[The leaf techs] give them the agronomic advice.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

It is noted by interviewee 103 that this information is vital in ensuring that the TA members follow the instructions that they are given:

*'[CTC] do things the way we do so the farmers understand that there is a need to do certain things in a certain way.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

It is important to note that one of the reasons behind the communication activities that CTC is delivering is to ensure that the TA members can implement the information and advice they are given by the CTC AEI workers. To ensure that the information is successfully transferred, the CTC AEI workers are also expected to deliver training to their TA members:

*'Our job is to train our farmers to give them proper agronomic advice from the start-up to the point of selling.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

*'We are also required to go and train the farmers so that they know what is expected by CTC [and] ... so that they are able to produce the required quality of tobacco by CTC.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

Ensuring that TA members are aware of when and where the training will be taking place is a key part in the process to make sure that they can attend training sessions:

*'We usually communicate with them using WhatsApp and go to their homesteads to notify them. It will be a follow up from the messages to tell them that there will be a training on a certain date and at a certain location.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

It is noted that the AEI workers track the attendance of TA members at every training so that individuals who do not attend can be followed up with:

*'We also have a training attendance registry, so we make sure that every farmer is there and if a farmer is not there for any reason, that farmer is the one to target on the next site visit.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

Another point made by interviewee 105 is that attendance is also monitored so that AEI workers can determine which farmers they choose to work with in the following season. If a TA member is a poor attender, their chances of being contracted again are less likely:

*'We have an attendance register at each training we have, so every farmer who attends has to fill out their details ... So, if I discover that a certain farmer was absent, then I will have to visit them alone and tell them the importance of attending group trainings because it's not possible to arrange trainings for a single person. We emphasize this point with strong words, telling them that if they continue to be absent, it will affect their performance at the end of the season which might affect them getting a loan for the next season and that I am not sure if I will be able to work with them because I want to work with people who understand and respect unity.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

The importance of attendance displays another aspect of the communication intervention: TAs receive a penalty if they are not actively engaged in the communication processes.

As part of ensuring that CTC TA members follow the advice and training, four CTC AEI workers identified that they monitor the TA members' progress by conducting regular, in-person visits to each one:

*'Extension workers are always close by to follow up and check that all the inputs are available and are used for their intended purpose ... We want all inputs to be used in the farm correctly, so extension work is very important in following up, advising farmers to apply the inputs correctly and follow good agronomic practices to be successful.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

The follow-up visits are a control mechanism to ensure that TAs are following the instructions of CTC. This control mechanism is used later in the tobacco production process, as CTC AEI workers also monitor the production of the number of plants throughout the season to enable them to predict production:

*'When it comes to selling season, we do surveys where we identify the number of plants planted ... From there we do yield estimates across the board ... for all the farmers.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

When it comes time for the crop to be sold, as noted by interviewee 105, the TA members' movements are strictly monitored, and the AEI workers organise transport for them to get to the auction floors to ensure that the crop arrives safely:

*'The movements of the contracted farmers are controlled, and we strictly monitor them. We actually organise some transport for them to take them to the auction floors. When they are done with selling, they can get into the same vehicle and come back home so the chances that they might be robbed are very slim.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

A final key activity that is conducted by the CTC AEI workers is to produce reports and evaluations throughout the season, for auditing and management purposes:

*'We do evaluations and these evaluations are passed up to my boss.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

It must be noted at this point the primary aim of the information services delivered by the CTC AEI workers is to ensure that CTC gets the required production results:

*'All these activities we enforce, because if we just say it farmers will relax, so we have to enforce so that we have the results.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

The secondary aim of the information service is to ensure that the TAs make enough money to pay back their loans, and, ideally, to improve their livelihoods:

*'At the end of the day, we want to ensure that the farmers get good money at the end of the season.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

As presented in Figure 6.2, the CTC TA support what the CTC AEI workers say, with 100% of female and 75% of male CTC TA members identifying the primary information service activity of CTC AEI workers as being information providers on growing tobacco. It should be noted that interviewee 118 states that she feels that the farmers are benefiting from this advice.

The second most identified communication activity of the CTC AEI workers by the CTC TA is their role in providing inputs, with 25% of female CTC TA members and 50% of male CTC TA members identifying this activity. This activity is classed as an information provision activity, because input provision is typically supported by information provided either in written or verbal form, discussed further in Section 6.1.2.

Farmer-to-Farmer learning was identified as a key communication activity by 25% of female CTC TA members and 13% of male CTC TA members. This is classed a communication activity because the establishment of farmer groups enables peer-to-peer learning. This definition will also be used for MLO and CDO evaluations.

Finally, only 12.5% of female CTC TA members identified that CTC AEI workers provide information on other crops. No males identified this information service.

These aspects reported by the CTC TA show that the main information service of the CTC AEI workers is to provide information about growing tobacco. This echoes what was reported by CTC AEI workers. Input provision supports this primary information service. Farmer-to-Farmer learning and information on other crops are identified but appear to be additional services which are a bi-product of the primary services.

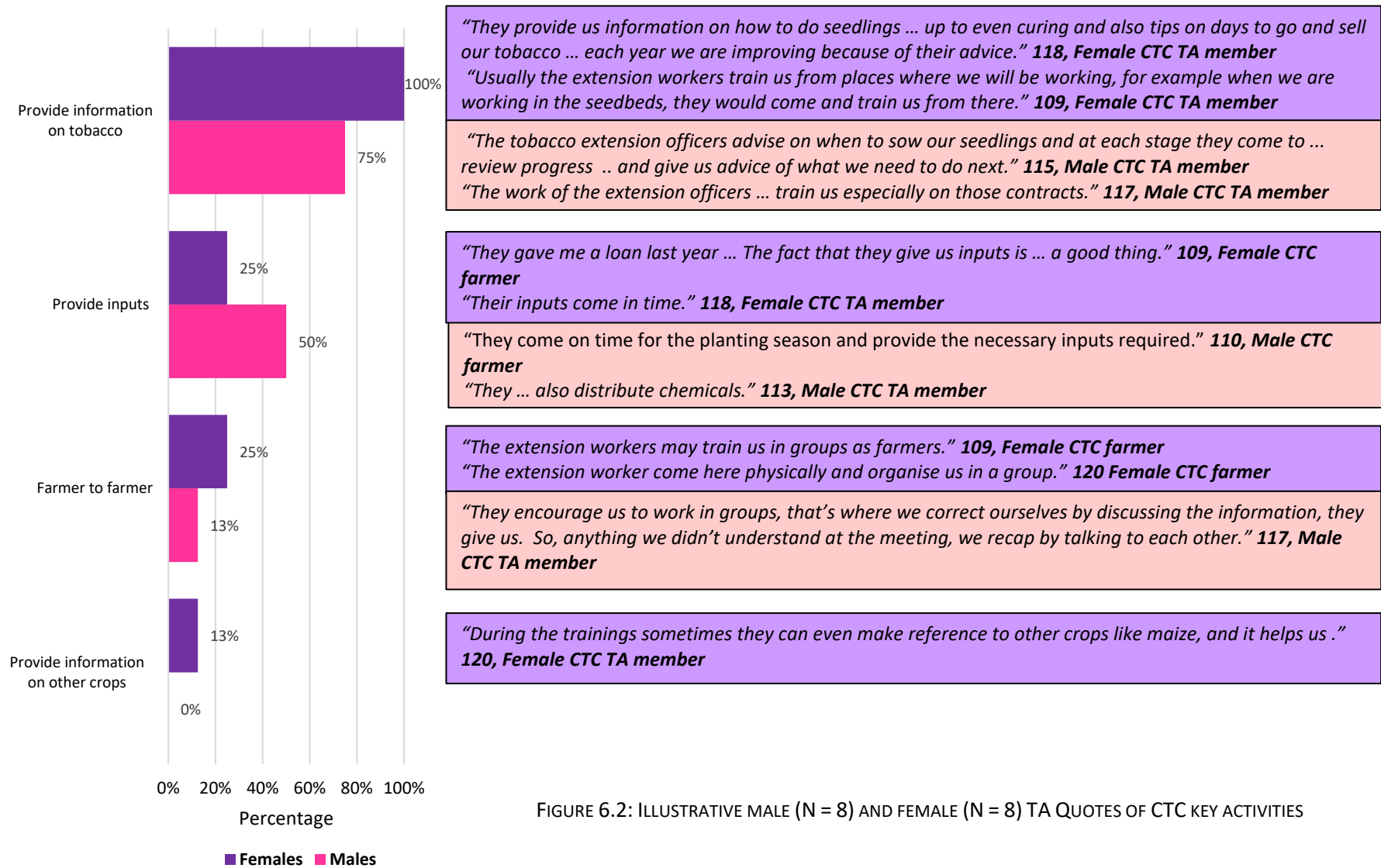


FIGURE 6.2: ILLUSTRATIVE MALE (N = 8) AND FEMALE (N = 8) TA QUOTES OF CTC KEY ACTIVITIES

From this initial identification, CTC's communication intervention goal sits squarely in the 'Persuasive transfer or innovations' strategy as per the CTA framework (see Section 2.5.2) because of the 'predefined behaviour change' indicated by the data.

### **6.1.2 The delivery of the information services of CTC**

Having established the intervention goal and primary information services of CTC, it is now important to explore how the communication activities are delivered to identify how information is being communicated and the primary information channels that are being used by CTC.

The most frequent information channel identified by the CTC AEI workers was via physical demonstration with 4 out of 7 AEI workers noting that this information channel was used. It is noted by interviewees 101 and 105 that they believe that practical demonstration is the most effective training mechanism for transferring agricultural information:

*'We believe that practical demonstration is better than telling a farmer go and do this. So, we do practical demonstrations at all our trainings.'*

- 101, Male CTC AEI worker

*'This (demonstration) is what we saw working best for farmers to understand what we teach them. After demonstrating, we ask if anyone didn't understand anything or if anyone has a question ... and we explain further and clarify everything and so we are on the same page with everyone. That is how we train farmers ... I make sure not to leave some farmers unsatisfied regarding anything we would have done on the training that day.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

It is also noted by interviewee 105 that as well as the demonstration, a key part of the communication process is the opportunity for TA members to ask clarification questions, and to take the time to ensure that the TA fully understands what they have been trained on. This indicates that dialogical communications processes are present.

The CTC field observation supported the statements that demonstration was used as a primary communication channel. It was observed that the AEI workers demonstrated how to apply fertiliser on one of the TA members' tobacco crops and, as part of the demonstration, asked TA members to volunteer to put into practice what they had been shown. This learning process can be seen in Photograph 6.1.



PHOTOGRAPH 6.1: OBSERVATION OF CTC TA MEMBER PARTICIPATING IN CTC DEMONSTRATION TRAINING

10 out of 16 (three females and seven males) of the CTC TA members also confirmed that this training mechanism was used frequently by the CTC AEI workers (Figure 6.3), with 116 noting that the CTC AEI workers occasionally help with the work during their visits.

Demonstration  
 (noted by 3 females and 7  
 male TA members)

*“They come here and train and teach us on the ground.”*  
 - 108, Female CTC TA member

*“They usually do demonstrate in the field at the beginning, especially when we are about to plant. They come to the seedbed and show us how to do it. ... demonstrations are something that we quite enjoy.”*  
 - 112, Male CTC TA member

*“They gather everyone in a group and they physically demonstrate planting each plant step by step and they ask each member to do the same.”*  
 - 115, Male CTC TA member

*“They come to the farm and physically demonstrate how to plant the seeds including measuring and applying fertilizer required. If you are lucky, and they find you planting, they can help you for up to an hour. They are always circulating in the area.”*  
 - 116, Male CTC TA member

*“They don’t just talk or say it, they do show us how to do it. For example, going in stages from preparing the seedbed up to the point where the crop is mature, they come and demonstrate to us.”*  
 - 121, Female CTC farmer

FIGURE 6.3: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CTC DEMONSTRATIONS

The second most frequently mentioned information channel noted by the CTC AEI workers was the mobile phone. It is noted by interviewee 102 that mobile phones were

used for communicating the logistics of the training (i.e. the location and date of future training sessions).

*'[WhatsApp] is the first method of communication then secondly, since I am mobile using a motorbike, I have to go door to door making a follow up to inform them about the messages. We know our farmers by homestead, by person, and by contract.'*

- 102, Male CTC AEI worker

It is also noted by 104 that this information channel was also used to provide farming advice to TA members in addition to the demonstrations:

*'Usually we advise them on a mobile group. We have a mobile group with 31 farmers on it where we can advise them.'*

- 104, Male CTC AEI worker

The use of the mobile phone as an information channel was referred to by 4 out of 8 female TA members and 5 out of 8 male TA members. As noted in Figure 6.4, this channel was mostly used for co-ordination purposes rather than information provision. However, it is noted by interviewee 113 that sometimes CTC sends text messages containing agricultural information.

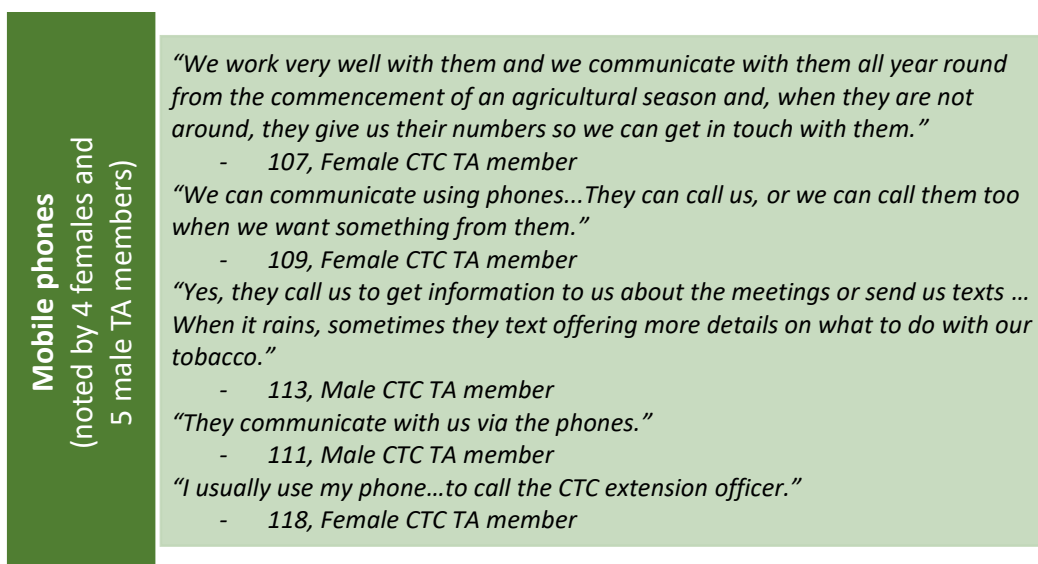


FIGURE 6.4: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CTC MOBILE PHONE INFORMATION

Although this is a popular information channel identified by the TA, it is noted by interviewee 133 that there are limitations around access to this channel due to cost factors:





This written information channel was also mentioned by 6 of the 16 TA members (two females and four males). A common theme noted by the interviewees was the use of pamphlets and leaflets for referencing farming practices (Figure 6.5). A potential reason for more males than females mentioning this channel could be due to the education disparity mentioned in Section 4.2, which implies that more men are literate than women and, therefore, are more able to access this information channel.

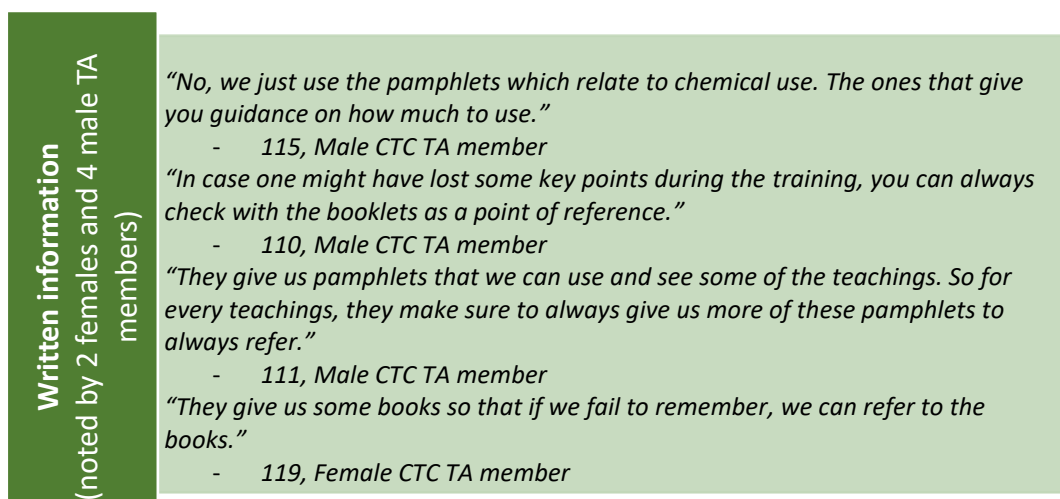


FIGURE 6.5: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CTC WRITTEN INFORMATION

Along a similar vein, three CTC male TA members mentioned the information channel of note-taking (Figure 6.6).

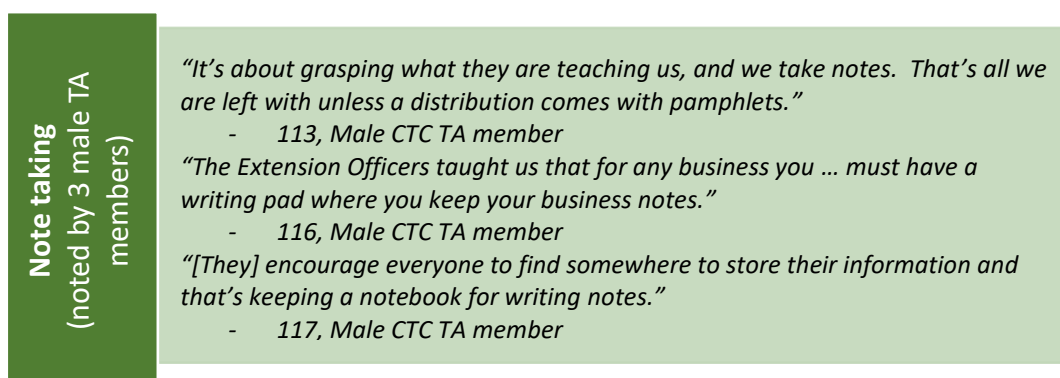


FIGURE 6.6: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CTC NOTE-TAKING

It should be noted that this was not mentioned by any of the female CTC TA members which, as with the written information channel, is possibly due to education disparity between the sexes identified in Section 4.2.

### 6.1.3 The roles and relationship between the CTC AEI workers and CTC TAs

Having established the main mechanisms used by CTC in the communication process, it is important to understand the relational dimensions between the AEI workers and TAs. This

is important to consider as it determines how the AEI positions itself with the TA to meet its intervention goal.

To execute their intervention goal, 7 of the 16 TA members interviewed (four males and three females) reported that the CTC TA see the AEI workers' key role as being a teaching role with quotes such as:

*'To me, they teach us to do proper farming methods and techniques especially on the type of farming you specialize in.'*

- 111, Male CTC TA member

*'Firstly, they come with what they have to teach us, but sometimes they ask depending on the situation... He comes to the field and he illustrates to us how things are done.'*

- 122, Female CTC TA member

However, there are also strong messages that CTC positions itself in such a way that requires a symbiotic relationship between their AEI workers and the TA members. This is because the TA needs their support in terms of information and the institution needs the TA members to deliver on the production of the tobacco to ensure commercial viability:

*'The biggest thing that I have focused on is the idea that, although a farmer is our grower, he is also our customer. So, it's that sort of idea that the Leaf Techs need to form a relationship with their growers that is ... mutually beneficial... It's not just him telling the grower what to do because the grower doesn't work for us ... It's a symbiotic relationship. We need the growers because we need the tobacco, and they need us because they need the inputs ... A number of Leaf Techs have had to have this drummed into them, it's had to be taught and retaught and retaught to the point where they have to be disciplined if they are not doing it.'*

- 123, Male CTC AEI worker

This arrangement means that whilst the intervention activities used can be classed as assertive, there is a fundamental need to foster a mutually positive working relationship between the TA members and the AEI workers to ensure that both parties' needs are met. This mutually supportive relationship is noted by one of the AEI workers and one of the TA members:

*'The old growers ... have had their share of challenges so they, therefore, push a lot of questions and we are always armed with answers. And no matter what the question is,*

*none are wrong or right, we just take them in and answer because someone is learning from those answers.'*

- 103, Male CTC AEI worker

*'We can freely talk to each other and help each other.'*

- 121, Female CTC TA member

This aspect of the information exchange relationship points to a dialogical communication arrangement being present.

To explore the dialogical arrangements further, all of the TA members that were interviewed were asked if the AEI workers asked them about the challenges they faced before and throughout the training process, and how the AEI workers interacted with solutions that were presented to them by TA members. These particular aspects were chosen to support the analysis of whether the TAs and AEI workers played a passive or active role in the communication processes. The responses of the farmers to these questions are summarised in Table 6.1.

Half of the male TA members (4 out of 8) and the majority of the female TA members (5 out of 8) stated that that they could discuss their challenges with the AEI workers, and that they could suggest solutions that the AEI workers would take on board (Table 6.1). These responses point towards a dialogical relationship between the AEI workers and the TAs. As noted by interviewee 122, some of the AEI workers go beyond simply providing information on growing tobacco by supporting social progression as well:

*'Sometimes the extension officer even asks us to suggest some helpful tips concerning farming, so that every farmer can benefit... For example, our extension worker is very free and sometimes he even asks about our social issues, whether we live happily with our husbands, and he once said if we are encountering some problem we should share with him so that if possible he can help.'*

- 122, Female CTC TA member

TABLE 6.1: CTC TA RESPONSES TO BEING ABLE TO DISCUSS CHALLENGES AND PRESENT SOLUTIONS TO AEI WORKERS

Aspect of AEI and TA dialogue	TA answers	Males (8 total)	Females (8 total)	Illustrative quotes
CTC AEI workers asks the farmers about challenges	Yes	4	5	<p><i>'Yes they (CTC) do ask us about our problems and we share our issues like having a tractor.'</i></p> <p>- 115, Male CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'Farmers ask questions and get feedback from the extension workers, so you if you have any question you can ask the extension officer and he will give you feedback.'</i></p> <p>- 119, Female CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'If any problems occur, we can ask them anything about how to solve these... I think, most of the time, it's about us as farmers [needing] to work with them. If you work well with your Extension Officer, in fact, it makes it easy for him to keep helping you and sharing all the ideas.'</i></p> <p>- 117, Male CTC TA member</p>
	No	3	2	<p><i>'It depends on which officer you are dealing with. Some start by telling us what they want, and it is when they finish that anyone can ask any questions and if it's an issue that they can solve, they will let you know... I don't really think [CTC officers ask us about challenges] ... they just carry out their research over there and they bring it here when they come to train us.'</i></p> <p>- 113, Male CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'Farmers have got lots of grievances which they need to air ... They are never given the chance.'</i></p> <p>- 118, Female CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'We inform them of the challenges we face but they don't accept them.'</i></p> <p>- 115, Male CTC TA member</p>
	Sometimes	1	0	<p><i>'Firstly, they come with what they have to teach us, but sometimes they ask depending on the situation.'</i></p> <p>- 112, Male CTC TA member</p>
	No answer	0	1	N/A
CTC takes on suggestions from farmers	Yes	4	6	<p><i>'Yes, they do give us the chance [to suggest solutions]. They don't always assume that, because they are extension providers, they are the ones who know. They give us the chance to air our views as farmers... if they see that one has suggested a useful solution, it will be used...so their solutions and ideas are welcomed by the CTC extension workers.'</i></p> <p>- 109, Female CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'That's what they really appreciate now (CTC receiving suggestions from the farmers) ... Last year, they were told that here we have water challenges and cos of that we might delay on planting dates. So, the farmers suggested that the extension officer should take this problem to the top officials or maybe provide them with water tanks whereas groups people can organise themselves</i></p>

Aspect of AEI and TA dialogue (cont.)	TA answers (cont.)	Males (8 total) (cont.)	Females (8 total) (cont.)	Illustrative quotes (cont.)
				<p><i>and plant their crop and water it. So, the extension officers said that they took the suggestion to the office.'</i></p> <p>- 119, Female CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'If you have other problems, you can put them forward to the company, but the response is slow, especially if you are alone. You need more people for your cases to be heard.'</i></p> <p>- 116, Male CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'The Extension Officers take our concerns on board and tell us they will report to the Head Office, but we don't get any feedback, so even if we ask for something there is no way of knowing if our request was actioned. There is no feedback following your requests.'</i></p> <p>- 115, Male CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'Yes, they [CTC] do ask consistently [about difficulties faced by the farmers], but sometimes we even approach them first before they even ask. ... they do very much so [take our suggestions into account].'</i></p> <p>117, Male CTC TA member</p>
No	0	0	1	<p><i>'I don't think we communicate well [over mutual suggestions]. Personally, I think we just agree to differ. He can say something, and the farmers do something.'</i></p> <p>- 118, Female CTC TA member</p>
Sometimes	3	3	0	<p><i>'They (CTC) take [our suggestions] positively and we try by all means to reach a consensus.'</i></p> <p>- 111, Male CTC TA member</p> <p><i>'Yes, we even talk about problems we encounter and they [CTC] assist very well with sound advice ... sometimes what is on paper is not what is usually on the ground. We try and reach a 50/50 situation.'</i></p> <p>- 110, Male CTC TA member</p>
No answer	1	1	1	N/A

However, there are some other strong messages illustrated by several of the responses presented in Table 6.1. Five TA members (three males and two females), feel that they are not asked about the challenges they face and that, whilst the TA members feel that their solutions and requests are listened to, the response from CTC can be slow, as noted by interviewees 116 and 115 (in Table 6.1).

It can be noted that two of the CTC male TA members say that sometimes their solutions are listened to, but that there is a process of consensus that takes place between the TA members and the AEI workers. This points towards men having stronger bargaining power than women and, therefore, being able to control the AEI relationship more than a female potentially could.

It should further be noted that, whilst CTC focuses on providing information about the production of tobacco, one TA member reported that the CTC AEI workers can also provide support where they can on advising on other crops:

*'They can assist with other information like farming beans, maize ... they do help and ask about other issues to do with farming.'*

- 114, Male CTC TA member

Although, another TA member noted that they only deal with issues around tobacco:

*'They deal with tobacco issues only.'*

- 111, Male CTC TA member

Given the conflicting reports, it is not unreasonable to suggest that agricultural support, and indeed the working relationship, may vary from AEI worker to AEI worker.

Given the potential financial stressors of this arrangement, one final dynamic of the relationship between the AEI workers and the TA members is the repayment of the loans. This aspect could cause disjunction and disharmony between the two actors affecting the relationship between them. However, the AEI workers report that most TA members manage to pay back their loans:

*'So, for the farmer who followed instructions, that loan can be paid by just one bale and all the remaining bales are the farmer's profit.'*

- 105, Male CTC AEI worker

And there are reports supporting this from the TA members are that the loans are easily paid back:

*'Yes, it is quite easy (to repay the loan), for example, last year I could pay my loan after selling only one bale, so it's quite easy.'*

- 119, Female CTC TA member

It is also noted by one TA member that if they are not paid back, the company is lenient enough to consider the reasons why the debt has not been paid back:

*'If you fail to pay the debt and they know that your tobacco was damaged by hailstones, they will be patient...they have to [listen to farmers solutions] because they want people to be able to pay their debts. So, they will try their best.'*

- 116, Male CTC TA member

The following quote also recognises that, even when the TA members may have a poor growing season, it is recognised by the TA that the blame does not sit entirely with the institution:

*'Sometimes you could discover that after paying your debt, you are left with nothing. This makes you feel like you were just working for the company since you have been left with no profit ... It's not the company's fault, it's just that they (the farmers) probably didn't produce enough tobacco to earn extra money.'*

- 113, Male CTC TA member

Most of the relational dynamics between the TA and the AEI workers are positive, which indicates that despite the more severe intervention goal of making a profit, CTC is managing to execute the intervention goal in a supportive and positive manner. Notably, this trend goes against literature suggesting that contract farming is often associated with farmers being taken advantage of and being put in difficult situations that limit their development (Glover, 1987).

#### **6.1.4 The communication approach being used by CTC**

From the data presented in Section 6.1.1 it can be observed that CTC's primary communication intervention goal is to transfer particular knowledge and skills to increase tobacco production by the TA. However, some CTC AEI workers also support other avenues of information such as the production of other crops and provision of social support. To meet their primary intervention goal, CTC delivers technical training to their



TA that focuses on tobacco production primarily through the information channel of demonstration. The trainings are strictly monitored via rigid reporting mechanisms and TA attendance (mentioned in Section 6.1.1). There are repercussions for both TA members who fail to attend the trainings, and those who fail to produce tobacco. However, the company is described as lenient and supportive where it can be in cases where the loan has not been met. There are also serious repercussions for the AEI workers should they fail to produce results (as noted in Section 5.1.1). This means that there is an important mutually beneficial arrangement in place between both the TAs and the AEI workers. With such an arrangement comes clear messages of mutual respect between the two parties. However, the AEI workers perceive themselves and are perceived as the TA members as educators or trainers, and the TA members as students. Despite this vertical power positioning, there are strong reports of dialogical arrangements between the two, indicating that CTC AEI workers engage in both active listening, and active learning because they allow the TA to provide feedback and suggestions which they consider. This, in turn, means that the TA takes on the role of being active participants or learners and, at times, a source of information. These aspects of the communication process that have been identified are flagged with an X in the communication function framework below:

TABLE 6.2: CTC'S COMMUNICATION FUNCTION (ADAPTED FROM LEEUWIS AND VAN DEN BAN, 2004)

Function		Intervention goal		Role of AEI workers		Role of TA member(s)	
	CTC		CTC		CTC		CTC
Raising awareness and consciousness of pre-defined issues		Encouraging people to define a situation as problematic		Providing (confrontational) feedback		Unexpected receiver or relatively passive participant	
		Mobilising interest		Raising questions			
Exploring views and issues		Identifying relevant views and issues		Stimulating people to talk		Source of information	x
				Active listening	x	Active participant/learner	x
				Active learning	x		
Information provision		Making information accessible to those who search for it	x	Translating and structuring information		Active learner	x
Training	x	Transferring and/or fostering particular knowledge, skills and abilities	x	Educator/trainer	x	Student	x

Table 6.2 indicates that CTC's primary communication function is to provide training where the AEI workers take on the role of teachers or educators and the TA members take on the role as students. However, because of how this function is implemented, CTC also plays some role in functioning as an information provision institution. This softer aspect of the communication approach enables the AEI to provide a persuasive transfer approach (noted in the communication strategy approach by Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004)), in an appropriate and considerate manner that promotes dialogical and inclusive communication learning processes.

## **6.2 Case Study 2: Market Linkage Organisation (MLO)**

As reviewed in detail in Section 5.2, the Market Linkage Organisation (MLO) is a donor-funded institution that focuses on establishing and facilitating long-lasting market linkages between farmers and commercial contracting companies to improve livelihoods through contract farming. The MLO data found in Table 3.2 forms the basis of the communication approach analysis presented here.

As noted in Section 5.2, the smaller number of MLO AEI workers is due to the small size of the overall project team, only four of which were actively involved in the communication process. It has also previously been flagged that there are more female MLO TA interviewees than male MLO TA interviewees. This is largely due to men being absent from the training sessions, as noted in Section 5.2.

### **6.2.1 The communication intervention goal and information services of MLO**

As with the previous case study, this sub-section will identify the aims of the communication intervention that MLO is implementing and what information services are being used to facilitate the communication intervention goal.

As MLO is donor-funded, it does not have the same pressure to turn a profit or be constantly commercially viable as CTC does. However, as discussed previously in Section 5.2, because MLO is reliant on donor funds, it undertakes different projects that generally have a short life span, and therefore the intervention goals vary on a project-to-project basis. However, each intervention does consistently make use of private sector players and AGRITEX officers:

*'So, in practical terms, it differs with the intervention. Like I said we have different interventions; from the demo plots we go to the infrastructure where we build dip*

*tanks. We have the contract farming where we also have private sector players. We have the government extension agents for crops.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Interviewee 209 goes on to explain that MLO extension workers generally try to work through AGRITEX and that one of MLO's primary functions is to provide support to AGRITEX extension workers by providing extension tools and support:

*'Generally, we try to work through AGRITEX as they have the staff and the resources, and it is the government's mandate to drive the extension. It is not something that is hidden that our government is constrained and our AGRITEX have limited resources and, at times, they do not have access to the latest knowledge and simple facilities like researching on sesame production. So that is where we come in by providing manuals. On the ground, the extension is primarily carried out by AGRITEX then you have us as the NGOs who also have private-sector extension.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

*'We use pamphlets, training manuals to give to AGRITEX or even to certain companies on information about value chains whether it's is profitability analysis of the value chain.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

It also noted by one of the MLO TA members that MLO AEI workers do not conduct technical training, but rather that the training is taught by the commercial company officer and the local AGRITEX officer:

*'No, they do not train us. We are trained by the owners of the chillies from Better. They have an extension officer who stays in our ward helping us under chilli.'*

- 221, Male MLO TA member

This aspect of the intervention is reinforced by interviewee 209, who explains that MLO plays a key role in providing support for the farmers and AGRITEX to ensure that the commercial contract companies can have a sustained and fruitful engagement with the TA members:

*'You know when you are introducing a new crop you need to invest a lot into extension and that is a huge cost. Farmers fail to identify when the crop is germinating. At times they don't understand due to the low literacy level the plants pacing. The yields may be*

*low which might demotivate the company and the company pulls out which hardly happens when we are present because we try to walk through and cover some of the costs.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Interviewee 210 adds to this by explaining that MLO's aim in the project (that this study examined) is to inform TAs about the open market and the benefits of contract farming:

*'We inform farmers for them to realize the benefits of contract farming and for them to be able to engage with a private sector company.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

Interviewee 210 further explains that MLO then aims to support TA members into a commercial position by enabling them to link themselves to a market:

*'We have a direct link with farmers where we can just call a lead farmer to confirm how many volumes they have and how many they are wanting to sell and then we advised him to call a certain number. Instead of us calling the company, we just give them a contact person to call themselves so that they can create a relationship.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

These quotes suggest that the main intervention of MLO is to support longer term, commercial interventions. This intervention dynamic means that the communication approach being used is not driven by the need to make a commercial profit as with CTC, but rather to create long term commercial networks that their TA can access and utilise to improve their own development prospects. Because MLO is donor-funded, the repercussions embedded within the AEI worker's job roles are less severe than that of CTC. This provides the space for the communication approaches used to be less directive than those used by CTC.

To achieve this intervention goal, it was noted by three MLO TA members that MLO's aims to link farmers to markets:

*'They have also linked us with a market called Muntu Foods who will be buying our maize.'*

- 205, Female MLO TA member

*'They teach us how to farm as well as to link us with various donors who come and help us and, again, they find buyers who will buy our produce.'*

- 219, Male MLO TA member

*'To us, MLO helped us get a company that was into chilli farming. They came with MLO systems and said "We are from MLO. We will look for a company that will give you seed. It will come and buy at this price".'*

- 221, Male MLO TA member

It is noted by interviewee 220 that MLO's interventions aim to enable TA members to 'stand on their own' by providing them with such information:

*'[MLO] trains us mostly, it's not like other organisations that give us money. So, they come with information [and] encourage the people to stand on their own.'*

- 220, Male MLO TA member

The dynamics of the communication intervention presented here show that MLO plays a facilitation role between TA members and commercial companies and use AGRITEX to support this relationship in the longer term. This aspect of the intervention is noted by both 200 and 210:

*'MLO is more a negotiator.'*

- 200, Male MLO AEI worker

*'As development practitioners, we are only there for a short period of time during the project so ... our purpose is to link farmers to markets ... We just support the trainers and the private sector companies ... If we support the farmer through the company, even if we have left, that relationship between the farmer and the company will continue.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

This intervention goal varies significantly from CTC, who have no specified time limit with their TA and directly aim to support individual farmers through information provision rather than facilitating relationships.

Having identified MLO's intervention goals, it is prudent to examine the main information services that take place for MLO to meet their communication intervention goals. It is

noted by one AEI MLO worker that one of their information services is to promote and encourage TA engagement in commercial production:

*'We try to talk to them [and] say that we are promoting ... a profitable value chain. We encourage them to make money to make a profit in the value chain.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

Once TA members are recruited, MLO conducts a series of training events to share information with TA members about specific crops that are commercially viable. This aspect of MLO's information services was mentioned by 83% of the female and 100% of male MLO TA members (Figure 6.7) making this activity the most frequently noted service by the TA. Interviewee 214 says that the content of the information service varies depending which commodity is being produced:

*'They assist us, the farmers, by introducing new crops such as sesame and chilli. They have also introduced livestock rearing projects although we had not started with them as we are still building the kraals.'*

- 214, Female MLO TA member

This aspect diverges from CTC's focus on tobacco production. Although not specified by the quotes above, it was seen in the field observation (Photograph 6.3 and Photograph 6.4) that the training was done in conjunction with AGRITEX and commercial company officers. The inclusion of AGRITEX and company officers also differs significantly from CTC. Although it is noted that CTC takes advice from AGRITEX in terms of farmer recruitment, the CTC AEI workers conduct most of their training on their own, whilst MLO partners with other actors.



PHOTOGRAPH 6.3: OBSERVATION AT MLO SITE 1 - AGRITEX OFFICER CO-TRAINING WITH MLO OFFICERS



PHOTOGRAPH 6.4: OBSERVATION AT MLO SITE 2 - AGRITEX OFFICER CO-TRAINING WITH MLO OFFICERS

As illustrated in Figure 6.7, farmer-to-farmer learning was noted by 43% of the female and 17% of the male MLO TA members. This aspect was also noted by the CTC TA members, but by a smaller proportion (25% and 13% respectively). Other key information services identified by MLO TA included the activities of providing inputs (similar to CTC) and linking farmers to markets. Linking farmers to markets has been classified as an information service because this activity facilitates new communication channels for the TAs. Figure 6.7 shows that more males identified the input provision and market linkages than females.

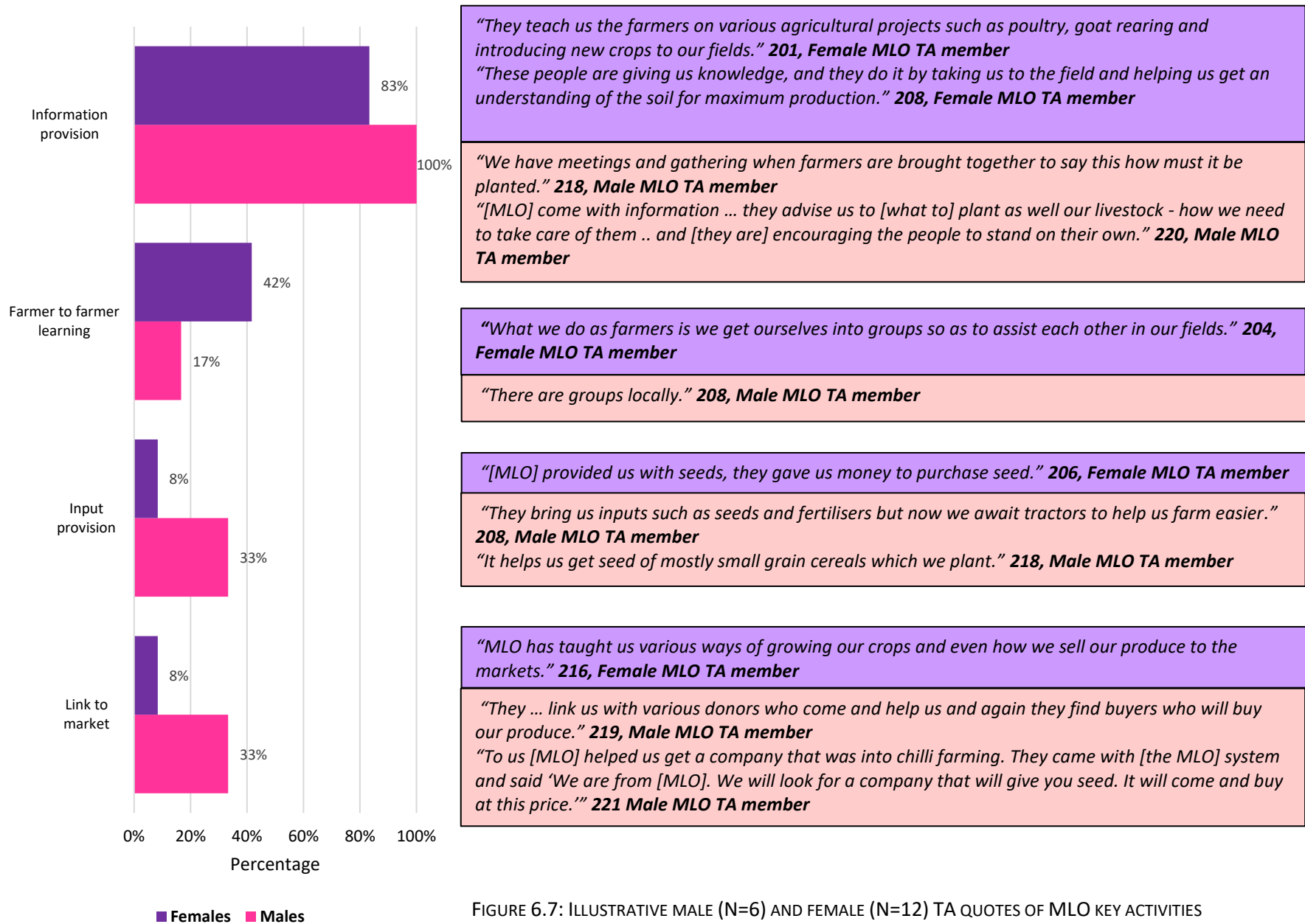


FIGURE 6.7: ILLUSTRATIVE MALE (N=6) AND FEMALE (N=12) TA QUOTES OF MLO KEY ACTIVITIES



## 6.2.2 The delivery of the information services of MLO

The primary information channels of TA training used by MLO consists of classroom-based training followed by demonstration. The demonstration is reportedly done on a demo plot, which is a farm that has been selected by MLO to be used as a demonstration space:

*'The trainings involve the practical trainings that we do then we also have the demo plots and that is part of training. When we set up a demo plot, farmers can come and see how a crop is going and they can learn something from there.'*

- 209, Female MLO TA member

This information channel is confirmed by four of the MLO TA members (Figure 6.8).

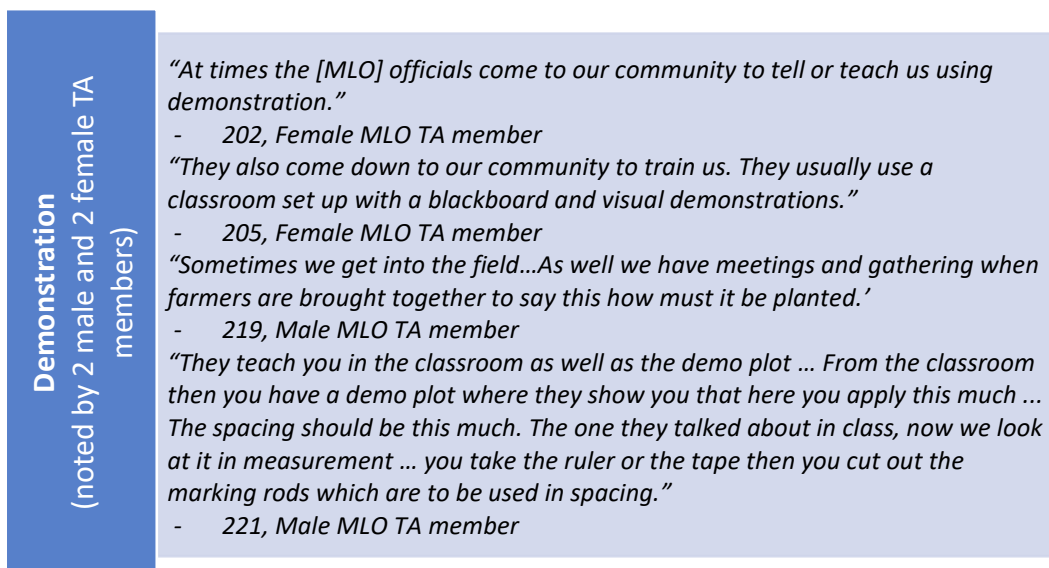


FIGURE 6.8: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF MLO DEMONSTRATION

This was also supported by the field observations, with the first observed training taking place in a local primary school classroom (Photograph 6.5) and the second observed training taking place outside near the local irrigation site (Photograph 6.6). The second training was meant to take place on one of the demo plots but, at the time of the observation, there had been no rain and thus the demo plot was too dry to use.



PHOTOGRAPH 6.5: OBSERVATION OF MLO THEORY TRAINING IN A CLASSROOM



PHOTOGRAPH 6.6: OBSERVATION OF MLO DEMONSTRATION TRAINING UNDER A TREE

It was noted by 12 of the MLO TA members that they took notes during the classroom and demonstration training as a mechanism to retain the information that was being given (Figure 6.9).

This information channel is more popular with the MLO TA than with the CTC TA, and it is an important observation that this channel was recognised by eight female MLO TA members (Figure 6.9), whereas it was not noted by any female CTC TA members.

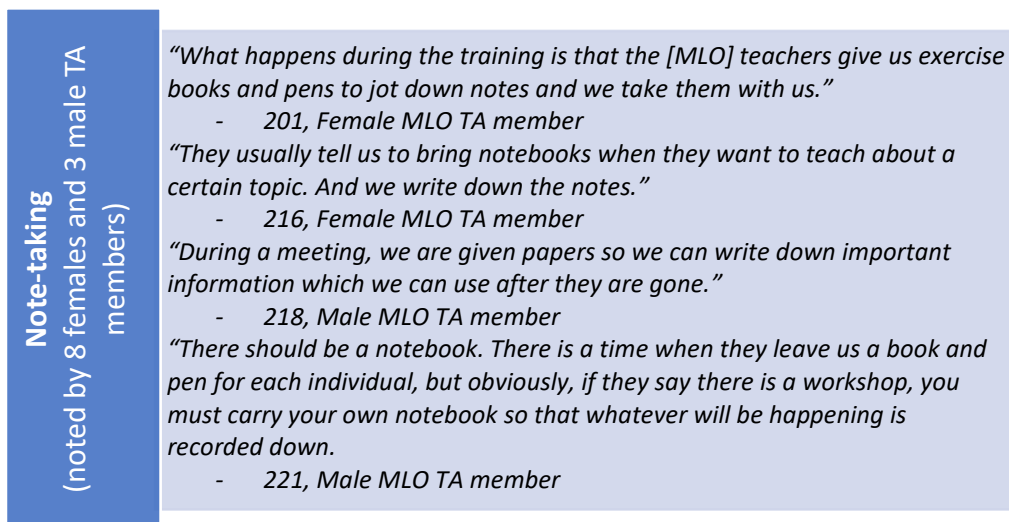


FIGURE 6.9: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF MLO NOTE-TAKING

It is noted by three of the female MLO TA members that, by taking notes during the training, the information can be referred to later and it can be distributed to other farmers:

*‘We have exercise books and pens where we jot down our notes and we can take them back to our homesteads.’*

- 212, Female MLO TA member

*‘They usually give us exercise books and pens to jot down what they’ll be teaching us and we take those books to our homes so that, from time to time, we refer to what we have been taught.’*

- 214, Female MLO TA member

*‘When we attend trainings with [MLO] they usually teach like we are in class with a blackboard and we jot down the notes on our books which we can take with us to our homes.’*

- 217, Female MLO TA member

It was also noted by one of the AEI workers that the TA members were given information booklets to keep as reference documents:

*‘Then we have the written work. At times like for sesame we have booklets that they can follow up and read for themselves at the ground-level. Each sesame seed pack comes with a small production manual.’*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

However, only three TA members mentioned this information channel (Figure 6.10) indicating that it is less important than other information channels used.

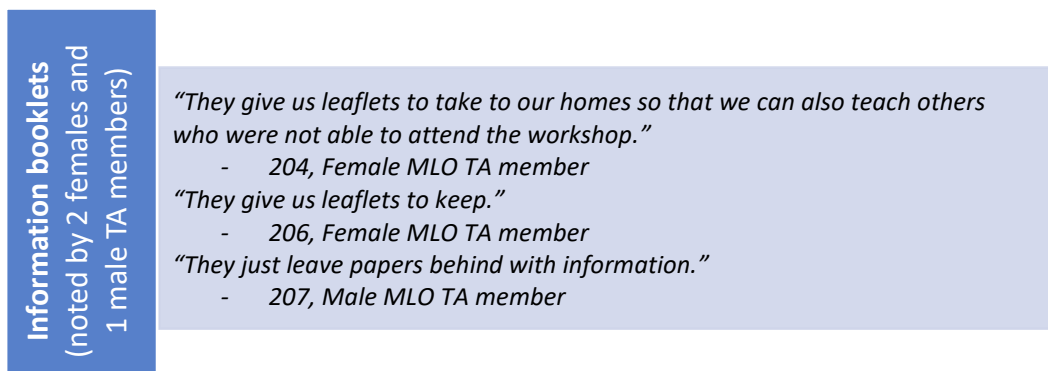


FIGURE 6.10: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF MLO INFORMATION BOOKLETS

Mobile phones were also noted as an important information channel by the MLO AEI workers:

*‘We can just text the farmers as we have a database of the farmers ... We generate a database for our farmers so that we will just disseminate information at once through a text message. Even calling the farmers, we have a direct link with the farmers where we can just call a lead farmer.’*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

*‘We also have broadcast [text] messages which we send... For this training, we obtain the cell phone numbers of the farmers and incorporate them into our master database. When we have something urgent that we are expecting, like heavy rains, we can send a warning message to the farmers ... It is mainly one way but ... if they (the farmers) need anything further they ask their local extension officer.’*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

This information channel was also mentioned by seven of the TA members (Figure 6.11). Most of the TA members who mentioned this information channel expressed that mobile phones are mainly used as a meeting co-ordination tool to help organise and make the TA aware the in-person training sessions. However, one TA member noted that it is being used as an active extension information channel with AGRITEX:

*‘What we usually do is to consult [the] AGRITEX extension officer who then requests that we take a photo of the crop and send it to him via WhatsApp. They further ask the extent of the attack by the insects then they look for the medicines necessary.’*

- 201, Female MLO TA member

**Mobile phones**  
(noted by 6 females and 1 male TA members)

*"If ever there are problems they are always so quick to communicate with us over the phone ... We usually get text messages through our phones."*

- 202, Female MLO TA member

*"Most of the times they disseminate information through text messaging (SMS) on our phones."*

- 203, Female MLO TA member

*"They call me to inform me of any meeting or trainings."*

- 205, Female MLO TA member

*"They usually put information on both (SMS) text messages and WhatsApp in our mobile phones."*

- 206, Female MLO TA member

*"They call or send a message on our mobile phones."*

- 217, Male MLO TA member

FIGURE 6.11: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF MLO MOBILE PHONES

However, a few challenges of this information channel are noted including difficulties such as limited mobile phone access (interviewee 201) and problems paying for the services (interviewee 210):

*'Not everyone receives the information because some of them do not have mobile phones. Only those with their contact details registered have access to information. Hence, this does not help relations between men and women because some of the individuals would not have received any information.'*

- 201, Female MLO TA member

*'The farmers who are communal farmers the cost of communicating and buying data bundles and airtime are some of the challenges.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

Other difficulties included poor network coverage (interviewee 210) and lack of power to keep the phones charged (interviewee 224):

*'There is also a challenge of network coverage because there are certain wards where there is no network coverage, whether it is Econet or Netone, there is nothing ... that is the other challenge we share with the applications ... So, if farmers do not have access to network it becomes difficult for them to use that application and it costs and this is affecting everyone.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

*'[SMS] doesn't penetrate because ... there are limiting factors like there is no network [and] power challenges. There is solar, but when it is cloudy there is no energy for solar ... So, the only good way is to communicate is via discussions like this because if you say "I will send papers" you will find that some of them don't read or write. But if you talk and demonstrate with them by asking questions and discussing ideas or even exchange visits by taking them from one angle to learn from another angle, it is quite a good way.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

The cost limitations of using phones identified here echo difficulties identified in the CTC case study (Section 6.1) and are further addressed in Section 7.3.3.

At the time of this study, MLO was also promoting the use of a mobile phone application called Kurima Mari which was designed to be used by AGRITEX officers without internet access. It should be noted that around 10% of the total MLO TA (27,125 farmers) also make use of this application:

*'We have an application, Kurima Mari, which the project is promoting although the use is maybe 10% as looking at the smartphone penetration is quite low in these communities; so the usage would be mostly by the AGRITEX extension officers ... AGRITEX doesn't have the resources to go on to the internet so, if they can have a simple app for reference checking, then that develops him or her as an AGRITEX extension officer.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Interviewees 209 and 210 suggested that E-extension (extension services through Information Communication Technologies (ICTs)) was an important future avenue for effective communication noting, however, that there are constraints with this:

*'I am still positive about the applications and this broadcasting of text messages and the internet- the E-extension. The E-extension is the future and that is where we are going, although we are not yet there I feel that we need to promote that. There is no need for a farmer to waste time coming to a meeting. All the time that is wasted currently can be avoided by this ... [But] some of the farmers don't have the skills to navigate the internet ...'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

*'I have a feeling that with the increase in digital literacy, the use of software applications and loading information on those applications can assist. And the use of text messages to send to farmers that can be one of the best ways.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

But both interviewees 209 and 210 went on to say that practical demonstration remains an extremely important avenue of communication processes:

*'But when it comes to production these are practical things and, of course, we can do a theory training in a class, but we need to go down to the field to do the demonstrations. So, they also need one to one interaction as a way of disseminating information.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

*'And then the demo plots; they are really practical lessons because at the training we talk of theory but having a physical demo plot where farmers can go and observe how the crop is performing is quite helpful.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

Interviewee 224 noted that one of the reasons demonstrations remain important is because of the lack of smartphones and the internet:

*'In this communal set up we can't say social media or internet because I hardly get internet and they don't have phones or good phones. The best way of getting information is through the extension officer.'*

- 224, Female MLO AEI worker

One additional information service provided by MLO which supports phone and application usage was the digital literacy clinics which was noted by interviewee 210, although this was not mentioned by any of the TA members which were interviewed. It was noted that these are under the charge of the Communications Officer rather than the AEI workers:

*'The other method that we use is we try to have digital literacy clinics where we screen videos and the likes at the community level about certain interventions. Yes [they enjoy it] very much ... because you see farmers asking you or requesting you for that. We have a Communications Officer who is responsible for that but, as you are doing*

*another training those farmers are asking you about the digital literacy learning. They ask when you are coming back again.'*

- 210, Male MLO AEI worker

It was reported by interviewee 209 that MLO, unlike CTC, conducts exchange visits as an information service, although this was not mentioned by any of the TA members which were interviewed:

*'We do exchange visits at the farmer level ... like if we have farmers participating in another village and they are really doing well and the farmers are struggling then we take them for a practical exchange visit where they can learn from the other farmers how they are doing it.'*

- 209, Male MLO AEI worker

### **6.2.3 The roles and relationship between the MLO AEI workers and the MLO TAs**

Having established the primary communication mechanisms that MLO use, it is now necessary to examine the relational dynamic between the AEI workers and the TA members.

Two of the TA members reported that MLO AEI workers take a directive approach, which is similar to that of CTC:

*'The extension workers, they come and tell us when you are farming, you do this and this.'*

- 207, Male MLO TA member

*'They will just be telling us that this is done this way and this one this way and we benefit from what they tell us.'*

- 206, Female MLO TA member

However, three other MLO TA members explained that they take a less directive approach portraying them as an institution that does not dictate the TA activities, nor one that tracks attendance. This indicates that TA members can take the initiative in engaging with them.



*'Sometimes I call him (MLO AEI worker) then we go straight to the field discussing the issue. Then he gives me advice concerning the issue be it problems with soil quality as well as the solutions one can employ for maximum production.'*

- 208, Male MLO TA member

*'They are not an institution that imposes things on us but asks us if we are free and open to the information or training. If we are not able to attend the training on a given date due to circumstances such funerals, we inform them to postpone.'*

- 213, Female MLO TA member

*'They are not rough or disrespectful. They both show you the right way, one way.'*

- 216, Female MLO TA member

As noted in Table 6.3, 10 out of 12 female MLO TA members confirmed that MLO asks the TA member farmers about their challenges, whilst only 2 out of 6 male TA members confirmed this. None of the MLO TA members interviewed said that they were unable to discuss their challenges with the AEI. This varies from CTC, where several of their TA members said they were not asked about their challenges.

Table 6.3 also states that 4 out of 12 female MLO TA members and 2 out of 6 male MLO TA members reported being able to suggest solutions to the AEI workers. However, two other female MLO TA members reported that they were either not able to or did not suggest solutions to the AEI worker, but rather that the AEI workers were the ones who provided the solutions.

Despite dialogical aspects of the relationship between the MLO AEI workers and their TA, it should be noted that three of the female TA members mention going to AGRITEX when there is a problem rather than to MLO. This aspect indicates that the AGRITEX officers also take on the role of problem solvers or teachers similar to the role MLO officers take on. This differs from CTC where the CTC AEI workers assume the primary teaching role and AGRITEX officers are largely absent from the TA member interviews. This might be because they are less involved in the delivery of commercial training. TA preference in information sources is examined in more detail in Chapter 7.

TABLE 6.3: MLO TA MEMBER RESPONSES TO BEING ABLE TO DISCUSS CHALLENGES AND PRESENT SOLUTIONS TO AEI WORKERS

Aspect of AEI and TA dialogue	TA answers	Males (6 total)	Females (12 total)	Illustrative Quotes
MLO AEI workers asks the TA members about challenges	Yes	2	10	<p><i>'What we do is we tell them our challenges and they respond by saying that they'll consult their head office and get back to us.'</i></p> <p>- 201, Female MLO TA member</p> <p><i>'Yes, they ask us, and we are able to identify the challenges. Like last year, there was a high attack of the armyworm in our crops and we informed them. They said they would bring us the pesticide.'</i></p> <p>- 203, Female MLO TA member</p> <p><i>'Yes we are asked about our challenges because some fields have a lot of stones that cannot be easily cleared and also one of the challenges we have at the moment is that [MLO] wanted to give us a lot of seed but our land/fields in terms of hectares are too small.'</i></p> <p>- 205, Female MLO TA member</p>
	No	0	0	
	No answer	4	2	
MLO AEI workers takes on suggestions from TA members	Yes	2	4	<p><i>'Yes we are able to suggest solutions to them, for instance, this year we are facing a drought and our livestock cannot do much work in the fields when we intend to plough. Hence, we suggested that we need tractors to assist us.'</i></p> <p>- 205, Female MLO TA member</p> <p><i>'We can also identify solutions to our problems, for example, at our irrigation we have identified that water is a problem and our engine. Hence, we ask the AEI to assist us.'</i></p> <p>- 215, Female MLO TA member</p> <p><i>'Yeah they do [ask about challenges]. Just yesterday I even suggested a way of organizing line and holes in the fields and the importance of mulch in fields and they appreciated.'</i></p> <p>- 322, Male CDO TA member</p>
	No	0	2	<p><i>'We are unable to suggest any solutions to them.'</i></p> <p>- 201, Female MLO TA member</p> <p><i>'The AEI is the one that suggests solutions for us.'</i></p> <p>- 204, Female MLO TA member</p>
	Sometimes	0	1	<p><i>'We do try [to tell them solutions] but, at times, we have no funding to buy the necessary items needed to alleviate the problem at hand.'</i></p> <p>- 206, Female MLO TA member</p>
	No answer	4	4	

MLO encourages horizontal knowledge exchange between their TA by organising TA members into groups (noted in Section 5.2.2). It is noted by three of the MLO farmers that MLO plays an active role in encouraging TA members to train other farmers on their own, and to pass this information to their friends and neighbours.

*'[MLO] tells us to go with it to our homes and teach others that were unable to attend the trainings ... [MLO] encouraged us that we also inform our fellow community members. So, what we do is we ask our Village Head to call a meeting so that we can also inform the people on trainings and information we received.'*

- 202, Female MLO TA member

*'From the knowledge that we have gained, we are able to train some people from our communities who were not able to attend the initial trainings with [MLO].'*

- 204, Female MLO TA member

*'Information [provided by AEI workers] cascades down to everyone who needs to know about it because we also inform community members when they come to meetings that are not related to [MLO] and we take time to inform them ... We had not started training anyone in the community but, now that we have received full training from [MLO], we are able to train the community.'*

- 205, Female MLO TA member

This aspect of the AEI communication approach indicates that MLO AEI workers are playing a key role in encouraging people to talk to one another. This approach extends from encouraging farmers to work together, through to acting as a catalyst to encouraging AGRITEX, commercial company officers and other farmers to also co-operate with one another. This latter aspect could also be classified as promoting horizontal information exchange.

#### **6.2.4 The communication approach being used by MLO**

Having defined the main aspects of MLO's communication approach, the overall communication approach can now be discussed. The primary intervention goal of MLO is to facilitate long-lasting and fruitful relationships between the MLO TAs and the commercial sector. They actively involve AGRITEX and commercial company officers to support and, ultimately, take over the communication process and services.

To meet this goal, MLO undertakes four key information services. The most popular of these is information provision, although this service is shared by the company officers and, more reportedly, the AGRITEX officers. It should be noted that several MLO TA members reported seeking out AGRITEX over MLO officers when requiring information.

Whilst many MLO TA members identified the MLO AEI workers as ‘teachers’ within this process, it must also be concluded that the TA members are active learners, because they can communicate their challenges and are, to some extent, sources of information. This is because half of those interviewed reported being able to suggest solutions. The AEI workers from MLO actively listen and actively learn, as they ask about the challenges the TA faces and 66% of TA members reporting being able to discuss challenges, and listen to, and act on, solutions suggested by the TA members. More importantly, the MLO AEI workers play a large role in stimulating people to talk, whether that be that farmer-to-farmer learning, or facilitating relationships between commercial companies, AGRITEX officers, and farmers. MLO also plays some role in providing information to those who want to access it. This differs from CTC as there are much less stringent rules on selection and attendance than CTC. These aspects of the communication approach are indicated below in Table 6.4.

TABLE 6.4: MLO'S COMMUNICATION FUNCTION (ADAPTED FROM LEEUWIS AND VAN DEN BAN, 2004)

Function		Intervention sub-goal		Role of AEI workers		Role of TA member(s)	
	MLO		MLO		MLO		MLO
Raising awareness and consciousness of pre-defined issues		Encouraging people to define a situation as problematic		Providing confrontational feedback		Unexpected receiver or relatively passive participant	
		Mobilising interest		Raising questions			
Exploring views and issues	x	Identifying relevant views and issues		Stimulating people to talk	x	Source of information	x
				Active listening	x	Active participant/learner	x
				Active learning	x		
Information provision	x	Making information accessible to those who search for it	x	Translating and structuring information		Active learner	x
Training		Transferring and/or fostering particular knowledge, skills and abilities	x	Educator/trainer	X	Student	

Based on these aspects of MLO's communication approach, it can be concluded that MLO's communication function sits primarily in the 'exploring views and issues' category. This is because of its horizontal communication characteristics. However, it also has functional aspects of 'Information Provision' and providing 'Training'. This differs significantly from CTC's approach which, whilst the delivery of the communication approach was supportive, the primary function was to transfer very specific knowledge to their TA. The difference between these two institutions stems from the differences in their intervention goals with MLO playing an increased development role than the regimented commercial role that CTC plays.

### **6.3 Case Study 3: Community Development Organisation (CDO)**

As noted in Section 5.3, CDO is a donor-driven community development organisation that undertakes in a wide range of community development initiatives ranging from health through to nutrition. Because of the scope of this study, this analysis is focusing on the agricultural communication aspect of this institution which is the initiative called the Farmers Clubs (see Section 5.3 for more detail on this).

Similar to the previous two case studies, CDO data found in Table 3.2 forms the basis of the communication approach analysis presented here. As noted in Table 3.2, only one field observation of CDO's communication processes was possible.

#### **6.3.1 The communication intervention goal and information services of CDO**

As with the previous case studies, this section will identify the aim of the communication intervention that CDO is implementing, and what information services are being used to facilitate the communication intervention goal.

As mentioned in Section 5.3.1, CDO, like MLO, is donor-funded, and does not have the same pressure to be profit-driven and constantly commercially viable like CTC. However, CDO differs from MLO as CDO undertakes a wide range of community development activities rather than just focusing on agricultural communication. Due to this holistic approach, unlike CTC and MLO, CDO's intervention goals are not focused on connecting and enabling farmers to access commercial opportunities, but rather on meeting a wider mandate to improve food security and nutrition for small-holder farmers by supporting effective land use and crop diversification:

*'We are working with small-holder farmers in food security and nutrition, and also organising them to utilize their land effectively.'*

- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

*'If you can see a family of five, they were living on a small lump sum of food, so we had to encourage on how to farm in the garden, because a garden can be farmed year-round with different crops so they can have better nutrition.'*

- 314, Female CDO AEI worker

To reach this goal, the communication intervention that is being facilitated is the Farmers Clubs which enable farmer-to-farmer learning and support to encourage sustainable social support networks. This is as noted by 327:

*'[The] Farmers Club is the organisation of the Farmers ... because when they organise, they do their production right... [due to] social support and also sharing this experience how each farmer has done this production ... So, that interaction is ... very important... [in] building that sustainability for them, because we plan our programme ... so ... that by the end of three years, the farmers should be able to work on their own, able to interact with each other.'*

- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

Interviewee 313 also noted that their intervention goal is to enable the communities that they are working with to be self-sufficient by working together:

*'[We are] teaching the community to be community orientated. They should do things for themselves because, if you give someone something, they will just think that the next day that person will come with something else to give me and they will come and ask for things.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

It is also noted in that one of the intervention goals of CDO is to promote conservation agriculture and environmentally sustainable farming practices:

*'Our focus is much on climate change ... so CDO is trying to come up with agricultural programs which include this issue of climate change because they see to it that, as farmers, they were lacking information about global warming and climate change. So, it is fusing agricultural programs which also take these issue of mitigating climate change.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

*'We also teach them [that] climate change ... is something that is affecting the whole world so we are opening their minds so that they can see what is transpiring on the ground and they have to take actions against all those happenings.'*

- 314, Female CDO AEI worker

*'[We] are promoting Farmers Clubs by using conservation agriculture where we talk about organic matters. We started to talk about the soil and we also talk about climate change. Where we talk about the trees, don't cut the trees. If you want to cut a tree, plant ten trees before you cut one down. So, it will be very difficult for them to cut a tree. So, we are fighting hard so that they adapt their [farming practices].'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

As part of these intervention goals, one of the primary information services that CDO delivers is to provide information to its TAs around environmentally sensitive farming techniques which can improve yields and food security. This activity is supported by 75% of female and 60% of the male CDO TA interviews (detailed in Figure 6.12).

A notable mechanism that differs from both MLO and CTC is that the CDO AEI workers live within the communities that they work in:

*'[CDO] ... officers live in the community, we don't commute. We live with the community.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

However, in a similar yet less integrated approach than MLO, CDO AEI workers report that they conduct training alongside AGRITEX:

*'We can say sometimes it is too much [CDO] in training, so we call the AGRITEX officer and tell her we want her to do a training about record keeping ... and she contributes to how we can do it because our core objectives are the same between [CDO] and AGRITEX. So that is what we are doing right now. We collaborate with the Department of Agriculture through extension officers as [CDO] so we use the information that we have as [CDO], then we combine it with them to have one set of information.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

*'We have some topics which need ... AGRITEX, but if I know the topic, I can just do it alone but if I don't know I can get the information from them... Because some of the*

*AGRITEX, they know much so we can get information from them and go to our farmers ... It's like we are working in the same area. We cannot leave each other so we work together.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

*'When we are having lessons, we can say "AGRITEX officers, it is your time to give a lesson". Even when they are having their own, they say "[314] can you come and give a lesson?" which is no problem.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

It is noted by interviewee 313 that this combined teaching approach is adopted to promote sustainable information channels for the TA which is similar to MLO:

*'We don't have to do anything without consulting them because we are an NGO. We are not in the community because at any time I can be told that a partnership is formed where I must go and AGRITEX check where I left and where I am going.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

To support their intervention goal around improving farmers environmental awareness, it is noted by interviewee 312 that CDO aims to make use of natural products that can improve productivity to overcome limited resources:

*'We are trying to make use of the materials that are around us ... They try to come up with new techniques that can help the community ... [and] try by all means to produce results with limited resources.'*

- 312, Male CDO worker

However, it is noted by interviewee 314 that CDO do provide some inputs in the form of seed:

*'We have supplied them with some seed.'*

- 314, Female CDO AEI worker

A key aspect of the information services is that CDO aims to link their TA to other farmers, to improve their support network, as noted previously by interviewee 327:

*'By the end of three years, the farmers should be able to work on their own, able to interact with each other.'*



- 327, Male CDO AEI worker

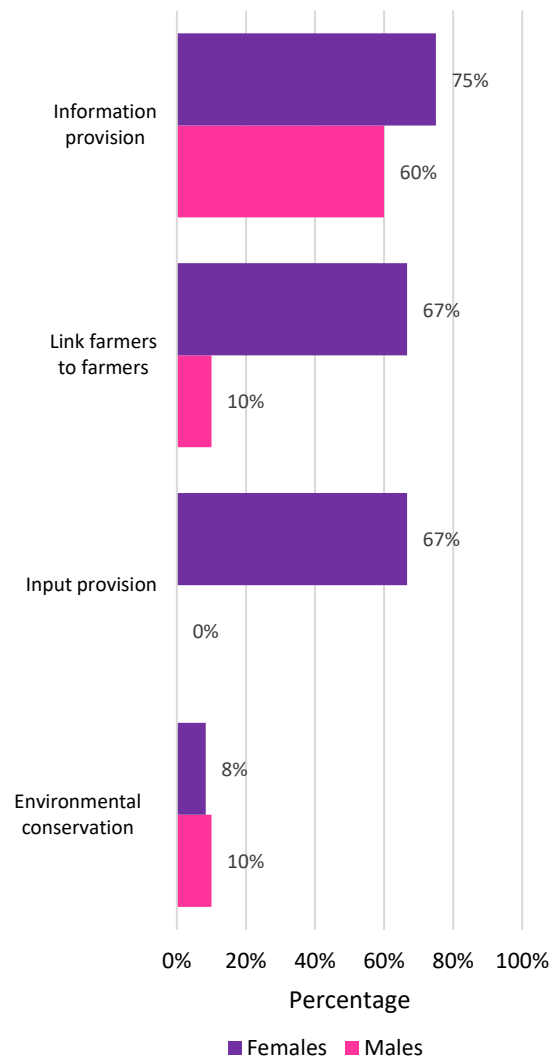
The AEI's function of linking farmers with other farmers is noted by 67% of female CDO TA members interviewed (detailed in Figure 6.12). Only 10% of male CDO TA members mention this function, potentially because the male engagement in the Farmers Clubs is significantly less than the females (discussed in more detail in Chapter 7).

Input provision is noted by 67% of female CDO TA members as being a key function of the AEI, whilst male CDO TA members did not mention this aspect at all (also detailed in Figure 6.12). This too is potentially an effect of the lack of male engagement in the Farmers Clubs. The activity of input provision was observed by the research team, where farmers were given avocado saplings after completing a training session on how to plant them (Photograph 6.7).



PHOTOGRAPH 6.7: OBSERVATION OF CDO INPUT PROVISION TO TA MEMBERS

Only one male and one female mentioned CDO's function of promoting environmental conservation. This is notable because this was mentioned as one of the primary intervention goals of the AEI, however, appears less important to TA members than the other three activities identified above.



*"We are taught to produce vegetables which are nutritious and healthy, then ... we have demonstration plots where we work with them in practicing agriculture that produces more yields. And what's more important is that we are encouraged to expand what we have been trained on at the demonstration plots."* **305, Female CDO TA member**

*"They mainly teach us about farming, and to work together in order to achieve one goal at the end."* **320, Female CDO TA member**

*"They teach us and we listen to them attentively hence benefitting from them."* **306, Male CDO TA member**

*"Their purpose is to provide us with information on nutrition farming."* **308, Male CDO TA member**

*"By farming in groups I can learn from other farmers ...what's more important is to share the knowledge we get from them with other farmers."* **300, Female CDO TA member**

*"When I am working in my garden and my friend comes over and see me doing something they are not familiar with, they ask how to do it and I can teach them, thus sharing the knowledge."* **316, Female CDO TA member**

*"Taking me as an example, I can teach people on how to grow crops such as millet, maize, and beans but we actually have people who actually know better than within the club."* **325, Male CDO TA member**

*"For now, we were given the machine for extracting oil from sunflowers."* **301, Female CDO TA member**

*"The extension officers bring the seeds."* **305, Female CDO TA member**

*"[CDO] also encourages us to plant trees."* **301, Female CDO TA member**

*"They are also teaching on conservation, tree planting issues to do with planting Vertiva grass."* **308, Male CDO TA member**

FIGURE 6.12: ILLUSTRATIVE MALE (N=10) AND FEMALE (N=12) TA QUOTES OF CDO KEY ACTIVITIES

### 6.3.2 The delivery of the information services of CDO

The primary information service used by CDO is that CDO AEI workers run training sessions in a classroom environment which are then followed by a demonstration. It is noted by the CDO AEI workers that demonstration, similarly to MLO and CTC, is one of their primary mechanisms of transferring information:

*'Every training 20% of the time is theory, then 80% is practical because ¾ of us believe in practice over theory as some can't read or write.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

They make use of demonstration plots (referred to as demo plots) to show farming techniques (a similar mechanism used by MLO):

*'We have lessons, demo plots and [demo] gardens ...Demo plots ...[are] where we have grains where we teach people how they can plant groundnuts ... and intercropping [showing] how are the results, then we have to mulch and we compare.'*

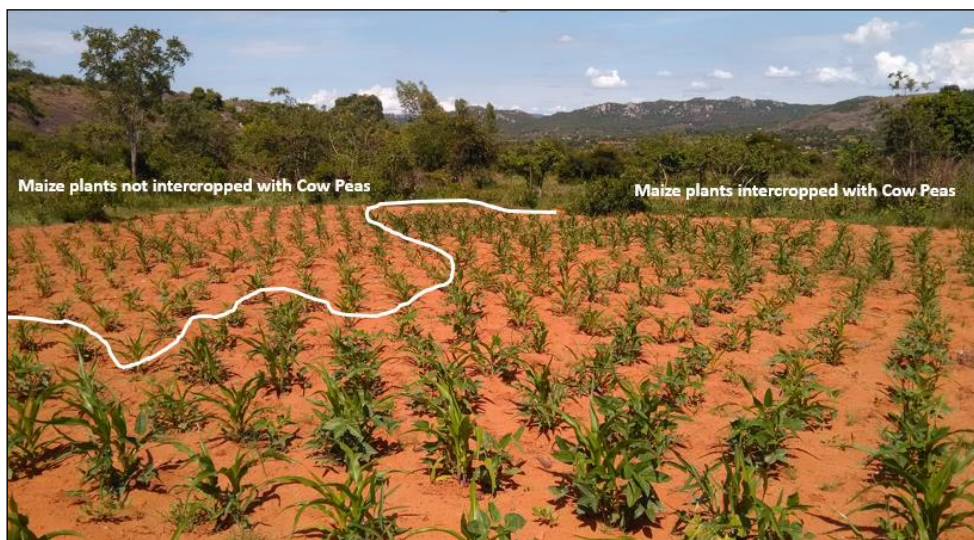
- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

CDO deviates from MLO because they use demo plots to display comparative results of using conservation agricultural techniques (such as minimal tillage, mulching and intercropping) and standard agricultural practice (such as tillage and chemical fertiliser application). The comparative demonstration aims to illustrate to farmers how conservation agricultural techniques, if applied properly, can produce more yields:

*'At a demo [plot] the farmers will see the results.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

Photograph 6.8 shows a demo plot that was being used by CDO to show the differences in maize production when intercropping (a conservation agricultural technique) is applied. The crop size difference is notably visible in the photograph.



PHOTOGRAPH 6.8: DEMO PLOT SHOWING THE DIFFERENCE IN YIELD WHEN MAIZE IS INTERCROPPED WITH COWPEAS

CDO also makes use of demo gardens. Demo gardens (shown in Photograph 6.9) differ from demo plots as they illustrate how to farm vegetables rather than grains, and the produce of the demo gardens is shared amongst the Farmers Clubs:

*'I can say "we have a problem of pests and how can we treat pests naturally?". I have a method and we try it and we see the results together. From there, they don't normally rely on that garden as they have their own garden ... When you do individual checks on the garden you can see that people are doing things, so they are always busy from their demonstration garden to theirs.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker



PHOTOGRAPH 6.9: CDO DEMO GARDEN

The reasons identified for using the demonstration approach include that CDO wants the learning process to be participatory, and it was noted by both interviewees 312 and 313, that they work with many elderly farmers who benefit from participatory activities:

*‘Some have eyesight problems ... so we tell them we will do practical’s and that is how we do it. Normally after a training, as it is participatory, we want them to take part, not like a teacher-student relationship.’*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

*‘We do some demonstrations ... because some of the farmers are very old so we must make sure they don’t sleep. When I say “2 meters by 2 meters” it is easier to show in practical.’*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

The age consideration noted here shows that CDO AEI workers feel the need to adapt the communication approach. Of the farmers interviewed, it can be noted that 13 out of the 22 CDO TA members that were interviewed were over 51 years old, 5 of which were over 61 years old. This dynamic is likely due to the youth moving to urban areas to look for work (mentioned in Section 4.5).

The CDO AEI workers assertion that demonstration is a primary communication mechanism is supported by the TA with seven female and eight male CDO TA members noting that CDO uses demonstration (detailed in Figure 6.13).

**Demonstration**  
(noted by 7 females and 8 male TA)

*“Their strategy of using demonstration plots where we can learn and practice from was good. They encourage us to apply what we learn from the demo plots at our own fields.”*

- 305, Female CDO TA member

*“After being trained, we would now go to the demonstration site to practice what we have been taught.”*

- 316, Female CDO TA member

*“They do practical examples and when they train, they use the farm set up to learn as you do.”*

- 308, Male CDO TA member

*“They do demonstration ... they declare a day for demos where they come to the community and demonstrate.”*

FIGURE 6.13: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CDO DEMONSTRATIONS

The demonstrations are paired with theory or classroom learning processes; an approach also used by MLO. To support the classroom learning, it is noted by interviewees 311 and 315 that, to keep the TAs actively engaged in the learning process, they make use of visual teaching methods and teaching aids when they are teaching theory:

*'Teaching by mouth some of the farmers are old people so they can't get it correctly, so it needs some teaching aid and diagrams and some pictures which show the difference of conventional farming and the impact of conservation agriculture. This will be seen by the farmers directly rather than me standing in front of them trying to teach them without any teaching aid.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

*'For a community to understand you must have a lesson aid so that if you are teaching them, they can see ... they understand the pictures.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

Three AEI workers mention that the teaching aid they use include flip charts and that they also make use of drama to get information to the TA:

*'Some lessons you can dramatize, you can provide a situation. For example, where people are eating, and someone can complain of a stomach issue so we can explain how such situations requiring hygiene can be done like this. You can't do away with these things.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

*'Also, we have some dramas, some can understand through dramas. We can also sing as some understand through singing, but the songs will be referring to what we are doing.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

The use of drama is not mentioned previously by MLO or CTC.

Similar to MLO, CDO AEI workers indicate that they want to provide different ways that TAs can understand the information they are being given, which is why they use multiple mechanisms:

*'We can display the flip charts there because they are different in understanding. Some can understand by seeing on the board some can understand by talking.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

*'Some they understand through seeing drawings, some they understand just by talking. We are different, that is how we demonstrate some of the lessons.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

Interviewee 313 notes that the lessons are kept short:

*'The lessons should not be very long, they are usually between 30-50 minutes because a farmer must be able to get everything, and it is not a lecture.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

It is also noted that the CDO AEI workers actively encourage group discussion or farmer-to-farmer learning to promote communication:

*'You cannot spend the whole time in front of them, so we encourage group discussions.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

*'After introducing the topic there is some discussion from them to discuss their views. After this, we divide them into groups. They give their views in groups, they come again together, and we combine. Then we give the final answer... I say go away in groups and discuss what it is, put it on paper and come back and read and discuss.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

The teaching mechanisms mentioned by the CDO AEI workers are also identified by three of the CDO TA members (one female and two males) (Figure 6.14), with interviewee 326 noting that the theory teaching is supported by the demonstrations, and interviewee 308 noting that they use flip charts and blackboards as a communication mechanism.

**Teaching aids**  
(noted by 1 female and 2 male TA members)

- "Referring to their books/ notes and teaching us according to that."*
- 301, Female CDO TA member
- "Demos usually complement what we could have done in class."*
- 326, Male CDO TA member
- "Sometimes they use charts and blackboards to make people understand."*
- 308, Male CDO TA member

FIGURE 6.14: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CDO TEACHING AIDS

Additionally, it was noted by five male CDO TA members (Figure 6.15) that they also take written notes and sometimes receive written information to keep for reference.

Written information  
(noted by 5 male TA members)

*“They do give us notes.”*  
- 306, Male CDO TA member

*“We used to be given books. They used to come with books or even to come with a book that we will be using here ... a group can be given books also.”*  
- 310, Male CDO TA member

*“They can employ the chat system as well whereby we will be taking down notes and measurements... You are left with any sources of information are you given anything, maybe pamphlets.”*  
- 322, Male CDO TA member

FIGURE 6.15: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CDO WRITTEN NOTES

Two additional male CDO TA members also noted that they would like to receive notepads and pens to make notes of the training to help them retain the knowledge better:

*‘I think getting notepads, pens, and pencils should be provided as it can help farmers to refer back and use the notes as compared to using our brains which is not sustainable.’*

- 308, Male CDO TA member

*‘I would appreciate it if we could have some booklets so that we will have the knowledge on paper so that we can as well do revisions. Some of us ... don’t know how to write, they forget some concepts. You might think you have grasped them but after a little while then you forget.’*

- 309, Male CDO TA member

It should be noted that only men mentioned this learning mechanism, which follows trends with written information discussed in both CTC and MLO and is likely linked back to the educational disparity between men and women in Zimbabwe.

Unlike MLO and CTC, the use of mobile phones by the CDO AEI workers in the communication process was limited, with interviewees 314 and 315 only mentioning that sometimes they use phones (largely in the case of an emergency). They explain that the primary transfer information is face to face because not everyone has a phone, and those who do have simple phones:

*‘Locally we use the phones to those that have phones and those who don’t we use gatherings. If we have anything new or if we just want to repeat so people can*



*understand, we use the gatherings. That is why we have formulated some groups... Not all of them have the phones, I can say half... [and they have] the Nokia's - not these big ones. You know, farmers sometimes they are very poor. [But] they (phones) are starting to grow up through farming so as time goes by, I think they will get them.'*

- 314, Male CDO AEI worker

*'Actually, they don't use phones because we are always available in the areas. Every day I am with them, so they don't need to call me. If there are some emergencies, they may call.'*

- 315, Male CDO AEI worker

Supporting this, interviewee 315 notes that, because they live within the communities (an aspect that differs from MLO and CTC), they do not feel the need to use phones as a key part of the communication process.

This limited use of phones by CDO is echoed by the TA members who were interviewed with only two female AEI TA members noting that they use phones to contact the CDO AEI workers (Figure 6.16). It should be noted that only females commented on this information channel.

**Phones**  
(noted by 2 female TA members)

*"We have their phone numbers and when we call and ask them to come, they do so."*

- 317, Female CDO TA member

*"Even if you call them, they come."*

- 319, Female CDO TA member

FIGURE 6.16: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF CDO PHONE USAGE

A final aspect of CDO's communication process is their push for TA members to share the information they receive with other farmers which, whilst group learning was an approach used by both CTC and MLO, CDO has a much stronger mandate to facilitate this:

*'Through farmers' club members ... we expect that these members shall teach their neighbour's. Sometimes that neighbour isn't a member, so we are indirectly training as well.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

It was noted that this emphasis does encourage CDO farmers to actively share information with others in their community:

*'One day after a lesson I went down there and saw a lady planting groundnuts in the wrong way and a member of my club said "No this is not the way how to do it. You were supposed to ask me to show you how to do it correctly but anyway, I will help you. I have a handful of seeds and I will do a demonstration." In this way they are sharing the information which is beneficial [to those] who are not Farmers Clubs members.'*

- 312, Male CDO AEI worker

This was supported by four of the CDO TA members (four females) (Figure 6.17) explaining that they actively try and share information with other farmers:

It was noted by interviewee 324 that CDO also facilitates field visits which are like those reported by MLO, although this mechanism was not mentioned frequently:

*'We go and observe how [MLO] is doing it in other areas. For example, here we are two [clubs], so we have the other [MLO site] from the North so we learn from them; especially considering the fact that they started before us.'*

- 324, Male CDO TA member

Sharing information with other farmers  
(noted by 4 female TA members)

*"What's more important is to share the knowledge we get from them with other farmers."*  
- 300, Female CDO TA member

*"Some farmers are actually practicing gardening and planting a variety of vegetables because we have shared the knowledge with them."*  
- 302, Female CDO TA member

*"I live along the road and so many farmers are actually adopting some of the conservation agriculture technologies that I am practicing, seeing how it is yielding results."*  
- 303, Female CDO TA member

FIGURE 6.17: ILLUSTRATIVE TA QUOTES OF TA MEMBERS SHARING INFORMATION WITH OTHER FARMERS

### 6.3.3 The roles and the relationship between the CDO AEI worker and TAs

As with the previous two case studies, the final element of analysis which needs to be conducted to determine the communication approach being used by CDO is to explore the relationship between the CDO AEI workers and TAs members. Interviewee 315

explained that their relationship with the farmers is one of mutual respect where they learn from each other:

*'We tell them that we are not here to teach you or to learn, but you are there to teach me and to learn from me and me to learn from you as well. It's like we are exchanging.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

This relationship dynamic is supported by interviewee 313, who noted that they take the approach that everyone in the community has something to contribute and, therefore, the communication process is a two-way knowledge exchange:

*'We as an organization ... don't have everything but have to share with the community so that everyone has something to contribute. I cannot go the community and say "I am your teacher" but I am there to share what they have because these people, they know, and me, I also have information, so we share the information.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

It was also noted by interviewee 311 that CDO AEI workers listen to the TAs' opinions, which indicates a dialogical arrangement exists:

*'We also take their opinion, yes, of course. All of them have an opinion, but we take the good opinions from them. You can see when they are talking which ones are making sense.'*

- 311, Male CDO AEI worker

This mutual respect aspect of the relationship was noted by six of the CDO TA members with key aspects including the AEI workers actively working with the TA members:

*'We will be with them and they will also be working.'*

- 300, Female CDO TA member

*'The extension workers will also be demonstrating and working with us in the field, they do not come to sit down.'*

- 301, Female CDO TA member

It was also noted that the TA members invite the CDO AEI workers to monitor their farming; an aspect that is starkly different from CTC who constantly monitor their contracted farmers as part of their job role:

*'We can also get to invite them to monitor us and make sure that we are in the right direction.'*

- 303, Female CDO TA member

It was noted by two of the CDO TA members that the AEI workers do not dictate what TAs should be doing, but rather lead by example:

*'They don't choose for us. They just ask us if we would love to plant something only. The option rests on us... They are not the type of people who will be just commanding you to do stuff yet standing. They will be forward always.'*

- 309, Male CDO TA member

*'I am really thankful for the extension officer that we have, he is someone that leads by example.'*

- 318, Female CDO TA member

It was also noted by interviewee 301 that they have strong communication with the CDO AEI workers:

*'We really have good communication with them.'*

- 301, Female CDO TA member

The dialogical arrangement between the two actors is also supported by 10 out of 12 female CDO TA members and 8 out of 10 male CDO TA members, reporting that CDO AEI workers ask the TA members about the challenges they face. Nine out of 12 female and 7 out of 10 male CDO TA members report that the CDO AEI workers also listen to their solutions (Table 6.5).

The positive responses from the CDO TA members about AEI workers asking them about their challenges and accepting their solutions are the highest out of all three of the case study institutions. This indicates that CDO has the most dialogical communication approach out of the case studies which, given CDO is not driven by commercial production, but rather wider community development, is not surprising.

However, despite CDO positioning itself as an equal partner in the relationship between the TA and AEI worker, it's indicated by eight of the CDO TA members that they view the CDO AEI workers like teachers or advisors, and themselves as students who follow directions indicating a hierarchical power arrangement between the two.

TABLE 6.5: CDO TA RESPONSES TO BEING ABLE TO DISCUSS CHALLENGES AND PRESENT SOLUTIONS TO AEI WORKERS

Aspect of AEI and TA dialogue	TA answers	Males (10 total)	Females (12 total)	Illustrative quotes
CDO AEI workers ask the TA members about challenges	Yes	8	10	<p><i>'Especially when the leadership comes, they actually ask us to bring forth our challenges during the meetings. For example, we were also having problems with pumping water, and they provided us with a certain machine to solve the problem.'</i></p> <p>- 300, Female CDO TA members</p> <p><i>'Yes, they do ask [about challenges]. For example, when they gave us the tomato seeds, they made a follow up to and asked us whether or not we were benefitting from the seeds, and the good thing is they don't just ask questions. They actually involve themselves and interact with us in the gardens to see how the seeds are performing.'</i></p> <p>- 319, Female CDO TA members</p> <p><i>'These people of [CDO] know how to do this business perfectly [by] asking us about our problems and giving us solutions.'</i></p> <p>- 322, Male CDO TA members</p>
	No	1		<p><i>'I don't know to some, as for me no.'</i></p> <p>- 307, Male CDO TA members</p>
	No answer	1	2	
CDO AEI workers take on suggestions from the TA members	Yes	9	7	<p><i>'They take our problems and when it requires research, they will do the research and bring the feedback to us.'</i></p> <p>- 303, Female CDO TA members</p> <p><i>'There are even instances where we challenge them, and they accept.'</i></p> <p>- 309, Male CDO TA members</p> <p><i>'Yes, it will be a dialogue and we will be discussing together.'</i></p> <p>- 317, Female CDO TA members</p> <p><i>'Yeah they do. Just yesterday I even suggested a way of organizing line and holes in the fields and the importance of mulch in fields and they appreciated.'</i></p> <p>- 322, Male CDO TA members</p> <p><i>'Yeah they do very well, we even give them ideas at times.'</i></p> <p>- 326, Male CDO TA members</p>
	No			
	No answer	1	5	

#### **6.3.4 The communication approach being used by CDO**

As with the previous two case studies, now that the main aspects of CDO's communication intervention have been evaluated, the approach it is taking can now be classified. CDO differs in its communication intervention goal from CTC and MLO because its primary concern is with holistic community development rather than improving or promoting commercial output. This communication intervention has implications on the communication approach; because there is less pressure to produce agricultural production results, there is more focus on facilitating relationships with other farmers and providing broader community support.

The activities that CDO undertake to reach their intervention goal are not dissimilar to CTC and MLO, with their most popular function being information providers. However, there are higher reports of facilitating farmer-to-farmer learning than with the other two case studies. Another noticeable difference is that the CDO AEI workers live within the communities. The delivery of the information is very similar to both CTC and MLO in that CDO primarily uses demonstration.

Whilst this institution displays similar communication traits to MLO, it must be noted that the messages of dialogical communication are more strongly reported through aspects such as living within the community, actively encouraging and mobilising farmer-to-farmer communication and fostering mutual power arrangements. However, in addition to these aspects, CDO TA members primarily identify CDO as an information provision institution, which makes information accessible to those who look for it by enabling farmers to join the Farmers Clubs with no pre-requisite; an aspect which varies from the other two case studies.

The communication approach traits that have been identified are indicated in Table 6.6. Based on these traits, it can be concluded that CDO sits centrally within the 'exploring views and issues' and 'information provision' functions defined by Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004).

TABLE 6.6: CDO'S COMMUNICATION FUNCTION (ADAPTED FROM LEEUWIS AND VAN DEN BAN, 2004)

Function		Intervention sub-goal		Role of AEI workers		Role of TA member(s)	
	CDO		CDO		CDO		CDO
Raising awareness and consciousness of pre-defined issues		Encouraging people to define a situation as problematic		Providing confrontational feedback		Unexpected receiver or relatively passive participant	
		Mobilising interest		Raising questions			
Exploring views and issues	x	Identifying relevant views and issues	x	Stimulating people to talk	x	Source of information	x
				Active listening	x	Active participant/learner	x
				Active learning	x		
Information provision		Making information accessible to those who search for it	x	Translating and structuring information	x	Active learner	x
Training		Transferring and/or fostering particular knowledge, skills and abilities		Educator/trainer		Student	

## 6.4 Chapter conclusions

It can be concluded that each AEI is using a different communication approach to reach their intervention goals. However, all three of the AEIs had similar traits such as 'active listening', 'active learning' and 'making Information accessible to those who search for it' as noted in Table 6.7. This is because each institution delivered their communication interventions in a way that ensured there was space for dialogical processes to happen, and that all three AEIs allowed anyone interested to attend their training. However, where the institutions diverge from one another is at the intervention goal. The communication intervention goal has a large impact on the communication approach that is used by any AEI, because it determines the driver and outcomes of the institution (reviewed as part of the gender approach analysis). It also determines the role that the AEI worker has (such as a trainer or facilitator) which, in turn, has implications on the role that the TA members take on thereby directing the relationship that the two have with one another. Whilst the relationships between the AEI workers and TA members were reported mostly in a positive manner across all three institutions, there are key differences between CTC and CDO. The CTC AEI workers primarily hold the role of a 'trainer', whereas in CDO they

TABLE 6.7: AEI CASE STUDY ORGANISATION COMMUNICATION FUNCTION

Function	Intervention sub-goal			Role of communication workers			Role of 'Client'(s)								
	CTC	MLO	CDO	CTC	MLO	CDO	CTC	MLO	CDO						
Raising awareness and consciousness of pre-defined issues				Encouraging people to define a situation as problematic				Providing (confrontational) feedback				Unexpected receiver or relatively passive participant			
				Mobilising interest				Raising questions							
Exploring views and issues		x	x	Identifying relevant views and issues				Stimulating people to talk		x	x	Source of information	x	x	
					Active listening	x	x	x	Active participant/learner	x	x				
					Active learning	x	x	x							
Information provision		x		Making information accessible to those who search for it	x	x	x	Translating and structuring information			x	Active learner	x	x	x
Training	x			Transferring and/or fostering particular knowledge, skills and abilities	x	x		Educator/trainer	x	x		Student	x		



mainly act as 'stimulating people to talk' (noted in Table 6.7). This difference is largely due to the nature of the differing intervention goals of the two institutions.

Based on this analysis, it is clear that CTC takes on the communication function as a 'Training Institution', MLO's communication function is both 'Information Provision' and 'Exploring Views and Issues', and CDO's communication function is 'Exploring Views' and Issues as noted in Table 6.7.

Because CTC is using a model that expects the TA to attend training and change their practices based on the instructions given by the AEI workers, this can be classed as a 'Persuasive Transfer' strategy as defined by Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004). MLO differs from CTC in that, whilst they are aiming to alter the TA production techniques to meet commercial production standards, they take on the intermediary role between the TA members and the commercial AEI officers. This facilitation role means that MLO sits under the 'Supporting Organisation Development and Capacity Building' strategy defined by Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, (2004). Finally, CDO differs from both CTC and MLO because it is not engaged in commercial production, and positions its primary role in wider community development and supporting horizontal knowledge exchange placing it in the 'Supporting Horizontal Knowledge Exchange' strategy defined by Leeuwis and Van Den Ban (2004).

The most frequently mentioned information channel across all three institutions was in-person demonstration, and many TA members and AEI workers confirmed this as being the most effective information channel. This channel is largely supported by written information in each of the case studies, although the use of this varies and men have more access to this than women. ICT's are notably limited in their effectiveness due to issues of cost, electricity, and access. These noise factors are further explored in Section 7.3.3. The mobile phone is, however, important to most community members in providing an avenue through which to contact the AEI workers directly; indicated as the most often used function of the phone. This finding reinforces Norton and Alwang's (2020) point that, whilst ICTs facilitate pluralistic extension approaches and flexibility, caution must be taken that it benefits all farmers, not just large commercial farmers, and that it does not eliminate the public sector because this remains essential for those farmers with limited resources. Other key aspects of communication activities that presented themselves as important within the communities is that of visual learning, which is mentioned frequently as a positive of using multiple information channels. This is accompanied by other strong positive messages around being able to learn from seeing. These factors imply

information channels used by the AElS remain important for communication experience because visual learning remains the most effective. This indicates that the demonstration approaches currently being used by the case study AElS remain the best form of communication activities, but that being contactable by phone is considered important by the TA.

This chapter has used the Applied Framework to identify the differences in the communication approaches used by the AElS. The following chapter will examine how these communication approaches and the gender approaches identified in Chapter 5 influence one another and the effect of these approaches on the TAs experience of communication.

## **CHAPTER 7      EFFECT OF GENDER AND COMMUNICATION**

### **APPROACHES**

Having established the gender and communication approaches being used by the three case study Agricultural Extension Institutions (AEIs), it is now possible to explore the final area of the Applied Framework (Figure 2.6), which is about understanding the linkages and implications of communication and gender combined.

This study aims to understand how dominant gender discourse is reconstructed by AEIs. Based on the gender analysis presented in Chapter 5, the role of an AEI worker is predominantly a male role and, as the AEIs become more commercial, this gender imbalance increases. Exploring the effects of these gender arrangements on the Target Audience (TA) is important to determine if, how and what discourse is being reconstructed through current arrangements. It is also important to explore if these gender arrangements hinder the AEI effectiveness of communication activities.

The AEI workers are a core part of the communication process, so this is where the gender approaches of AEIs connect with their communication approaches. The relationships and communication processes between the AEI workers and the TAs are the nexus of the success of the AEIs and successes of the TAs which results in the development potential of such interventions. Because of this, exploring aspects such as TAs gender preferences of AEI workers and preferred information sources and channels will provide insight into the effect that both gender and communication approaches have on the ground. This exploration will also determine the role dominant gender discourses might be playing in this process.

The communication approach analysis presented in Chapter 6 showcases that the approach and communication intervention function used is largely determined by institutional drivers. Chapter 5 showed that the commercial companies display stronger hierarchical communication structures than the donor-funded institutions that use horizontal communication processes. These communication approaches have implications on the TA engagement with intervention processes and, therefore, wider development paths. The communication approach analysis also highlights the primary information channels that are used by the AEIs so, establishing if these have any effect on gendered access is also important.

To conduct a meaningful evaluation of these areas, there is first a need to identify and evaluate current gender structures that are found within the TA which the AEI's operate within. It is also important to identify how the AEI gender approaches affect TA information experience.

Once the effects of the gender approaches have been discussed, this chapter will then explore the effects of the communication approaches being used by the case study AEIs. To do this, this chapter will present the main information sources that the TAs access to establish the importance of AEI information provision services. It will then discuss the effectiveness of different aspects of the communication approaches being used by the case studies.

Once the above areas have been discussed, the chapter can then speak to the final research question which is:

**RQd.** What is the effect of the gender and communication approaches on the AEI TA?

The aspects of the framework that this chapter uses are presented below in Figure 7.1

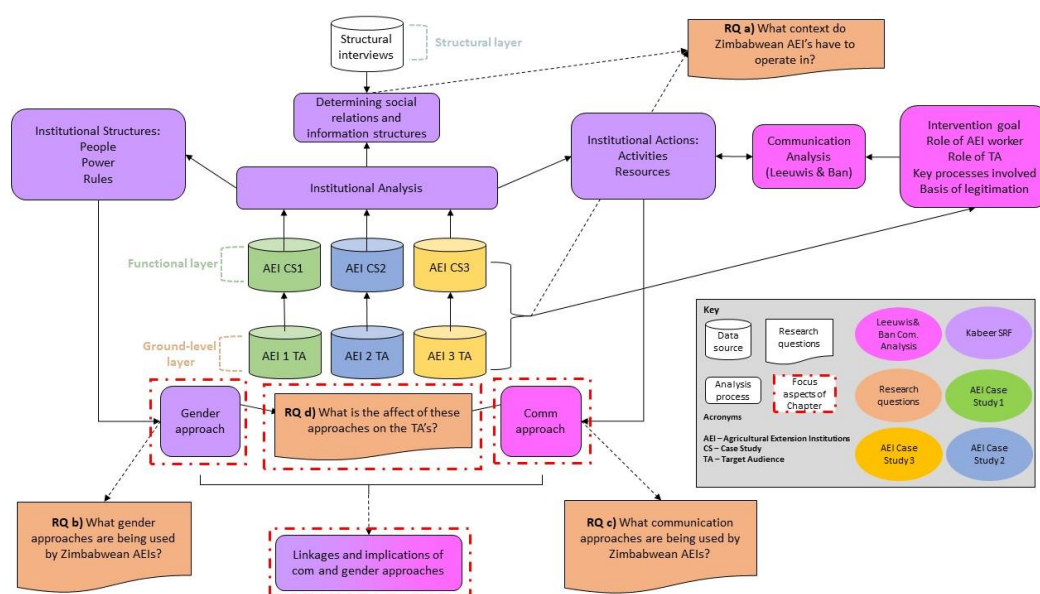


FIGURE 7.1: ASPECTS OF THE DGDDF USED IN CHAPTER 7

To answer these research questions this chapter will draw on all the data detailed in Table 3.2. Because this chapter aims to assess the effect of AEI approaches on the TAs, it will also incorporate data collected from the non-associated group of farmers, who were selected because they were not directly being supported by any additional AEIs other than the national extension services of AGRITEX (detailed in Section 3.3.5).

## 7.1 Gender Structures within the TAs

It is important to establish the current gender structures and underpinning dominant discourses that are found within the AEI TAs. This is because it is well acknowledged that local gender structures directly affect gender roles, access and community engagement as discussed in Sections 2.2.1 and 4.2. This section will identify the dominant gender roles within the TA.

One of the major outputs of the workshops conducted as part of this study's data collection was to identify the gender structures that are found within TA communities through Workshop Activity 1, outlined in Appendix 2. By asking participants to decide as a group who does what activity in the hypothetical potato planting process, also outlined in Appendix 2, key agricultural gender roles were identified based on the completion of the workshop posters, using the stickers of people and implements. This activity provided the foundations for the group discussions about agricultural information channels and sources used by the TAs. The outputs of the workshops included two gender role posters per workshop group for both the TAs and the AEIs, and a set of discussion notes from each workshop around agricultural information sources. Each AEI had two data collection sites. The breakdown of number of workshops and participant numbers can be found in Table 3.2. Examples of the poster data collected can be found in Appendix 7.

To conduct the gender role analysis, every time a people sticker was placed in the allocated area of an ascribed job role on the poster, they were counted. This means that if two young girls, one young boy, and one old man were placed by the river with buckets as illustrated by Photograph 7.1, the frequency count for the activity 'collecting water' would be: young girl: 2, young boy: 1 and old man: 1. By adding up each allocated role across all female generated posters (Table 7.1) and all male generated posters (Table 7.2), allocated gender roles within the agricultural production process were identified.



PHOTOGRAPH 7.1: EXAMPLE OF GENDER ROLE POSTER ANALYSIS SHOWING THE GENDER ROLE ALLOCATIONS OF THE ACTIVITY OF ‘COLLECTING WATER’

Table 7.1 displays the frequency of role allocation represented by the female TAs from all of the case study AEIs. It shows that the activity of ‘taking to market’ has been allocated to the able-bodied man more than anyone else in the community, with a count of 9. The able-bodied man also ‘plants the potatoes’ (count of 10) and ‘prepares the land’ (count of 9) more frequently than any of the other people. ‘Harvesting’ is a family job, where everyone in the community is actively involved with high counts across the all the people. The young girl was most frequently allocated to ‘looking after the new plants’ and in ‘collecting water’ with counts of 9 and 10 respectively. The able-bodied woman was most frequently allocated to ‘washing the potatoes’ (count of 10), ‘cutting the potatoes’ (count of 9), ‘watering the land’ (count of 9) and ‘being in the house’ (count of 9). The lowest count in this activity was allocated to the old woman.

TABLE 7.1: FREQUENCY OF ROLE ALLOCATION TO AGRICULTURAL JOB ROLES - FEMALE POSTERS FROM CTC, MLO, AND CDO (FEMALE POSTERS: N=12)

Roles allocated by female TA participants	Able-bodied women	Able-bodied man	Old woman	Old man	Young boy	Young girl
Being in the house	9	8	7	8	5	6
Washing potatoes	10	0	5	0	2	9
Cutting potatoes	9	5	6	6	3	5
Collecting water	5	5	4	4	8	9
Preparing the land	8	10	3	5	7	4
Watering the land	9	8	4	4	7	6
Planting the potatoes	8	10	3	5	7	6
Looking after the new plants	8	8	5	3	8	10
Harvesting	9	9	6	9	9	8
Taking to market	7	9	1	3	2	1

Key trends depicted by this data set indicate that able bodied-men and women are allocated the most to every task. Women are generally more frequently allocated to domestic tasks, whereas men are allocated to tasks that involve more physical exertion and commercial skills. In many cases, the roles that are allocated to the able-bodied man are also frequently allocated to the young boy, and likewise, the roles that are allocated to the able-bodied females are also frequently allocated to the young girl. This displays that gendered tasks are allocated to the young boys and girls which indicates that behaviour and norms are passed from parents to children which affects household division of labour. This transmission of gender norms is identified in the literature as part of more complex studies of the transmission of gender attitudes and norms (Dhar, Jain and Jayachandran, 2019), but remains a notable mechanism that maintains gender structures and supports dominant gender discourse through generations.

Table 7.2 displays the role allocations identified by the male TAs from all three case study AEs. One of the major differences between what the female TAs present and what the male TAs present, is that the males allocate themselves to many more of the roles than women allocate them to. Table 7.2 shows that the able-bodied man is frequently allocated to all the crop production roles ('taking to market', 'harvesting', 'planting', 'looking after the new plants' and 'preparing the land'). It also shows the male TAs think that the domestic roles of 'cutting the potatoes' is more often undertaken by the able-bodied man with a count of 6 for the able-bodied man and 4 for the able-bodied women. In Table 7.1, this activity is dominated by the able-bodied women with a count of 9 and a count of 5 for the able-bodied man. The able-bodied woman has been allocated by the male TAs most frequently to 'collecting water' with a count of 11, and 'washing the potatoes' with a count of 9, whilst the old woman is most frequently allocated to 'being in the house' (count of 9).

These findings echo those found in Table 7.1 in that the roles that are allocated to able-bodied men and able-bodied women are frequently allocated to the young girl and the young boy, and that women are more involved in domestic roles and men in the physical and commercial roles. However, it is important to note that men and women have different perceptions of who does what in terms of gendered roles. These differences in perceptions are important for interventions aiming to deal with gender to be aware of because by only focusing on either female or male perceptions of job roles, there will be an embedded bias. This implies that both males and females must be actively involved in any information gathering processes within the communities to ensure that both gender perceptions are included. It is also clear that roles within the communities remain highly

gendered, with females occupying more domestic spaces and males dominating manual labour and commercial spaces.

TABLE 7.2: FREQUENCY OF ROLE ALLOCATION TO AGRICULTURAL JOB ROLES - MALE POSTERS FROM CTC, MLO, AND CDO (MALE POSTERS: N=12)

<b>Roles allocated by male TA participants</b>	<b>Able-bodied women</b>	<b>Able-bodied man</b>	<b>Old woman</b>	<b>Old man</b>	<b>Young boy</b>	<b>Young girl</b>
Being in the house	4	4	9	7	3	4
Washing potatoes	9	0	6	2	2	7
Cutting potatoes	4	6	5	4	3	4
Collecting water	11	9	2	2	8	9
Preparing the land	6	9	0	4	7	6
Watering the land	7	8	2	3	8	5
Planting the potatoes	6	9	0	4	7	4
Looking after the new plants	6	9	4	5	6	6
Harvesting	6	8	5	7	4	5
Taking to market	6	8	3	2	1	2

In addition to the gendered roles, the TA workshop data showed that whilst the gender role allocation trends remained consistent in most of the target audiences that undertook this exercise, the role allocation does vary between communities. This is shown below in Figure 7.2, Figure 7.3 and Figure 7.4 which display the weighted percentages of the total male and female farmer responses (i.e. if a total of 11 people were allocated to one task such as 'Taking to market' across all of the CTC TA posters, 6 of which were able-bodied men and 5 of which were able-bodied women, this would be represented as 55% and 45% respectively).

Section 5.1.4 that more male farmers have access to contract tobacco farming than women. Other key observations that vary between MLO, CDO and CTC include that the old woman is not allocated any roles in the processes of 'taking to market', 'planting the potatoes' 'watering the land', 'preparing the land' or 'getting water', whereas in MLO and CDO the old woman is allocated to every task. The reasons behind this difference were not clear, but it could be due to the fact that CTC is based on contractual arrangements which are mostly undertaken by men as seen in Section 5.1. However, the old women allocation in the domestic chores in CTC is the highest out of all three of the case study TAs. Overall, CTC's role allocations vary significantly compared to MLO and CDO. Even though the scenario the TAs were presented with was not around the production of tobacco, their reflections were likely altered by their experience of tobacco production



given that this is their primary crop. This means that some of the differences can be attributed to the heavily commercial intervention goal of CTC, which positions the intervention less around community or family development, and more around successful production and therefore places more responsibility on the most capable members of the community (as discussed in Section 5.1). One final reason for this difference could be that producing tobacco is a specialist skill and those who attend the training and, therefore, the participants of this study, are the only ones able to successfully produce tobacco.

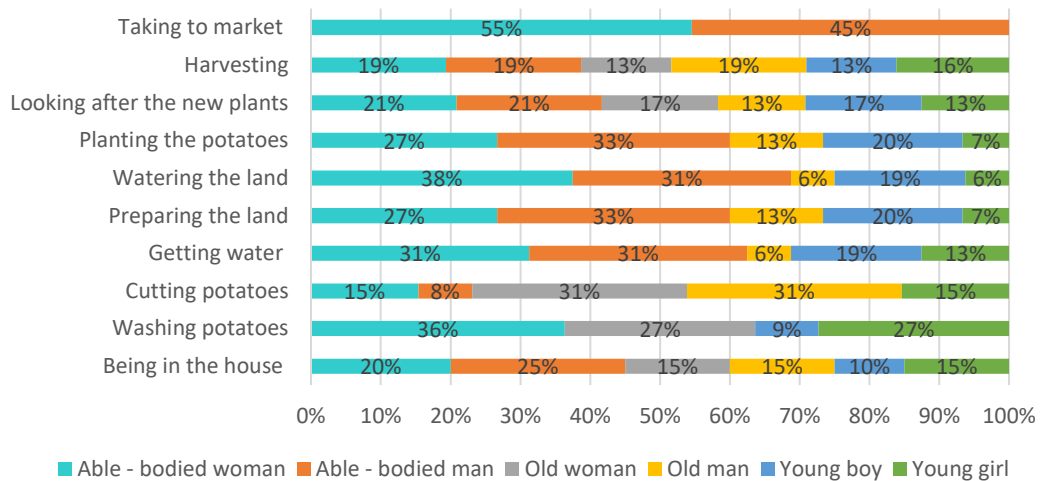


FIGURE 7.2: CTC TARGET AUDIENCE JOB ROLE ALLOCATION: MALE AND FEMALE TOTAL (MALE POSTERS N=4; FEMALE POSTER N=4)

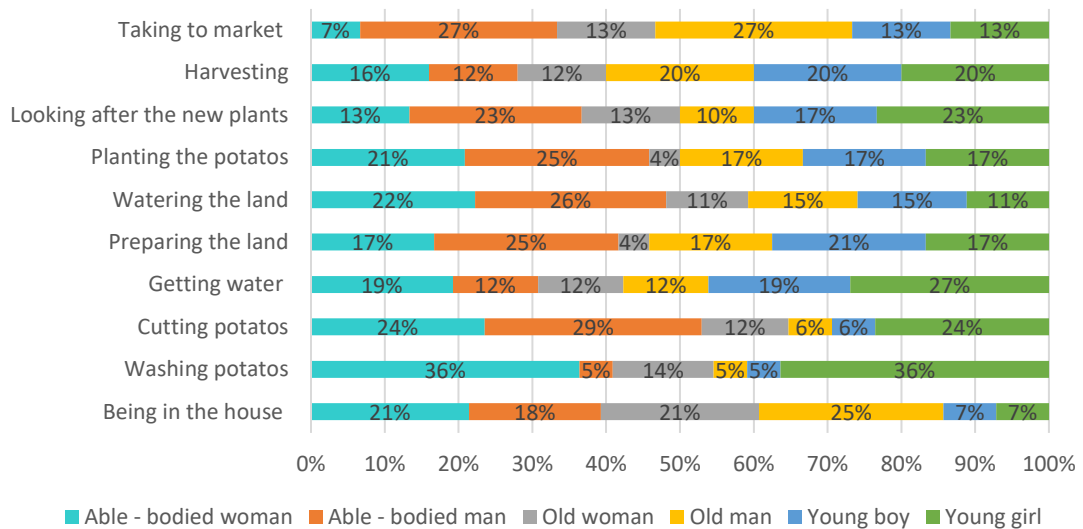


FIGURE 7.3: MLO TARGET AUDIENCE JOB ROLE ALLOCATION: MALE AND FEMALE TOTAL (MALE POSTER: N=4; FEMALE POSTER: N=4)

The MLO TA role allocation presented in Figure 7.3 shows a more even spread of role allocations than presented by CTC, but it can be noted that gender imbalances within the role allocations remain. It can be observed that whilst the old woman is allocated to every role, she and the old man are allocated the least number roles across all the categories, except 'being in the house'. The young boy and young girl are allocated roles much more frequently than CTC across all the categories except 'being in the house', indicating that they play an important role in all aspects of agricultural production processes in MLO TAs. It is likely that the more even spread of job role allocations found here is due to the more developmental position of MLO (as discussed in Section 5.2) which, although the institution is trying to support commercial production, the repercussions for underperformance of both the AEI workers and the TAs are much less severe than CTC.

One of the major differences between MLO and CDO (Figure 7.4) is that the able-bodied man and able-bodied woman are significantly more frequently allocated to 'taking to market'. This point is of interest because, out of all three of the case studies, CDO was the most orientated away from commercial production. The young boy and young girl on CDO are allocated the most to job roles out of all three case studies. Whilst they are not allocated to go to the market, they do play a key role in other production activities particularly around 'getting water' and 'watering the land'.

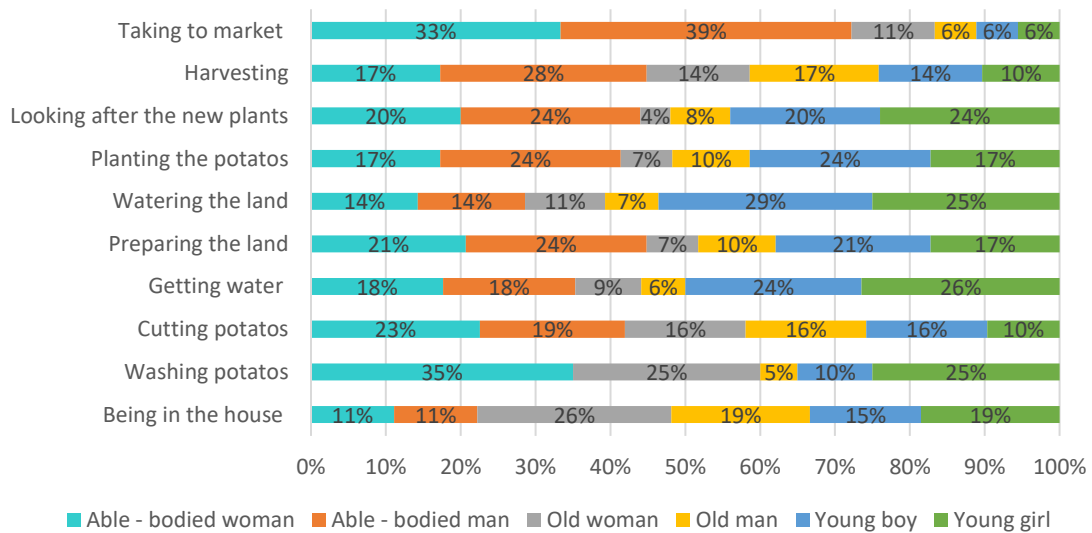


FIGURE 7.4: CDO TARGET AUDIENCE JOB ROLE ALLOCATION: MALE AND FEMALE TOTAL (MALE POSTER: N=4; FEMALE POSTER: N=4)

The data indicates that different TA communities allocate job roles differently. Adding this to the prevalent gender role differences and perception differences between men and women indicates that understanding gender structures within communities is a complex,

but necessary task that must be undertaken by AElS so that they can understand and include ground-level gender dynamics. The data analysis presented here shows that different people are allocated to different roles based on attributes such as age, gender and perceived ability, but also that it is also determined by crops that are being produced (as discussed in Section 5.2.4). The differences between each TA group presented here shows that this allocation is not uniform across communities, indicating that such gender role differences are not simplistic or standardised and therefore they should not be generalised by development interventions. It must be acknowledged that the data presented here is based on the narrative outlined in Appendix 1, so it is not unreasonable to say that there may be other reasons for this role allocation which are separate from the narrative presented. The interviews highlighted some of these reasons which are presented later in this chapter, but it is noted that will be a wide range of reasons for job allocation which may not be covered in this study such as aspects of age, capability, family structure, individual preference, and occupation.

The gender role divisions presented here are reaffirmed in the literature as reviewed in Sections 2.2.1 and 4.2. These are important because they are differences that directly affect engagement with any AElS (as discussed in Chapter 5) because commercial training is perceived as a male space (as displayed by CTC), whereas the community development training is perceived as a female space (as shown by CDO). These differences have implications for how agricultural interventions need to be crafted and implemented, and this aspect should be evaluated by the AElS beforehand because these may directly affect the participation and engagement of TA members and, therefore, the effectiveness of the interventions.

Whilst the analysis of the workshops has shown some broad trends of community gender structures, the TA interviews lend themselves to a more nuanced discussion, the key findings of which will be presented here. All farmers were asked if they felt that job roles should be shared or different. 1 male did not answer, and 1 female did not answer, so the data below is based on 30 male responses and 35 female responses. As displayed in Figure 7.5, the total of both the male and female TA members interviewed identify that job roles are marginally more shared than different. Sixty-three percent of the male TA members report that job roles differ for men and women, whereas 62% of the females report that the job roles are shared between men and women.

Of those who reported gender role differences, the primary reason was identified as physical strength and the secondary reason was identified as historical gender norms. These quotes are illustrated in Table 7.3.

However, despite these differences in roles, the majority of the TA members say that the roles should not be gendered, with 37 (22 females and 15 males) out of the 44 saying that they felt the roles should be mixed. One of the primary reasons noted for this by the interviewees was that if either the male or female farmer was to be absent for any reason, the counterpart still needs to be able to undertake all the tasks.

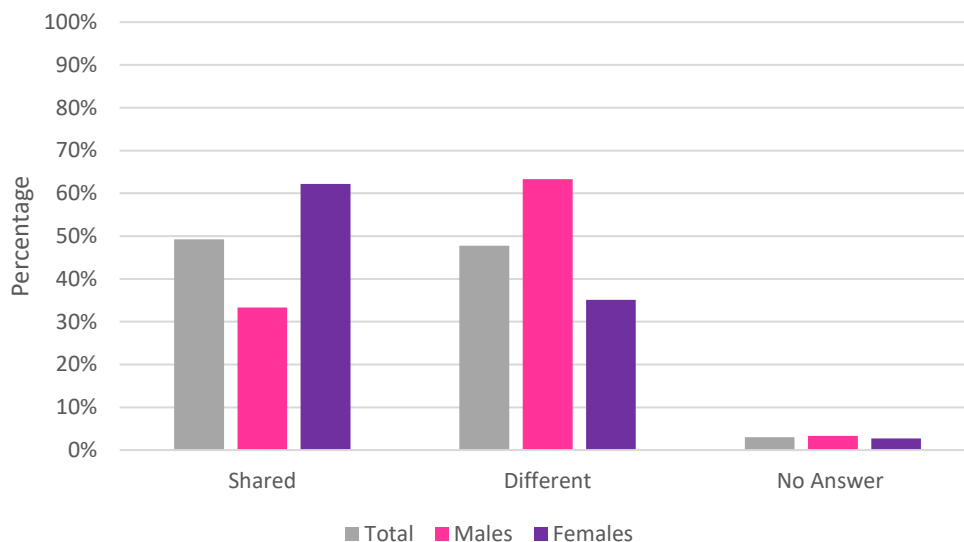


FIGURE 7.5: PERCENTAGE OF MALE (N= 30) AND FEMALE (N=35) TA MEMBERS WHO FELT JOB ROLES WERE SHARED OR DIFFERENT

TABLE 7.3: ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTES OF THE MAIN REASONS FOR GENDER ROLE ALLOCATION

<b>Illustrative quotes of Strength</b>	<b>Illustrative quotes of Gender norms</b>
<p><i>'Maybe curing, and firewood cutting should be done by men ... I think women cannot do the hard roles like taking the firewood into the furnace.'</i></p> <p>- 108, Female CTC TA member</p>	<p><i>'Women are mainly responsible for household chores like cooking, fetching water, gardening, and men usually do the work in the field.'</i></p> <p>- 122, Female CTC TA member</p>
<p><i>'There are slight differences (between gender roles). For example, when it comes to roles at the field, the harder ones are usually left for the men, while the easier ones are for women ... Male roles include tilling the land using the plough, monitoring the curing process in the barn, cutting down of firewood, management ... The female roles include cooking for the workers, giving advice and ideas to the men, household chores.'</i></p> <p>- 109, Female CTC TA member</p>	<p><i>'Yes, the roles are quite different. Very few men can be seen doing roles that are thought of as women's roles in this community... Sometimes we do it (gardening) together, but when we get home the woman is expected to prepare food.'</i></p> <p>- 301, Female CDO TA member</p>
<p><i>'The heavy work is for the men.'</i></p> <p>- 218, Male MLO TA Member</p>	<p><i>'Some of these activities, we are just used to them. Its status quo.'</i></p> <p>- 406, Male Non-Ass. Farmer</p>
<p><i>'Before the women would use the hoe. The men would show up when it's time for planting where the work is a little harder.'</i></p> <p>- 220, Male MLO TA member</p>	<p><i>'Washing dishes or doing house chores it's a female job. As for men, we should be in the field.'</i></p> <p>- 324, Male CDO TA member</p>

TABLE 7.4: ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTES OF SHARING GENDER ROLES IN THE EVENT OF ABSENCE OF THE MALE OR FEMALE FARMER

<b><i>Illustrative female quotes of absence</i></b>	<b><i>Illustrative male quotes of absence</i></b>
<p><i>'For someone who is single/ unmarried but is still a farmer has to do all the farm work despite the absence of the male .... Even when he is there, I can do it. Considering that he might die, I have to learn about all the things while he is still alive cos, I am a farmer and will not abandon the tobacco enterprise cos of the death of my husband.'</i></p> <p>- 107, Female CTC TA member</p>	<p><i>'You will starve because you believe cooking is meant for women or you will sleep in a dirty house because it's not your socially constructed role, so stereotyping roles in the community will make the community suffer.'</i></p> <p>- 309, Male CDO TA member</p>
<p><i>'Yes, it is important so that you are always prepared to do anything, especially for women. Maybe one day you will be a widow and you won't know how to do men's jobs. So, it's good to learn about them while the man is still alive.'</i></p> <p>- 120, Female CTC TA member</p>	<p><i>'It doesn't work. [There is] no need of being stuck to the same chores. You should see me cooking whilst my wife is in the field, not to wait for her. So, if she doesn't come back then I will starve? I should cook and invite her to the table, actually I do that several times.'</i></p> <p>- 326, Male CDO TA member</p>

### **7.1.1 Assumptions of gender structures by AElS**

It is now clear that the AElS operate within communities that have highly gendered agricultural role allocations and structures and varying perceptions of these roles. Therefore, a key question to ask is if the AElS are aware of these gender roles so that they can navigate and challenge them through their work.

The AEl workers undertook the same workshops as the TAs, but they were asked to respond with how they thought their TAs allocated agricultural production roles. It must be noted that it was unfortunately not possible to run a workshop with any of the CDO AEl workers because of logistical difficulties, and that, because of the gender arrangements in CTP, it was not possible to run any female workshops (discussed in more detail in Section 3.7.2). Because of these data limitations, it was not possible to present a meaningful comparison between male and female AElS workers' perceptions, but this could be a valuable further avenue of research. Therefore, the data below are based on two male AEl worker's gender role posters from CTC, and two male and two female AEl workers gender role posters from MLO.

It can be noted that the role allocation patterns largely follow what was presented by most of the TAs, with the able-bodied man and able-bodied woman being allocated the most frequently to all of the roles, and that within those allocations, able-bodied woman are more frequently allocated to domestic chores than men, who are more frequently allocated to physically demanding and commercial roles. This gender difference is

particularly notable in the categories of ‘taking to market’ and ‘cutting potatoes’ and ‘washing potatoes’. The major difference between what the TA members say and what the AEI workers perceive happens, is that the young boy and young girl are more actively involved in most of the activities than the AEI workers reported.

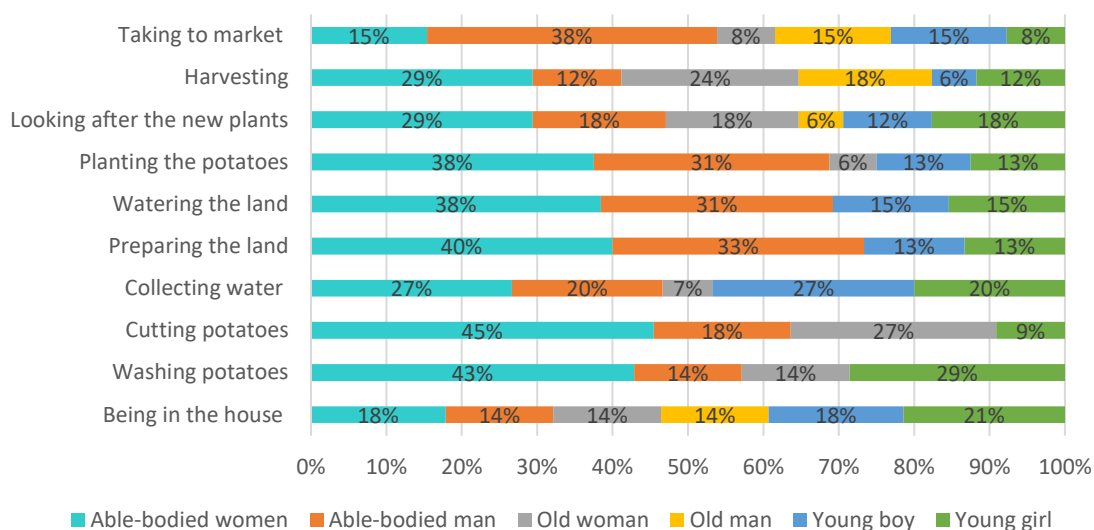


FIGURE 7.6: AEI JOB ROLE ALLOCATION OF THEIR TAs: MALE AND FEMALE TOTAL (MALE POSTER: N=4; FEMALE POSTER: N=2)

Whilst this data set is small, the preliminary indications are that the AEI workers have a fair understanding of the gender agricultural roles that are in place within their TA communities. However, additional data would enable a fuller evaluation of the AEI workers’ deeper understanding of the complexities of community gender structures. This initial observation implies that the AEI workers are in a strong position to support the design of gender sensitive initiatives and could use their understanding to challenge and alter gender role allocations, enabling more equitable information access arrangements. However, as noted in Chapter 5, there is room for AEIs to improve their gender approaches both internally and externally to promote gender transformative interventions.

## 7.2 The effect of AEI gender approaches on TA agricultural communication experience

Chapter 5 established that, although each AEI case study generally takes a gender neutral approach both internally and externally, each AEI has notable differences in internal gender structure due to intervention goal differences. As noted in Chapter 5, CTC has the highest number of male AEI workers, and CDO has the most even numbers of male and

female AEI workers. Because the AEI workers perform the key function in transferring agricultural information directly to the TAs, it is important to interrogate how these internal gender structures affect the experience of the TAs. Therefore, this section will explore if the TA members have any preferences over male and female AEI workers, the reasons why, and the implications of the current internal gender structures in place.

The second area that is important to explore is the effect that external gender structures have on TA access and engagement in communication activities. This is important because the data suggests that male and female farmers engage in communication processes run by AEIs differently based on gender. Therefore, this will also be explored in this section.

### **7.2.1 AEI worker preference**

Each of the TA members were asked what their preference of AEI worker was and 2 males didn't answer, and 1 female didn't answer, so this data is presented on 29 male responses and 35 female responses. The overwhelming majority of respondents (74%) said that they didn't have any preference of the gender of the AEI worker so long as they received the information. As noted in Figure 7.7, this message was stronger from the female TAs with 78% of them reporting this as opposed to 64% of males reporting this. Of those who had a preference, there was a slight tendency of the TAs to prefer an AEI worker of their own gender, with 16% of men preferring male AEI workers and only 8% of men preferring female workers. Of the female TAs who had a preference, 12% preferred females, and 11% preferred male AEI workers.

There are, however, strong opinions about AEI worker's gender from both the male and female target audience participants, the majority of which were underpinned with gender assumptions. Key male quotes that preferred male AEI workers included aspects such as them being quicker to move around than women, and that they have more agricultural experience than women because of historical agricultural arrangements:

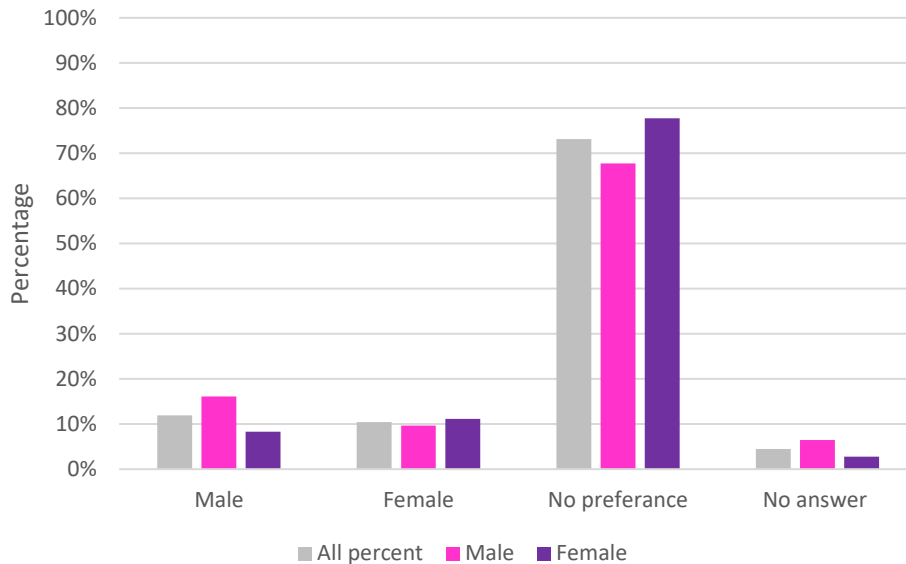


FIGURE 7.7: CHART SHOWING THE TOTAL, MALE (N=29) AND FEMALE (N=35) BREAKDOWN OF TA AEI WORKER GENDER PREFERENCE

*'I prefer males because they move around quicker than women and also many men were former farm managers working for white farmers, so they have real farming experience.'*

- 116, Male CTC TA member

However, interviewee 116 went on to say that although he prefers male AEI workers, there sometimes difficulties that arise due to relational issues:

*'What happens especially with male Extension Officers is that they are human. When they see women, they can't help it. You will see that if they are supposed to work 12 hours a day, they will probably spend 4 hours with men and the rest with women pretending to help. But if the women's husbands found out, those officers will lose respect and men will refuse taking advice from them.'*

- 116, Male CTC TA member

Interviewee 111 also said that he feels like he can ask questions more easily to a male AEI worker than a female worker without feeling embarrassed:

*'Usually I prefer male AGRITEX Officers because even secretive issues I might want to ask them I can do that well without having to be embarrassed to talk about it. They understand me better.'*

- 111, Male CTC TA member



Reasons for male TA members preferring female AEI workers include that female AEI workers are better at sharing information than men:

*'I would pick a woman. I feel that women are good at speaking and giving out information which we can all understand. I find it that some men are rude, and some are not that much interested in speaking or sharing information.'*

- 113, Male CTC TA member

Interviewee 208 suggested similar reasons to interviewee 113, saying that he prefers female AEI workers because they are more patient than male AEI workers:

*'Although men are thorough which I prefer, women are more patient and take their time.'*

- 208, Male MLO TA member

Interviewee 407 supported interviewee 208 in saying that he prefers female AEI workers because they are more patient, but adds that they are also more approachable than male AEI workers:

*'When it comes to whom I prefer, I think the female extension worker does a better job because she is more patient ... So sometimes the men are not as patient, they will hurry you. The women are easy to ask and they explain, and they are more approachable than men.'*

- 407, Male Non-associated farmer

Interviewee 326 suggested that female AEI workers are more determined and therefore more reliable than male AEI workers:

*'I like female extension workers; they work very well. They have a serious determination when it comes to their work and do what they are supposed to do at a given time but male extension workers ... they don't match that level. They are not that determined.'*

- 326, Male CDO TA member

The quotes of those with a preference show that TA male experience of both male and female AEI workers does vary. The quotes also show that attributes such as patience and loyalty to the job are identified with the female AEI workers. These attributes echo ones that were identified by the AEI workers when asked if they preferred to work with male or female farmers (for more details see Chapter 5).

Of the female TA members who had a preference of male AEI workers, interviewee 118 said that she feels that male AEI workers move around faster than female AEI workers:

*'From the experience that I have, I have only seen males ... I think I prefer males ... I think they can move around faster, and they are mobile, and the environment is harsh maybe for the ladies.'*

- 118, Female CTC TA member

Interviewee 119 pointed out that she prefers male AEI workers because she feels that male farmers do not respect female AEI workers:

*'I think I prefer working with the male one ... Because usually when it is the female extension officer working with male farmers, she may be looked down on, or people may not take her information seriously even though it is coming from the top.'*

- 119, Female CTC TA member

It was noted by interviewee 122 that she found that female AEI workers were more aggressive than male AEI workers, and that male AEI workers were better at explaining things:

*'The male ones are good at explaining things well and we understand them, unlike women, who are sometimes aggressive.'*

- 122, Female CTC TA member

This is contradictory to what the male farmers identify of the female AEI workers who regularly report loyalty and patience which indicates that males and females interact differently with the opposite sex. It must be noted that the male AEI preference primarily comes from CTC female TA who are mostly taught by male AEI workers. This preference may be because they have had limited exposure to female AEI workers, or the exposure they have had has been of female AEI workers under a lot of pressure to prove themselves due to the industry gender assumptions presented in Section 5.1

Of the female TA members who had a preference of working with female AEI workers, interviewee 214 said she preferred female AEI workers because it shows the wider communities that women play an important role, and are capable:

*'We usually have male teachers. I do not mind being taught either by a male or female, especially if we are being taught by female teachers it portrays that what we are being*

*taught is important and that us as women are also an important part in our communities.'*

- 214, Female MLO TA member

Interviewee 214's assertion has direct implications on how female participation in the AEI job role can play a vital role in altering dominant gender perceptions at the ground-level.

Interviewee 300 noted that she prefers female AEI workers because they are better at demonstrating and connecting with the CDO groups. This is possibly the case because the majority of the CDO attendees are female:

*'I think the female one is better because they are really good at demonstrating. We once worked with a male extension officer and all he could do was to lecture and could not demonstrate to us how things are done. So, I think women are better. It's probably because the groups are mostly composed of women and so the female extension worker feels so free and at home with us.'*

- 300, Female CDO TA member

It can be concluded that, although most TA members say that they do not have a gender preference of AEI workers, some do have strong preferences to one or the other. A few cases echo work by BenYishay *et al.*, (2020) who suggests that some farmers are less willing to learn from female communicators because they believe they are less capable than their male counterparts. However, this is largely contradicted by a strong message from this study that gender preference is a small factor for farmers in these Zimbabwean samples. However, it must also be recognised that BenYishay *et al.* (2020) also concluded that their data suggested that there wasn't any generalised communication gap actively identified, but rather that farmers are generally less likely to pay attention to and accept a message from a female information communicator. This perception is inconsistent with some of the assumptions and gendered characteristics that were identified and expressed in Chapter 5 and in this section such as women being more loyal, reliable and understanding.

### **7.2.2 Want of mixed gender agricultural training**

All farmers were asked about their preference for mixed or separate training. 7 main male farmers didn't answer, and 3 female farmers didn't answer, so this data is based on a total of 24 male responses, and 33 female responses. Along similar lines of the preference of male or female AEI workers, the overwhelming majority of both male (74%) and female

(86%) TA members who were interviewed indicated that they would like mixed training (training for both male and female farmers at the same time). Twenty-four percent of male TA members indicated that they preferred separate training for men and women, whereas only 8% of female TA members indicated this. This is shown in Figure 7.8.

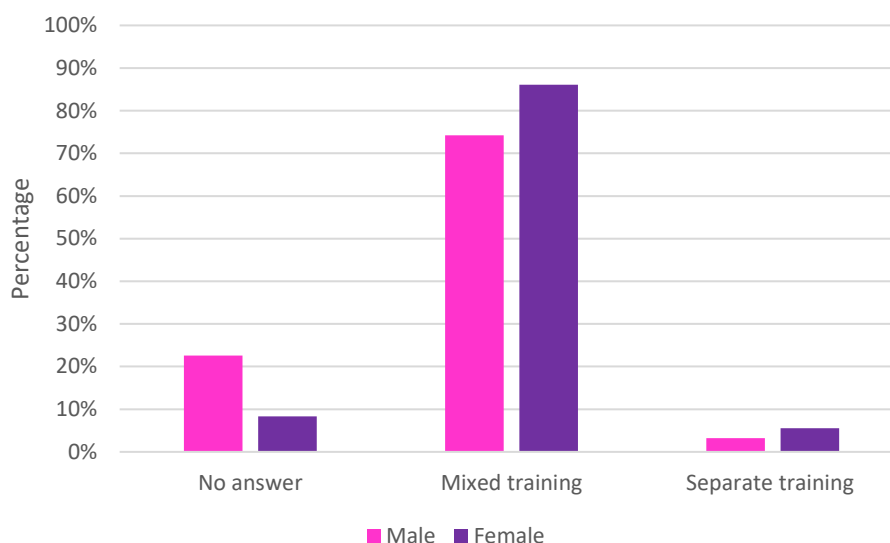


FIGURE 7.8: CHART SHOWING TA MEMBER RESPONSES INDICATING PREFERENCE OF MIXED OR SEPARATE TRAINING (MALE: N=24; FEMALE: N=33)

Of those who wanted separate training, it must be noted that two out of three were from CTC, and both of these CTC TA members said that separate training would increase conflict between men and women due to issues of money ownership (interviewee 107) and the increased the likelihood of disagreements (interviewee 121):

*'I think there should be more women because men are usually abusive on women especially on issues to do with money.'*

- 107, Female CTC TA member

*'I think it is better to separate men and women...I think it is one way of avoiding conflicts between men and women, because during the trainings sometimes men and women may not agree on a certain issue and end up quarrelling. So it is better to be split.'*

- 121, Male CTC TA member

However, adversely, of those who indicated their preference for mixed training, reducing conflict was the most frequently referred to reason with 16 of the TA members noting mixed training as an avenue for reducing gender conflict. Interviewee 108 argued that if

only men are taught, then there might be disagreements over farming practices with their wives:

*'I think they should be mixed. As it is now, there are no jobs and agriculture is the main source of livelihood. If only men are taught, then maybe they will disagree with their wives at home when it comes to farming. Therefore, I think men and women should be mixed, considering that agriculture is what we have now as a livelihood source.'*

- 108, Female CTC TA member

Similar to interviewee 108, interviewee 205 noted that if only women access information then there might be more issues between her and her husband and, by training together, this conflict can be removed:

*'I strongly emphasise that all men, women, and youth should be included in agricultural extension programmes so that all have access to the right information ... If I am the only one that has access to information, my husband would have a problem. But if both of us gain access to [MLO] training and information, it would be easier to remind each other when we are in our fields and it creates a much more better relationship and understanding than not getting on well.'*

- 205, Female MLO TA member

This was reiterated by interviewee 304:

*'I think being combined is better because by doing so we can work together and learn from each other. Also, it helps in eliminating problems between men and women because if we are separated and the wife is trained in one group, while the husband is trained in another, when it comes to working together in their field it may cause misunderstandings. So, it's better for them to learn together in the same group.'*

- 304, Female CDO TA member

Interviewee 208 noted that both men and women should receive the same training and information so that both can benefit from it, and can support one another when one is not around:

*'It cannot be one-sided. Both of us should benefit from the way we are taught without selecting a particular group because the other group deserves the same information. So, I should receive the information and my wife the same so we both benefit even if*

*one is not around which means when one has forgotten the other will be there to remind.'*

- 208, Male MLO TA member

This message from TA members wanting to reduce conflict by ensuring equal access to information for both men and women is an important one. This is because it directly showcases a fundamental link between communication and gender approaches, and many development programmes continue to run male and female training separately. The reasons for running these trainings separately are often due to trying to enable women opportunities to speak freely and navigate the complex power structures and implications between males and females found in highly patriarchal societies, which are often the structures that development interventions have to operate in. However, it is clear from this study data that both male and female farmers want both sexes to be involved in information exchange processes equally, and that information imbalances cause disputes. This indicates that communication interventions must be aware of gendered asymmetries in access to information and be conscious of not exacerbating them.

The next most frequently referred to reason for wanting mixed training was that agricultural roles are shared between men and women, and therefore both sexes should have equal access to agricultural information exchange services. This sharing of roles echoes findings presented in Section 7.1. Eight female TA members noted this reason with interviewees 109 and 300 saying that there are agricultural roles (notably the physical roles) that men perform and, therefore, training the men and women together would encourage role sharing:

*'I think men and women should work and be together in agricultural programs, mainly because in farming, there are some roles which require men to do them, so when we are together with men those roles can easily be done.'*

- 109, Female CTC TA member

*'I think mixed is better because sometimes there is a need for manpower. For example, if there is a need to drill a borehole, as women alone we cannot do it. It requires men. So, when we are mixed there can be division of labour and better allocation of roles so that everyone does what he/she has the capacity to do.'*

- 300, Female CDO TA member

Three of the TA members noted that mixed training is needed because it is important that both men and women can access agricultural information and training so that they can carry on producing should there be a death of either the wife or the husband (interviewees 325 and 401) or if one is a widow (interviewee 326):

*'They should involve both women and men (in training) for sustainability. If a man dies without the proper engagement of the wife in farming, the farm will suffer in the same way it will suffer in the event of the death of the woman leaving a man with no expertise.'*

- 325, Male CDO TA member

*'Women should be treated the same as men, they should be involved. We have more women than men so excluding them will affect our development in a negative way. We have widows who don't have husbands who will do the farming for them.'*

- 326, Male CDO TA member

*'They should include both ... because if we say concentrate on men only to get information from the AGRITEX officers and if the man dies, then there is no continuation in the family.'*

- 401, Female non-associated TA member

Finally, it was noted by interviewee 120 that a broader reason for wanting mixed training is that of equality between men and women, and that men and women have different capabilities in understanding and passing on information:

*'Education should not be disaggregated by gender, a woman can actually be able to understand certain things better than men and can also be able to educate others cos women are good educators, while men are not good at educating others. So, it's actually important that we all get educated.'*

- 120, Male CTC TA member

It must be concluded that most of both male and female TA members want mixed training and equal access to agricultural information transfer opportunities. This has firm implications on the way that agricultural information transfer interventions are currently being delivered. A key implication of this is that, by separating or excluding both men or women in such interventions, gendered conflict could increase because one or the other feels marginalised and because of difficulties between the genders being able to teach

one another effectively without causing conflict. This finding supports the work of Lundgren *et al.* (2013) who suggest that interventions that are inclusive of both sexes have more impact than just focusing on one. However, it is also noted by Blum (2020) that attitude change does not necessarily alter behaviour change, and therefore both need to be considered in gender transformative approaches. He also suggests that early adolescence is an optimal time to engage in gender transformative programming, which implies that AEIs might benefit from including the youth in their interventions to enable transformative gender changes.

### **7.3 Primary agricultural information services available to small-holder farmers**

#### **7.3.1 Information sources**

Having explored the gender perceptions of communication and extension activities of the TAs, it is now important to examine the effect of the AEI communication approach on the TA members. To do this, however, there is a need first to establish how important the case study AEIs are to the TAs in terms of acting as information sources. To do this, this section will present an analysis of what information sources the TAs and the non-associated farmers (the group of farmers who were not assigned to any AEI (see Section 3.3.5) have access to and which source is their first port of call in an agricultural difficulty. This group of both the TAs members and the non-associated farmers will be referred to as 'farmers' for ease.

To conduct this analysis, the farmer interviews were analyzed and all information sources that were identified by the interviewees were collected. These information sources were placed into the following subcategories:

- Associated AEI (stand-alone category)
- AGRITEX (stand-alone category)
- Personal networks (included subcategories of other farmers, farm managers, local chairmen, previous jobs, family, field days, townships, and personal networks)
- Seed companies (included AGRITRADE, National Tested Seed, Farm and City, Superphate, Windmill, and SEEDCO)
- Research institutes (included Solusi University, Kutsaga, Matopas Research Institute, and TTC training center)
- Mass media (classed as one-way, included television and radio)



- ICT's (classed as the potential for two-way communication, included the internet, phones, WhatsApp groups and Eco-Farmer)
- Other development agencies (included Women's forums, HOCCIC, World Vision, OJ, GOAL, and not specified)
- Commercial companies (included Better Agriculture, MTC, Progressive, ZFU, AQUA, and ZTOC)

A full list and additional information of all the organizations mentioned in the sub-categories can be found in Appendix 9, but it should be noted that, due to the selection of the case study institutions, there is a clear bias towards the category of Associated AEI as they were already present for the case study TAs. Every farmer that was interviewed answered this question so the data for this evaluation has been taken from all 67 interviews. Figure 7.9 shows the percentage of farmers who referenced the category at least once.

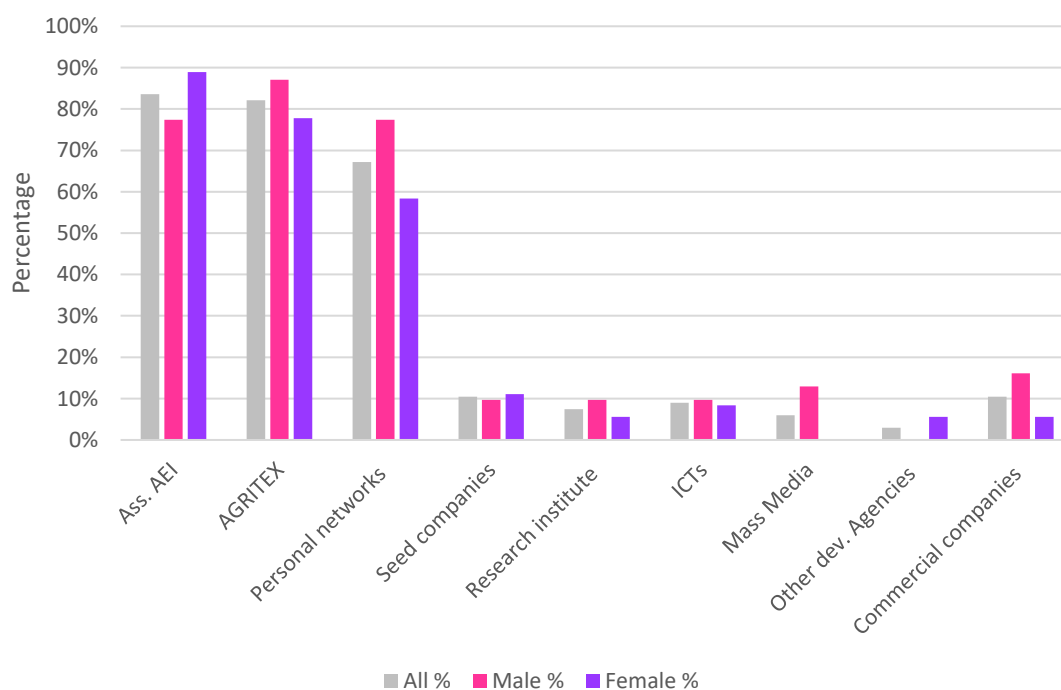


FIGURE 7.9: CHART SHOWING INFORMATION SOURCE CATEGORIES REFERENCED AT LEAST ONCE BY FARMERS (MALE: N=31; FEMALE: N=36)

If the totals are considered, the Associated AEI was the most popular information source with 84% of farmers identifying this. This is not surprising given the inherent bias of their presence within the case study TAs. However, it is only marginally ahead of AGRITEX which 82% of farmers identified. Personal Networks is the third most popular category with 67% of all farmers identifying this. The other categories are referenced by much fewer of the

farmers with, 10% referencing seed companies and commercial companies, 9% referencing ICTs, 7% referencing research institutes, 6% referencing Mass Media and just 2% referencing other development agencies.

However, when examining the gendered differences between the information source identification, it can be observed that men and women have differences in access. Whilst the associated AEI is identified by 89% of females, only 77% of males identified this information source. More men identify AGRITEX as an information source, with 87% of them identifying this source, and 78% of female farmers identifying it. This indicates that the primary information source for female farmers is the associated AEIs and for men is AGRITEX. When examining personal networks, 21% more men mention this than women which suggests that men have access to wider personal networks than women. In the low scoring categories males had more access to research institutes, ICTs, mass media and commercial companies than females. Females had more access to seed companies and other development agencies. Notable findings are that only males referenced mass media channels, and only females referenced other development agencies. These are of interest because they indicate differences in access to mass media which is likely due to ownership discrepancies (Myers, 2009), and differences in access to development interventions, an argument presented in Section 5.4. Overall, these differences in information sources show that males have access to significantly more information sources than females, which has implications on levels of resilience and vulnerability of females should an information source not be available.

### **7.3.2 Most important information source**

Having identified the different information sources, it is necessary to explore what the most important information sources are for farmers. This data was collected by asking the farmers who would be their First Port of Call (FPOC) in the event of a crop failure or disease. Figure 7.10 uses all the farmer interviews (31 males and 36 females) and presents the FPOC identified by all the farmers that were interviewed. CTC TA members specifically refer to tobacco because all respondents identified the FPOC in the event of an issue with tobacco only. Although not shown in Figure 7.10 because not all TA members responded, 8 out of 16 CTC TA members identified alternative FPOC if the issue was identified with other crops. The most important information source identified should another crop fail was Personal Networks with 3 males identifying this and 1 female identifying it.

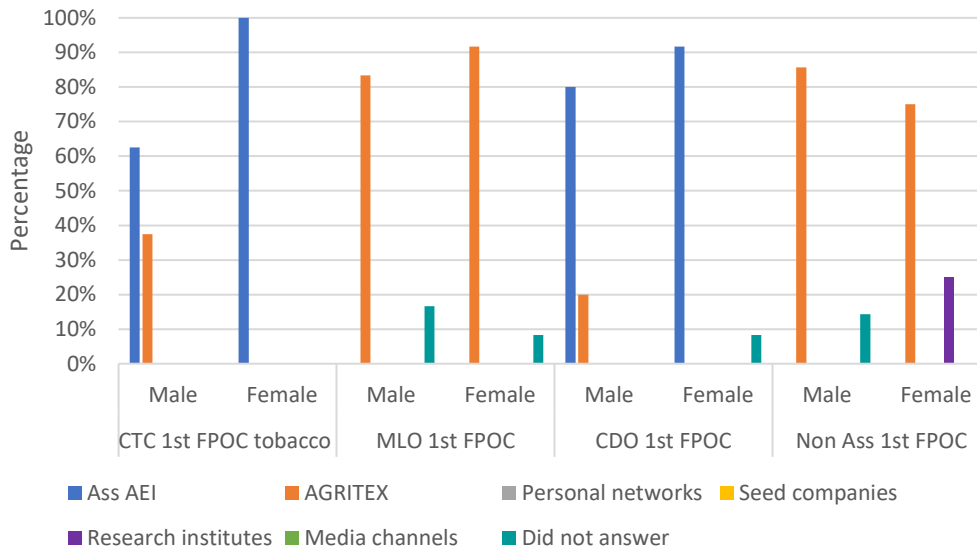


FIGURE 7.10: CHART SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE FARMERS IDENTIFYING FIRST PORT OF CALL (FPOC) (MALE: N=31; FEMALES: N=36)

It can be noted from Figure 7.10 that 100% of the female CTC TA members' FPOC in the event of needing assistance with tobacco was the associated AEI. However, only 63% of CTC males, identified the associated AEI as their FPOC for tobacco assistance, with the remainder identifying AGRITEX as their FPOC. In MLO, all of those who answered identified AGRITEX as their FPOC. The large absence of the Associated AEI here is of notable difference to the TA members from CTC and CDO, and is likely due to MLO positioning itself to ultimately remove itself from the communities (see Section 5.2). 80% of the male CDO TA members identify the Associated AEI as their FPOC with the other 20% noting AGRITEX. 92% of the CDO female TA members identify the Associated AEI as their FPOC, with the remaining 8% noting AGTIEX. Finally, it can be noted 86% of the male Non-Associated farmers identified AGRITEX as their FPOC, with the 75% of the Non-Associated female farmers noting AGRITEX, the remaining 25% noting research institutes.

Overall, Figure 7.10 shows that the most important information sources are largely the Associated AEIs when available and AGRITEX. AGRITEX remains a key FPOC for many, and appears in each category, indicating that the national extension services remain a vital information source for most farmers. It must also be observed that only male farmers noted media channels as a FPOC, which echoes literature that suggest that men have more access to media than women (Adejo, Idoka and Adejo, 2013; FAO, 2018). It must also be observed that male and female FPOC's vary, but with females relying mostly on AEI information alone exposing women to information source vulnerabilities due to limited alternatives.

### **7.3.3 Noise Factors in Zimbabwean AEI services**

When analysing the effect of communication processes, it is useful to examine this in terms of 'noise' factors ((Santucci, 2005) as discussed in Section 2.3.3) or factors that limit communication. Chapter 5 (Sections 5.1.4, 5.2.4 and 5.3.4) and Chapter 6 (Sections 6.2.2, 6.1.2 and 6.3.2) hinted at multiple, complex factors that limit the success of communication processes between the AEI workers and the TAs, and the most prominent of these will now be identified and discussed.

#### **1. Gender constructions**

Varying gender structures have been discussed at length in Chapter 5 and Section 7.2. The key noise implications identifiable in this include:

- Females have less access to the AEI job role which may affect some farmers' engagement with communication activities given that demonstration and in-person training is the most common communication channel used.
- Training participation is gendered which affects who can or does attend, thereby limiting the participation of both men and women in different communication platforms.
- Power structures hinder successful information transfer between male and female farmers that causes increased gender conflict thereby perpetuating gender disparities.

#### **2. Information access**

It is noted in Chapter 6 and Section 7.3 that men and women have different access to different information channels. Notable differences include that men have better access to written material than women, men have access to more information sources and channels than women do such as men have more direct access to personal networks than women, and women making being more reliant on AEI workers than men. These differences present multiple barriers to information access and engagement for both men and women, thus causing noise and communication barriers which vary for men and women.

#### **3. Difficulties with information channels**

Having identified multiple information channels, the most preferred and used information channel is in-person support and demonstration (Chapter 6). However, support varies from region to region and from different groups of people given the intervention goals

and drivers of the AElS. Language, distance, relationships, and gender barriers can be identified throughout this study as noise factors of person-to-person communication. The workshop discussions also identify additional noise factors that affect successful information channels with difficulties around ownership, cost, and power affecting many ICTs such as the radio, television, and phones. This data is summarised in Table 7.5 and Table 7.6 which shows the primary noise factors identified for the main information sources and information channels of the male and female workshop groups of CTC, MLO and CDO. These tables show the main noise factors identified by all the TA workshop. The information sources and channels they represent are those that the workshop participants discussed most at length in workshop Activity 2 detailed in Section 3.4.3. Sample raw data for the workshop discussions can be found in Appendix 7.

TABLE 7.5: NOISE FACTORS OF PRIMARY INFORMATION SOURCES IDENTIFIED BY ALL WORKSHOP GROUPS

<b>Information source</b>	<b>Noise factors identified</b>
Other farmers	Can provide the wrong information Might be jealous or misleading Could lie or promote gossip
Agro-dealers	Can end up selling farmers unnecessary products Don't physically visit the farms
AEl workers	Farmers have to use airtime and phone to contact them Time conflicts Costly
AGRITEX	Not accessible
Community leaders	Sometimes does not deliver the message on time

Table 7.5 illustrates that the main noise factors of the primary information sources include distrust of advice from other farmers, difficulties in accessing Agro-dealers and AGRITEX, needing to contact the AEl workers directly which is costly and that sometimes there are communication delays from the community leader.

Table 7.5 shows several varying noise factors that are identified by the farmers for multiple information channels. Notably the ability to charge and run electronic items is mentioned several times. It is also mentioned that not being able to respond or contact through the information channel is noted as an important noise factor which points to the importance of being able to have two-way communications. Other noise factors identified include costs such as the need for phone credit, internet access and TV ownership. The poster's and books had issues such as not being able to understand them due to literacy limitations.

TABLE 7.6: NOISE FACTORS OF PRIMARY INFORMATION CHANNELS IDENTIFIED BY ALL WORKSHOP

GROUPS

Information channel	Noise factors identified
Radio	Sometimes the information is not specific to your region or irrelevant Expensive Requires power - Batteries loose life Blanket information Information may not be reliable May miss the program
Phones (calling)	Airtime Network coverage Phone must be recharged Can be promote lies
Phones (messaging)	Need airtime to respond Sometimes you cannot respond to messages Text services such as ECO FARMER require payment and are costly
Phones (applications)	Needs a smart phone which are expensive Need data to update the application Only father has access to the app May not find all the information wanted
TV	Cannot be contacted Sometimes the information is not specific to your region expensive Requires power One way and there is a lot of disruptive programmes Not everyone has a TV Mother and father own the TV Expensive
Posters	Only used for politics Can be destroyed and are easily lost due to weather Can only be read by literate people Limited posters about agricultural information May have difficulty in understanding
Internet (computers)	Only used by children Expensive
Books	Might be difficult to understand

## 7.4 Chapter conclusions

This chapter has presented several areas of findings around some of the key linkages between the gender and communication approaches used by AEIs in Zimbabwe and their effect on the TAs. It can firstly be concluded that the AEIs are operating in patriarchal communities that have highly gendered agricultural roles, but the AEI workers indicate awareness of these structures. The gender structures at the community level determine access and experience of the information services that the AEIs provide. This is primarily determined by gender assumptions around gender role allocations as opposed to TA preference of the AEI workers' gender. This indicates that the internal AEI gender structures in terms of number of the male and female AEI workers has a limited impact on the information exchange experience of farmers, but this must be taken with caution

based on BenYishay *et al's*, (2020) work. However, the external gender structures have a larger impact on the farmer's communication experience with strong messages from farmers that information asymmetries between men and women cause conflict between them. This indicates that there is a need for equal access to information to avoid creating or exacerbating conflicts that impact not only the social cohesion of the communities, but also on community development because of limitations on effective information sharing between the sexes.

In terms of information access, the majority of the farmers in this study rely on extension services that are delivered in person, which includes either the national agricultural information service provided by AGRITEX or other AElS. The variance of this reliance between men and women is limited but present. These two information sources are the first point of call in an agricultural emergency for most farmers. Personal networks are also noted as an important information source for farmers. Areas that are often referred to in the literature as being strong avenues to improve agricultural development such as ITC's and media channels (Lwoga and Sangeda, 2019; Tchamyou, Erreygers and Cassimon, 2019) are currently limited in their effectiveness and use within the communities this study looked at due to key noise factors behind them including literacy, power and cost.

Because the AElS are the most important information source for all of the farmers, and because they are well aware of their community gender structures, AElS are in a strong position to promote effective agricultural development and also to challenge dominant gender discourse by altering practices to improve wider gender equality information services. They are equally able to make gender inequalities worse if they fail to take these gender structures into consideration, therefore this understanding is vital in overcoming gender equalities at the ground-level.

## **CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

Despite multiple attempts to deal effectively with gender inequalities (Rathgeber, 1990; Kabeer, 1994; Cornwall, 1997; Tucker, 1997; Singh, 2007; Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2014), large gender disparities continue to hinder development communication interventions (Kabeer, 1994; Mefalopulos, 2008; United Nations, 2020; World Economic Forum, 2020). Therefore, there remains a vital need to better understand the complex linkages between gender and communication processes to enable more effective development interventions. To address this urgent need, this study set out explore the linkages between gender dynamics and communication dynamics. To do this, a framework was designed and applied enabling a gendered analysis of development communication approaches which would ultimately support the design of communication interventions capable of understanding complex societal and organisational structures to encourage a more equal information exchange process. Structured around the study objectives, this study aimed to generate findings focused on the usefulness and applicability of the Framework, and findings focused on the new understandings generated in the field of agricultural extension through the application of the Framework.

This chapter will revisit the objectives and research questions of this study and summarise the key findings under each objective. This chapter will also provide a critical reflection on the circulation of dominant gender discourses, the Framework and accompanying methodology, and conclude with the implications for policy, practice and theory and areas of future research.

### **8.1 Revisiting the study objectives**

The research aim of this study was to understand the role of circulations of dominant gender discourse in development interventions through using the case study of Zimbabwean agricultural extension services.

To achieve this, the following objectives were met:

Objective 1: Establish a systematic understanding of the theory and processes underpinning the phenomena of the circulation of dominant gender discourse.

Objective 2: Analyse this phenomenon within Zimbabwean Agricultural Extension Institutions.

Within Objective 2, the following research questions have been answered:



- a) What context do Zimbabwean AEs have to operate in?
- b) What gender approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AEs?
- c) What communication approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AEs?
- d) What is the effect of these approaches on the TAs?

*Objective 3:* Evaluate how this understanding adds to improving gender equality in developmental interventions.

## **8.2 Key findings organised by study objectives**

*Objective 1:* Establish a systematic understanding of the theory and processes underpinning the phenomena of the circulation of dominant gender discourse.

It can be concluded that this study successfully assessed and integrated the key theories underpinning the circulation of dominant gender discourse in Chapter 2. Using this detailed understanding, a conceptual and multidisciplinary framework (Sections 2.4.1 and 2.5.3) was created based on the key gender theory largely from Foucault and Butler, key communication theory largely from Saussure and Derrida, and Queer Theory, to conceptualise the process of the circulation of dominant gender discourse. This Conceptual Framework was the basis for the development of the Applied Framework which was designed by fusing the applied work of Kabeer's Social Relations Approach (Kabeer, 1994) and Leeuwis and Ban's communication framework (Leeuwis and Van Den Ban, 2004). It can be concluded that the conceptual grounding supported the selection of the applied approaches, ensuring that the Framework was practical, yet still able to identify key aspects that feed directly into the process of the circulation of dominant gender discourse.

*Objective 2:* Analyse this phenomenon within Zimbabwean Agricultural Extension Institutions.

It can be concluded that a methodology that could support the application of the Applied Framework in the Zimbabwean agricultural extension service needed to be built. This methodology (Chapter 3) and Applied Framework (Section 2.5.3) were successfully able to answer each of the research questions noted previously, therefore proving the ability of the Framework.

The first research question ('what context do Zimbabwean AEs have to operate in?') was answered in Chapter 4. It can be concluded that Zimbabweans operate within a society which remains highly patriarchal, politically unstable and unsafe, and economically

challenging. These macro structures dictate many aspects of Zimbabweans lives, livelihoods, and organisational structures. They also play a key role in determining how people and organisations behave, illustrating that a contextual analysis of the structural layer is essential to understanding and being able to identify dominant gender discourse.

The second research question ('What gender approaches are being used in Zimbabwean AElS?') was answered in Chapter 5. It can be concluded that different AElS use different internal and external gender approaches based on their institutional drivers and intervention goals. Whilst they all acknowledge gender imbalances, little has been done to try to alter the roots of gender inequality which are mostly linked to structural gender discourse.

The third research question ('What communication approaches are being used by Zimbabwean AElS?') was answered in Chapter 6. Similar to the gender approaches, it can be concluded that the communication approaches used by the Zimbabwean AElS vary, depending on their intervention goals. These communication approaches vary from horizontal farmer-to-farmer learning to persuasive transfer processes. The information services provided to meet the intervention goals also vary, however the preferred mechanism for farmer's was identified as in-person support.

The final research question ('What is the effect of these approaches on TAs?') was answered in Chapter 7. The effects of the gender and communication approaches on the target audiences include multiple aspects. The participation of TAs is limited by gender approaches, gender norms and patriarchal structures that are embedded into community structures with men continuing to occupy more agricultural commercial spaces than women, and women occupying more community agricultural spaces than men. This directly affects information access and increases conflict between men and women. Importantly, both men and women want mixed training opportunities to limit this conflict and improve information sharing processes. Men and women have similar access to information channels, but men rely more heavily on AGRITEX and women on other agricultural extension services. Male and female TAs generally have no preference for the gender of the AEI worker, but strong female AEI workers can support wider gender discourse changes.

The main findings highlighted by the research questions showcase the complex myriad of factors that play a role in the creation and maintenance of unhelpful gender norms. This, in turn, highlights the need for a more complex response than many gender mainstreaming approaches are currently taking.

*Objective 3: Evaluate how this understanding adds to improving gender equality in developmental interventions.*

Having successfully achieved Objective 2, Objective 3 has been discussed in 0, where a nuanced reflection of how communication and gender are integrated was presented, with the conclusion that gender and communication must be examined and altered in conjunction with one another if we hope to start to alter dominant gender discourses. Objective 3 will be further reflected on in Section 8.4.

### **8.3 Reflections on circulations of dominant discourse identified by this study**

Now that this thesis has identified the gender approaches, the communication approaches, and some of the most relevant dynamics and effects on the Target Audiences (TAs), it is necessary to link the fieldwork findings back to the Conceptual Framework and wider literature. This is important because it provides the space for a reflection on the intertwined links between the fields of gender and communication, but also ultimately provides the space for reflection on the process of the circulation of dominant discourse.

#### **8.3.1 Identified dominant gender discourse**

Through focusing on the role of agricultural extension workers, dominant gender discourses have been tracked at the structural, functional and ground-level layers.

At the structural layer, even well qualified, successful women still feel that they are under pressure to perform domestic gendered roles such as childcare, and have to deal with societal judgement should they step outside of these, as shown in Section 4.2.1. This supports work by Moser (1993), Momsen (2004), Chant (2008), Kabeer (2008), Ballakrishnen, Fielding-singh and Magliozzi (2019), Rottenberg, (2019), and Bimrose (2008).

These gender role discourses filter through to the functional layer, and directly impact the ability of women to undertake the job role of an agricultural extension worker. This is reflected in the discussion of women as extension workers (i.e. ‘agricultural extension work is for men’ and ‘women can’t ride motorbikes’), identified in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.2.3. These gender constructions limit women’s opportunities and ability to engage in these communication roles in Agriculture. Of those that have undertaken these roles, they are notably strong female characters who express self-confidence, assertiveness and agency. These attributes are noted in Sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.3 and are illustrated in the following quotes:

*'I was working there as a volunteer then, later on, they saw my strengths and offered me a scholarship.'*

- 315, Female CDO AEI worker

*'So, I went for an interview - I just carried my bag and went there ... I also talked to [a man in my TA and told] him that agriculture is not a one-day thing because it needs energy and an open mind.'*

- 313, Female CDO AEI worker

The functional layer discourses are compounded by social structural arrangements stemming from gender assumptions. These include assumptions that limit women's opportunities to undertake agricultural education. This is because the agricultural sector is underpinned by assumptions such as women are not resilient enough to successfully undertake agricultural extension work because of long distances, safety, and disrespect from target audiences (as discussed in Chapter 5). This understanding reinforces the position that Wilkins (1999) takes in suggesting that development organisations play some role in perpetuating inegalitarian power structures. This is demonstrated by the hierarchical arrangements of the organisational structures (Figure 5.4, Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.12), the uneven gender distribution of job roles within these institutions (Sections 5.1.3, 5.2.3 and 5.3.3), and the different opportunities presented to different genders for participating in instructional interventions (discussed in Sections 5.1.4, 5.2.4 and 5.3.4). This aspects also showcases Althusser's (2001) suggestion that Structural Apparatuses and ISAs play a key role in sustaining dominant discourse through repression.

These dominant gender discourses filter through into the ground-level layer too, with TAs displaying highly gendered structures around male and female agricultural roles (shown in Section 7.1 and noted by FAO (1994, 2017) and Quisumbing *et al.* (2014)) and difficulties of overcoming embedded power relations (illustrated in Sections 5.2.4 and 5.3.4), exemplified through the want of mixed training and equal information access to limit gender conflict (discussed in Section 7.2.2). These ground-level layer power dynamics directly affect the safety and perceptions of female AEI workers as discussed in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.2.3. This then further limits female participation and reinforces gender unequal structural arrangements such as female agricultural enrolment and employment rates (Garwe, 2015). The lack of female AEI workers also directly affects the ability of the TAs to access female AEI workers. Although this is noted in Figure 7.7 as many farmers not having a preference of male or female AEI workers, it is also further discussed in Section 7.2.1 that some farmers do have a preference, with most preferring their own sex

because it is deemed more accessible. Based on this, it can be deduced that the effect of the gender imbalance of AEI workers on farmers may limit successful communicative interactions between TAs and AEI workers. This finding supports work such as Lahai, Goldey and Jones (1999) whose study found that female farmers who have access to female extension workers have better access to extension services and better levels of awareness and participation than those supervised by male extension officers.

The gender discourses presented here are well documented throughout the literature (Moser, 1993; Lahai, Goldey and Jones, 1999; Wilkins, 1999) and show that such gender discourses remain problematic for gender equality.

### **8.3.2 The effect of dominant gender discourse**

The dominant discourse tracked through the three layers of society reinforces the argument that women and men continue to 'live with patriarchy' (Majstorovic and Lassen, 2011). This study has illustrated this in two main themes.

Firstly, it has shown that women are expected, and continue, to largely occupy domestic spaces in all three societal layers. In the structural layer this is exemplified in Section 4.2 with discourses of professional, well-educated women having to continue to conform to gendered roles at home and be a 'proper wife' (noted by Interviewee 502, Section 4.2.1.). It is shown in the functional layer through discourses such as women having difficulty in accessing the relevant qualifications to enter the AEI job role market due to constraints keeping them in 'more appropriate gender assigned job roles', and that the more community-driven the institutional driver, the more females hold positions in that institution (discussed in Section 5.4.). In the ground-level layer, the agricultural roles analysis in Section 7.1 shows that women continue to dominate domestic tasks, and men the income generating tasks.

Secondly, this study has shown that men have greater access to finance-generating spaces through all the layers. The societal layer analysis illustrates that professional well-qualified women continue to struggle to access leadership positions within their institutions (discussed by interviewee 509, Section 4.2.1). The functional layer illustrates that job role allocation, especially in commercial agricultural institutions which are likely to be better paid, remains heavily gender imbalanced (shown in Sections 5.1.3, 5.2.3, 5.3.3). At the ground-level layer, men dominate in cash crop production and women in consumption production (discussed in sections 5.1.4, 5.2.4, 5.3.4).

When looked at holistically, these findings show that whilst gender inequalities are represented differently in different spaces, they all echo the systemic patriarchal dominance found throughout the Zimbabwean society (Parpart, 1995; Kambarami, 2006). These discourses and associated gender role allocations reinforce that the gendered social order is that by being a 'man' one is allowed systemic privilege and being a 'woman' implies constant disadvantage and exclusion, as posited by Lazar (2014) and many other feminist writers (Butler, 1990; Irigaray, 1993b; Becker, 2015).

The continued male occupation of the AEI worker space has far-reaching implications concerning the maintenance of dominant patriarchal discourse (Fairclough, 1992; VanDjik, 1998) which reinforces the hierarchical and dualistic structure of 'men' and 'women' (Ehrlich, Meyerhoff and Holmes, 2014). The male dominance in this arena implies that it is more likely that patriarchal systems and imbalances are being reconstructed because these institutions and individuals are influenced by dominant gender discourse, largely formed through patriarchal directives.

However, the case studies have also presented evidence that women occupying this role can successfully undertake this job (illustrated through the reflections on the female AEI workers found throughout Chapter 5) and can even challenge these assumptions and perceptions directly. Their presence and performance can start to alter the dominant gender discourse by disproving assumptions and perceptions. This is clearly illustrated through several male quotes found in Section 5.2.3. This finding is particularly important as it supports claims in the literature that suggest that female participation in the role of agricultural extension can enhance the efficiency of the extension services (Lahai, Goldey and Jones, 1999; Mamun-ur-Rashid, Kamruzzaman and Mustafa, 2017; Beevi *et al.*, 2018).

It can also be noted throughout the study that there are narratives of some AEI workers reporting to prefer working with female farmers because of positive characteristics such as their 'loyalty' and 'reliability' (Sections 5.1.4, 5.2.4, 5.3.4). It is important to reflect here that despite the positive discourses identified by the AEI workers about female farmers, female farmers continue to be underrepresented in both participation and engagement. This point raises the question of why this continues to be the case. It is not unreasonable to suggest that this issue is perpetuated by structural discourses at ground-level which are related to stereotypical gender norms such as women being tied to household care and therefore expected to engage in consumable production over commercial production. Such norms persist despite the evidence that female farmers are just as competent, if not more so in commercial production processes. This shows that there are not only changes needed at structural level to provide additional opportunities for female

AEI workers, but also that unless there is a change in gender norms at the ground-level, the effect of this on altering female farmers development trajectories will continue to be limited.

But gender structures are only one part of the picture. A second and equally important reflection is what this study has found in terms of communication mechanisms that are used by the AEIs to convey information to their TAs, and how these add to the circulation of dominant discourse. Findings presented in Sections 6.1.3, 6.2.3 and 6.3.3 illustrate that the relationship between AEI workers and TA members is vital in allowing dialogical communication processes which support both the fulfilment of the institutions' drivers, but also the success of the TAs. Gender constructions sit at the centre of the formation of this relational dynamic and, as shown in Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2, gender structures do affect the communication experiences of TAs. The analysis found in Sections 6.1.2, 6.2.2 and 6.3.2 show that men and women at ground level have different preferences and abilities to use different communication mechanisms. This is particularly notable with regard to written information channels as women have less ability to engage with these. This finding has further been supported by the analyses found Section 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 which illustrate that male and female farmers have different access to alternative information channels and sources. These findings connect to the effect of dominant discourse because not only is dominant gender discourse affecting gender structures throughout multiple layers of the society, it is also determining access to information in a myriad of different ways.

Kress (1990) suggests that there is a need to make linguistics more responsible and responsive to questions of social equity. Equally, Bucholtz (2003) argues that studies interested in the intersection of language and gender are becoming increasingly popular, and that this intersection is embedded in the term of 'gender discourse'. Lazar (2014) goes on to say that rather than separating feminist theory (which is deemed 'academic') from feminist practice (which is deemed 'activist'), there is a need to join the two and enable critical awareness-raising as action. This study bridged this dichotic division by translating a selection of interconnected theories identified in Chapter 2 into a manageable Conceptual Framework (Section 2.4.1), which has been converted into a practical and systematic framework rooted in development application (Section 2.5.3). This framework has shown that it not only identifies the dominant gender discourses, it also identifies the mechanisms that enable the reproduction of these, and then links these findings back into theory. By combining a rigorous gender and communication evaluation rooted in a

foundational conceptual understanding, this study has shown several ways in which communication processes directly link to gender discourse:

1. *Communication can expose and relate gender discourse at different societal levels*

By collecting data through talking to both men and women from different areas of society who have been contextually situated (a method reflected on by Sangster (1994)), individual stories that have been communicated have enabled the identification and linkages that maintain and recycle dominant gender discourses. Examples of such discourses include 'women can't motorbikes' (Section 5.1 and Section 5.2), and women needing still needing to 'be a proper wife at the end of the day' (Section 4.2.1). This analysis has also, however, identified positive discourses about women with many male narratives recognising women as 'loyal', 'reliable' and 'capable' (Chapter 5), and men wanting shared job roles (Section 7.2.2) In addition, these collective stories have exposed subtle gender attitudes (both positive and negative), frustrations, challenges, social punishments and assumptions that underpin the maintenance of gender imbalances that are often difficult to identify. Furthermore, they have shown how effective communication between males and females can improve gender relations (Section 7.2.2). It is only through this communication process that the complexities of the reconstructing of gender discourse can begin to be explored and examined in a holistic manner that values the relational aspects of gender normatives and discourses.

2. *Communication is a primary way that gender norms are maintained*

Through the data collection it is possible to identify that ISAs have a key role in constructing and maintaining dominant gender discourse through their internal and external gender approaches (identified and discussed in Chapter 5), and their choice of communication mechanisms (as discussed in Chapter 6) because these affect the engagement and access of the TA (as discussed in Chapter 7). An illustrative example of these compounding arrangements is that in the case study of MLO, because of the internal gender arrangements, information providers are likely to be men (Section 5.2.3) which could limit female farmer engagement due to pre-existing gender role preference (Section 7.2.1). Female participation could further be depleted should the AEI focus on livestock (an activity that is largely constricted to males (Section 5.2.4), and the information was provided in written format which is less accessible to women (Section 6.2.2). It can be seen from this example that there are multiple dimensions within this information transfer that could limit equal gender participation, and it is



this complexity between gender arrangements and communication aspects that needs to be fully understood to begin to support gender equality in information transfer processes.

3. *Communication approaches vary between ISAs and organisations*

Through the communication analysis, it is notable that different AEIs use different communication approaches (Sections 6.1.4, 6.2.4 and 6.3.4). These communication approaches can be directly linked to the institutions' goals (Sections 6.1.1, 6.2.1 and 6.3.1) which, in turn, has direct linkages to the institutions' choice of gender and communication approaches. This means that the variation of communication approaches used by AEIs is directly linked to gender structures and approaches of the institutions. Examples of this include CTC's drive for high performance and therefore employing more men, and using the communication approach of persuasive transfer (Section 6.1.4), which dictates the relationship between the AEI worker and the TA member as being hierarchal. This is a stark contrast between the case study of CDO which, because of its community development focus, has more room for women both internally and externally, and takes an exploring views and issues communication approach.

4. *Communication approaches directly affect gender access and therefore gender conflict*

Because of the different communication approaches being used by the AEIs, this directly affects male and female TA participation, with the more commercial development routes having more men, and the more community-orientated interventions having more women, at both the functional and the ground-level layer. The participant numbers at the ground-level layer clearly display more men engaging in commercial agriculture, and more women engaging in community development-based agriculture. This has implications for causing increased gender conflict because males and females have access to different types of information (Section 7.2.2); the information types have different power dynamics in that commercial information could improve income, whereas community development information typically does not. This disparity of access to information is largely due to dominant power gender structures that dictate gendered agricultural roles in all three layers identified in this study (Beevi *et al.*, 2018) and could, arguably, reinforce these as men maintain access to the income-generating information (as illustrated by the external gender analyse of the case studies in Sections 5.1.4, 5.2.4, 5.3.4). Along similar lines, the data show that

TA men and women are generally unable to effectively share information due to gender power dynamics and disparities (Section 7.2.2).

5. *Communication processes have the potential to limit gender inequality and conflict*

Because of the gendered information access issues mentioned previously, the overwhelming message of all male and female farmers wanting mixed rather than segregated training shows that communication interventions can be used as a platform to alter gender discourse and limit gender conflict that arises due to information inequalities (Section 7.2.2). However, this being said, it must be noted that challenges within communities remain due to the gendered assignment of roles (Sections 7.1), job roles (such as the role of an AEI worker (Chapter 5)), activities and crops (Section 5.2.4), indicating a need for a structural, functional and ground-level layer shift in gender norms.

The overarching finding of this study is that gender structures are active and perpetuated throughout all levels of society. These perpetuations affect the ability to overcome gender barriers because they cause a societal-wide cycle of social norms and expectations surrounding gender. This speaks to the fact that the circulations of dominant gender discourse are very much present within the Zimbabwean society, and directly affect the way the functional layer operates, thereby limiting the ability of functional interventions to alter ground-level layer gender discourse. It is also clearly demonstrated that communication processes and approaches are affected by, and are part of, these gender arrangements, and it is therefore reasonable to say that the two need to be considered in parallel to ensure an understanding of their symbiotic relationship.

### **8.3.3 Challenging dominant gender discourse**

The patterns and cycles of dominant gender discourse highlighted by this study show one dimension of the complex nature of the circulation of dominant gender discourse. Evaluation of this dimension has successfully illustrated how dominant gender discourse is reinforced at multiple levels of society and through development institutions. However, even though development institutional arrangements are often constrained by dominant gender discourses, this study also shows that they can be agents of change, and challenges these discourses in four ways:

1. *Using resilient women to alter gender perceptions of others*

In both CTC and MLO, the women operating as successful AEI workers are challenging assumptions. By altering the perceptions and assumptions of their

counterparts, it is more likely that other females will be accepted into this space because of the positive examples that successful female AEI workers have demonstrated. This is likely to create a more accessible space for future female AEI workers. The successful performance of female extension workers also improves mutual respect from their male peers and provides the opportunity for men to have a deeper insight into more complex difficulties surrounding gender performance.

2. *AEI workers are in a primary position to challenge and alter dominant gender discourse*

Whilst there remain significant challenges in encouraging and enabling more female participation in the functional layer due to the role and space that AEI workers occupy, people in this job role are in a unique position to challenge and alter gender discourse both at their own functional layer and the ground-level layer. This is supported by AEI workers displaying a good understanding of gender structures within their target communities (Section 7.1.1). It must be noted that the data of this study show that the potential to alter ground-level discourse is not limited by the majority male occupation of this AEI worker space, because the data show that farmers generally do not have a preference of AEI worker gender (Section 7.2.1). However, the study also shows positive associations that some farmers have regarding the communication skills of female AEI workers (Section 7.2.1) and female farmers (Sections 5.1.4, 5.2.4 and 5.3.4). The communication analysis also shows the importance of the relationship between the farmers and the AEs (Sections 6.1.3, 6.2.3 and 6.3.3) because they are an essential communication source for the farmers (Section 7.3). This implies that the role modelling and demonstration that females AEI workers present has strong gender transformative potential.

3. *Building in mechanisms to support equal gender access opportunities*

The Frontline Institution hosted by CDO shows that such mechanisms can support both men and women in accessing jobs through providing financial and technical support that helps overcome barriers to gaining the relevant qualifications needed for agricultural extension work. These mechanisms can alter pathways of accessibility, especially for females, to the job of an AEI worker. This is because they provide support outside of gender normative constraints and barriers that all women face in all layers of the society, and which present large obstacles to female engagement in multiple activities.

4. *AEIs are in a primary position to provide a gender transformative mechanism*

The study illustrates that there remains a need to move from gender neutral (which acknowledges that gender inequality is problematic) to gender transformative (which actively applies mechanisms to overcome these inequalities by altering structures (such as shown by the CDO case study Section 5.3)). This need is supported by Sarapura and Odame (2017) who suggest that without attention to gender transformative approaches, agricultural development and, indeed, wider development goals, will be hampered. By building structures that can overcome systemic gender inequalities that determine access, such as education and professional experience, AEIs have the potential to play a vital role in shifting gendered perceptions, assumptions and inequalities. This aspect is important for wider development practice because this study illustrates that just having participation numbers doesn't necessarily translate to altering gender discourse and, in some cases, it does more harm by increasing gender conflict.

## **8.4 Reflections on the methodological approach and analytical framework**

Because this study has used a novel framework that has been supported by a specifically designed methodology, it is important to reflect on these aspects.

### **8.4.1 Reflections on the methodology**

Having tested the analytical framework presented in this study in the Zimbabwean agricultural development arena, it is now possible to conclude on the usefulness of the framework in supporting development interventions to identify and challenge dominant gender discourses. However, before reflecting on the wider use of the Framework, it is prudent to reflect on the methodology which was designed to accompany it.

IT WAS DECIDED TO EXAMINE THREE CASE STUDIES OPERATING IN DIFFERENT AEZS THROUGHOUT ZIMBABWE. THIS CHOICE PROVIDED SOME INSIGHT INTO REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN TERMS OF INFORMATION ACCESS DUE TO THE GEOGRAPHICAL FOCUS AREAS OF THE INSTITUTIONS. IT CAN BE REFLECTED THIS WAS USEFUL IN TERMS OF EXAMINING DIFFERENCES IN INSTITUTIONAL INTERVENTION GOALS, AND HOW AEIS TARGET TAs. THE METHODOLOGY PRESENTED IN THIS STUDY WAS MULTI-LAYERED AND COMPLEX. THE KEY METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION ARE SUMMARISED IN

Table 8.1.

TABLE 8.1: DATA COLLECTION METHODS USED

Method	Used for:
Interviews Wider Key Informant Interviews Key Informant Interviews	All participants
Observations	AEI training
Workshops Activity 1: Group Deconstruction: Gender roles and ownership Activity 2: Group Deconstruction: Information channel discussion Activity 3: Final group discussion	AEI workers and TA members
Reflective logs	Research team

Both types of interviews used in this study proved to be the most useful type of data that was collected. These interviews formed the basis of much of the discourse analysis and provided insights into some of the complexities and nuances of narratives around gender and communication. The different levels of interviews (i.e. conducted at all three societal layers) proved to be very useful for the tracking of dominant gender discourse, and the observations and workshops allowed some useful data triangulation.

The observations were useful in collecting visual data that supported the other data collected, but it must be noted that this data type would be insufficient on its own in this type of study.

On reflection, although the workshops showed gender structures at community level through using an engaging visual methodology, the quality of data around the information channels and sources produced by the workshops was outranked by the in-depth interviews. For simplicity and data evaluation processes, it may be more meaningful in the future to use the workshops only to establish gender structures, and either record the information source discussions, or develop and use a questionnaire to accompany the interviews, ensuring that rich data around information sources and channels can be easily identified. It should be reiterated that this study did develop a 'media experience' aspect of the workshops. This proved to be time-consuming and it was difficult to create relevant media material. It also added limited value to the workshop data collection, so it has not been used in this study and should be removed from any future work.

Finally, the reflective logs used by the team were fundamental in ensuring data quality and validity processes, and greatly added to the data digestion and analysis processes. These were also vital in supporting and thinking through any changes that were required to react to demands in the field.

#### **8.4.2 Reflection on the analytical framework**

The analytical framework (Section 2.6) has been central to the design, organisation and structure of this study. This study has illustrated the application of this framework, and it can be deduced that the analytical framework contributes to the field of development in four main ways:

1. *Assisting in the process of identifying and analysing gender and communication approaches used by development institutions*

This thesis has shown that the Applied Framework which is developed within a conceptual understanding has been able to identify both the communication and the gender approaches of each of the case study AEs. The gender analysis enabled insight into the internal gender structures of each institution and the underlying reasons for these structures, most of which were due to wider gendered assumptions around gender capability and interest. The analysis further enabled the evaluation of the external gender arrangements that the institutions were imposing on their TA. This evaluation showed that development institutions' gender approaches are driven by wider factors that determine how the institution must function and the results they must achieve. It also showed that the external gender approaches constrain both male and female opportunities to access the organisational services, thus limiting the ability of these institutions to challenge and improve gender relations, despite the indicated awareness and willingness to do so. The communication approach analysis determined the extension approaches being used by each Case Study AEI and, in doing so, exposed dimensions including communication goals, relational interactions, and gendered dimensions of communication channels. Key findings of this analysis showed that TA members have limited gender preference for the service delivery, but that many prefer information to be delivered in person because of the various noise factors identified in Section 7.3.3. This analysis shows that the DGDDF can be used to unpack gender dimensions that are implicit within communication approaches. Notably, the communication approaches vary significantly between institutions which, similar to the gender approaches, are reliant on the driving priorities of the institution.

2. *An evaluation of the effectiveness of communication approaches*

As mentioned above, the communication analysis that the framework enables exposes the dominant communication approaches that are taken by institutions, and the key dimensions underneath these approaches. This analysis has implications for how

institutions use their communication, how well they listen to their TA, and therefore how effective they might be at grassroots change.

3. *Framing insight into structural arrangements at different levels that are in place due to dominant structures*

It must be concluded that identifying and tracking dominant gender discourse is no easy feat. The application of this framework identifies gender structures within different spaces, gender narratives that are being reconstructed within those structures and the effect of such discourses on actors through all three societal layers. It also does enable a conceptual way of thinking about gender norms at multiple levels of society, and identifies key reasons and mechanisms behind gender structures and discourses at societal, functional and ground-level layers.

4. *Providing the ability to assess if dominant gender discourses are being challenged by development interventions*

Through the identification and analysis of the gender and communication approaches, it remains clear that the case study AEs are very much part of the wider dominant gender discourses found within the patriarchal structures of Zimbabwe. Although one of the institutions had some guidelines around male and female numbers of participants and employees, it remains clear this is a simplistic understanding that is based on sex rather than an understanding based on complex gender issues. This simplistic understanding of sex rather than gender was prominent in each of the institutions, and plays a vital role in the perpetuation of dominant gender discourse. This being said, it should also be noted that the case study AEs do hold a unique position of being able to alter internal gender structures (gender structures found within specific institutions), which may begin to alter external gender structures (gender structures found outside of the institution in question). Similarly, they do also have the potential to integrate a challenge to external gender structures in the way that they engage with the local communities and other important local actors such as local leadership structures and governmental officers.

## **8.5 Contributions to knowledge**

It can be concluded that, whilst potentially complicated and difficult to unpick, the theory of the circulation of dominant gender discourse is a useful lens to explore development interventions to understand some of the more complex, nuanced relations and processes that perpetuate gender inequality. Whilst there remains space to improve the Framework

developed by this study (noted in Section 8.6), this study contributes to knowledge in the areas of policy, practice and theory.

### **8.5.1 Implications for policy**

The implications for Zimbabwean policy, that have been identified by applying this framework to the Zimbabwean agricultural sector, are as follows:

#### *1. A need to challenge gender narratives more effectively*

The overarching gender narratives around role allocation remain problematic at the structural, functional and ground-level layers of the Zimbabwean society, despite national policy commitments to emphasising gender mainstreaming and supporting economic empowerment across all sectors and levels (Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development, 2013). These narratives are directly hindering female participation in leadership positions, job roles and farming roles and these remain largely unchallenged, even though the disparities are noted in both the national gender and agricultural policy documentation. Echoing Beevi *et al.* (2018), this indicates that the national gender policy should adopt a more directive approach that acknowledges the essential role that both men and women play in agricultural processes, and therefore the complexities and importance of both male and female participation and interaction (as suggested by Lundgren *et al.*, 2013). The approach should move towards actively working with both sexes to raise awareness and improve equitable participation through all levels of society by altering both attitude and behaviour change (Blum, 2020). It could be advised that starting this at the structural and functional levels could support the slow process of challenging and changing the cultural gender norms found at the ground-level.

#### *2. A need to improve female access to the role of agricultural extension workers*

The gender narratives found within all layers of Zimbabwean society directly affect the occupation of the agricultural extension worker with it largely remaining a male role. It can be argued that, despite deliberately recruiting more female extension officers (FAO, 2017) (discussed in Section 4.2.1), this sector remains heavily imbalanced. Because these gender arrangements directly limit the effectiveness of the communication process (as identified in Chapter 7), this study offers a recommendation for Zimbabwean gender policy to shift towards outlining more focused actions that can enable the opportunities for women to better access the extension arena across all agricultural extension providers (Chowdhury, Odame and Leeuwis, 2013). Actions that can support this process in a gender transformative manner could include investing in mechanisms that enable females better



to access the required tertiary education and job opportunities. Whilst the national gender policy does urge the private sector and development partners to incorporate the National Gender Priorities into their practices (Ministry of Women Affairs Gender and Community Development, 2013), setting more specific policy around gender employment ratios across all types of AEI extension services (as suggested by Chowdhury, Odame and Leeuwis, 2013), as has been done for the national extension arm (FAO, 2017) might also support the gender equity of this role. If these ratios change, it might support the change of wider gender discourses at different societal levels through showcasing that women can undertake this role successfully, as shown in Chapter 5. These calls are echoed by policy recommendations made by BenYishay *et al.*, (2020) who suggest a need for policy action to empower women to take a leading role in communication that could change perceptions about women's roles in society.

### 3. *A need to fully integrate the national gender and agricultural policies*

This study has successfully showcased a variety of linkages between gender and information or communication services within agricultural extension services in Zimbabwe. Because of these direct linkages, there is a need for the National Gender Policy and National Agricultural Policy to be better integrated. The current agricultural policy presents 'gender' as a separate section in the documents despite observations of the complexities and interconnected gender aspects found within the National Gender Policy.

### 4. *A need to redefine 'gender'*

Both the agricultural and gender policies largely equate 'gender' to 'women'. This trend was also seen throughout the case study AEIs. This study has shown how important it is to improve individual relationships and gender relations by involving both men and women, not just focusing on women. In light of this, it can be argued that equating 'gender' to 'women' oversimplifies and misses the complexities of gender and, therefore, the implication of this is that the policies largely fail to acknowledge that gender must also involve male participation to deal with power and relational inequalities that perpetuate unhelpful gender discourse. This more complex understanding of 'gender' is noted by BenYishay *et al.* (2020), who suggest that simply assigning more females to communication roles is not sufficient to deal with the deep-rooted and inaccurate assumptions about women's ability in this field, which hinder participation and TA engagement. Lundgren *et al.*'s. (2013) work around the benefits of both males and females, and Blum's (2020) reminder that both attitude and behaviour have to change to bring about gender transformation, also support this recommendation.

5. *A need to acknowledge that personal demonstration is the preferred communication channel*

Based on this study's findings, it can be concluded that in-person demonstration through AGRITEX and other AEs remains the most effective and important information channel to both male and female A1 farmers in Zimbabwe. Because of this, it can be recommended that future investments in the capacity building and resources of national and private extension arms would be highly beneficial to the country's development trajectory. The National Agricultural Policy commits to improving this resourcing yet could be recommended to focus on this rather than also including the development of ICTs which continue to have large barriers limiting their effectiveness in Zimbabwean rural farming communities. The limitations of ICTs in effectively reaching the farmers with the least resources are expressed by Norton and Alwang (2020), who also warn that whilst the increasingly pluralistic extension services may provide benefit in some respects, it could lead to further reducing or even eliminating public extension services, which would mean that the demands of farmers with the least resources would go unmet.

6. *Future investment in agricultural extension institutions should enable and encourage gender transformative approaches*

Linked to the previous recommendation, when investing in agricultural extension institutions there remains a vital need to ensure that both internal and external gender approaches are gender transformative, and therefore understand and proactively address issues around gender inequality without reinforcing binary divisions and increasing gender conflict. This need is also reinforced by the call by the TA for mixed training. This finding is echoed by Clancy and Mohlakoana (2020) who suggest that political commitment and institutional support are vital to developing and implementing gender-aware policies. The need for extension services to be aware of cultural and social norms, and to adapt their practices accordingly, is also posited by a recent study by Williams and Taron (2020).

### **8.5.2 Implications for practice**

The final policy recommendation presented here expands into a broader implication for how development gender mainstreaming practices take place, and how development institutions target men and women. Of the three case studies, only one was classed as taking a 'gender transformative approach', and even this one alluded to equating 'gender' to 'women' rather than displaying a complex understanding of the dynamics of gender relations. This finding echoes work by authors such as Cornwall's (1997) assertion that

development initiatives are still focusing more on women than on men, and Momsen's (2004) assertion that the full integration of men and women's experiences and concerns is not fully comprehensive.

Within this realm, there is a need to highlight a requirement for a further reflection on the actual impact of gender specific policies in truly challenging gender discourse and norms. This discussion is beyond the scope of this study, however the initial findings of the study indicate that gender transformative policies are more effective than gender specific policies because they don't focus on segregating men and women, and they challenge the structural roots of gendered inequality (a fundamental need stated by SDG 5 (United Nations, 2020)).

This study suggests that there is a need for gender practice to also change. The clear messages about the necessary co-existence of males and females, especially at the ground-level, indicate a strong need to ensure that both men and women are consulted to identify differences in male and female perceptions and that they are both equally included in development communications.

### **8.5.3 Implications for theory**

This study has been rooted in theoretical understanding which has been the basis for the application of the analysis. The Conceptual Framework that this study has developed (Section 2.4.1) fuses together theory from multiple disciplines and allows a systematic and holistic understanding of how communication and gender constructions interact. This theoretical understanding adds to development communication thinking by bringing together gender and communication theory in a comprehensive and integrated fashion. This addition to the theoretical field will be useful for future practice and policy designs that aim to improve communication and gender awareness in multiple areas of developmental intervention.

## **8.6 Limitations**

As with most studies, the primary logistical limitations included budget, time and resource constraints. Whilst sufficient data was collected, there is no doubt that the necessary methodological adjustments (detailed in Section 3.7.2) made to adapt to the reality of operating in the field in Zimbabwe did compromise data quality within the workshops, which somewhat limited the communication discussion presented by this study. The fieldwork had to be carried out over three months. A longer field trip may have lessened the time constraints around the data collection, however, the methodological

alternations previously identified did not impact the robustness of the data collected. However, this was not feasible nor affordable for the primary researcher. Political and economic instability also limited this study in being able to fully engage with relevant national bodies (such as AGRITEX) and discuss political consequences in any great deal. On the other hand, this reflects an accurate portrayal of the difficulties of researching gender and communications within a challenging context not uncommon in development studies.

It must also be recognised that the application of this framework is not simplistic. It requires a comprehensive data collection and analysis at three different structural levels to gain some insight into the dominant gender discourses and the effect of these. Along similar lines, the data collection needs to be constructed and conducted in a gender sensitive manner to ensure that bias is as limited as possible. It also requires a deep conceptual understanding which may be difficult to translate into some practical disciplines.

It must be also be acknowledged that a well organised, clear link between the gender approaches and the communication approaches remains somewhat tenuous. Possible reasons for this might be that the field of communication has so many dimensions, and it is difficult to identify what aspects of communication affect dominant discourse circulation and indeed gender structures. Nonetheless, the link between the two fields remains heavily intertwined in multiple dimensions, and this is therefore a valuable space within which to continue to work.

Additionally, whilst this framework has been developed using thoughts around Queer Theory, there remains a missing component of identifying and analysing the role that sexuality plays in gender arrangements. Conducting these aspects of interrogation remains difficult because of the taboo around sexuality and the strong, underlying normative and punishment systems around sexual nonconformity which is especially prominent in developing societies. However, it remains an essential element to investigate because sexuality determines political and economic freedoms (Jolly, 2000).

As addressed in depth in Section 3.6.2, positionality remains an unavoidable limitation. This is because the researcher's positionality influences all aspects of the study design, data collection and analysis, and data interpretation. Whilst efforts have been made in this study to actively and transparently acknowledge and overcome this, it must be emphasised that this remains a limiting factor.

## **8.7 Questions for future research**

To overcome the limitations presented above, this study would benefit from some areas of additional work.

Firstly, it must be noted that the Applied Framework drew attention to other areas of interest that are not directly related to this and so have not been addressed. However, debates around topics such as the sustainability of communication interventions, the model of contract farming, and livelihood understandings are of interest to wider development debates and therefore could be considered in further work.

Secondly, improving the simplicity of the Framework presented by this study might support a more successful application. One key area which would benefit from further clarification is the area of communication. Further definition of what aspects of communication will be evaluated might also support the strengthening of the link between gender and communication.

Thirdly, to overcome the absence of discussion of sexuality within the Framework, additional work around integrating these aspects into the Framework and data collection would strengthen and broaden the link between the Applied Framework and Conceptual Framework, although this aspect of analysis would need to be conducted with care due to surrounding social punishments, individual risk and taboos that surround this area.

Finally, this framework was designed in a way to be transferable to all areas of development interventions. To test if this is the case, and to test the usability of the Framework, it would greatly benefit from being applied and tested in other areas of development outside agricultural communication.

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## **APPENDIX 1: QUESTION GUIDES FOR RESEARCH TEAMS**

Each of the interview guides the research had the following introductory script at the start to ensure all ethical protocol was followed:

### **Introductory script:**

- Thank you for agreeing and taking the time to meet me today.
- Are you happy for me to record this so interview? If so, the recording and any transcriptions will be kept on a personal password protected laptop and destroyed once the study is finished.
- Luisa is a Zimbabwean and is currently doing her PhD at Reading University in the UK.
- The topic is looking at the varying ways in which small scale commercial and non- commercial farmers access information and training and if and how gender influences any of this.
- The purpose of this study is to try and find a way to make development communications more effective, which in turn should make development projects more successful.
- All the data collected will be anonymous, so no one will know who you are, and your name will not be in any project outputs.
- As this is a PhD study, the only people who will read the study are the research team members, which is two supervisors from the University of Reading and four research assistants, and the examiners at Reading University unless anything is published from this study, in which case I will ensure that you access it.
- This interview is going to last 45 minutes to an hour, and as the interviewer I am interested in your honest opinions and expertise on the questions asked. We are here to learn something from you not here to teach you.
- There are no right or wrong answers and all views are valid.
- Your participation in this interview is voluntary and should you want to end the interview or not answer any specific questions this is okay - just let me know.

### **Interview Question Guide 1: Wider Key Informants**

1. Please tell me your name and a bit about yourself
2. Please tell me about your professional background?
3. How long have you lived or worked in Zimbabwe for?
4. Are you involved in any current Zimbabwean Development Programmes?
5. How are you involved and what is the project about?

#### **Agricultural development**

6. Please could you describe what you think are the main areas that development programmes are investing in Zimbabwe currently?
7. Do you think that agricultural development is important? Why?
8. Please can you explain what, in your experience, agricultural development programmes look like and who is usually involved in implementing them?
9. What role do you think commercial companies play in Zimbabwean agricultural development?
10. How effective do you think agricultural development programmes you have experienced in Zimbabwe are? Why? Good and challenges?
11. How could they be more effective?

12. What are some of the key challenges that development programmes face in Zimbabwe?
13. How do you think the economic and political climate impact these programmes?

#### Communication

14. What do you think the primary way that small scale farmers access agricultural information is?
15. Is there a difference between urban and rural access to information?
16. What communication tools are generally being used in Zimbabwean agricultural development programmes?
17. Why are these being used?
18. Does the current infrastructure support these tools?
19. In your experience do men and women farmers use different methods of gaining agricultural information?

#### Gender

20. What do you understand by the term 'gender'?
21. In your experience how does gender affect small scale farming in Zimbabwe?
22. How does it help agricultural development?
23. How does it hinder agricultural development?
24. Do you have any examples of this?
25. Do you think that gender affects the institutions which implement agricultural programmes? How?

#### Overall

26. What general approaches are taken to deal with gender issues in development programmes you have worked in?
27. Have you seen any examples where communication interventions have helped overcome gender barriers?
28. How? And at what level – personal/structural?
29. Do you have any examples of agricultural projects which have successfully given information to both men and women? How?
30. How do you think we could best improve communication and gender in development programmes in Zimbabwe?

### **Interview Question Guide 2: AEI Workers**

1. Please tell me about yourself.
2. Please tell me about your professional background.

#### Agricultural approaches the AEI implements

3. Please describe what type of agricultural improvement [insert relevant case study institution] does?
4. Please can you give some examples of the agricultural improvement activities [insert relevant case study institution] is currently implementing?
5. What areas of Zimbabwe does [insert relevant case study institution] work in?
6. What key aspects of agricultural production are your development activities trying to improve?
7. What role does agricultural extension play in these activities?
8. What do you think works well in your training programmes?
9. What are some of the key challenges your training programmes face?
10. How do you fund the training programmes?
11. Are you expected to produce results and for who?
12. What is your general view of other agricultural improvement programmes throughout Zimbabwe?

#### Communication

13. Please can you talk me through your training process from start to finish?
14. Does your institution have a planned communication strategy/ approach when implementing training?
15. Could you explain the main way that your institution generates information for farmers?
16. How is this information shared/passed onto them?
17. What languages does most of your training and materials take place in?
18. How do you select farmers to work with/train?
19. How do you select who attends the training you provide?
20. What do you think the main way that Zimbabwean farmers access agricultural information is?
21. What are the key challenges this method faces?

#### Gender

22. What do you understand by the term 'gender'?
23. Within your institution are there some roles that are mostly occupied by women and other that are mostly occupied by men? Examples? (press on trainers)
24. Could you explain why this might be the case?
25. Do you mainly work with male or female farmers if at all?
26. Could you explain why?
27. If so, are there clear job roles within the farmers which are only for men and job roles that are only for women? Why?
28. Do these differences affect the agricultural information they receive?
29. Does your institutions cater for these differences? How?

#### Overarching

30. Does your institution ever exchange information with other agricultural development institutions? How?

### **Interview Question Guide 3: Target Audience**

1. What is your name, age, education - tell me a bit about yourself - any key role in the community?
2. How do you know [insert relevant case study institution]?
3. How long have you lived/worked in Zimbabwe for?

#### **We are going to talk about the AEI and agriculture now**

4. Please describe what the AEI does in your community/with the farmers?
5. Please describe what you need to do for them?
6. Do you have to pay to get training or information? How do you get to the training? Does your wife/husband come?
7. Do you like the training/ information they give you? **Probe on if they prefer men/women teachers**
8. What are the good things about it?
9. What are the challenges or difficulties about it? **Probe on meeting contracts**
10. Have you seen any changes in your community because of the information/training the AEI gives you? If so what have they been?
11. How do you think the training or information the AEI supplies could be better?
12. Do you go to or know of any other agricultural information services? Please can you tell me about them?
13. What language (s) is most of the training in?

14. Can you describe how the AEI gives you information/ what activities you do when they are teaching you about something? **Probe on finding alternative types of info – esp. use of phones**
15. Do you get to keep anything after the training? E.g leaflet ect.
16. Do you get information or training from anywhere else?
17. Are you asked what problems you are having with agriculture before the programmes start? Are you able to suggest solutions to the problems to the AEI? Does anyone from your community run any of the training?
18. If you had a farming problem such as your crops started dying - how would you find out how to treat them?

**We are going to talk a bit about men and women now**

19. What do you understand by the word 'gender'?
20. Do you think men and women have different roles and responsibilities?
21. Can you explain what you think these are?
22. Do all men and women attend or access the AEI training or information? Why?
23. Do you think that men and women get on well in your community?
24. What are the main problems between males and females?
25. Do you think that the AEI has been able to help men and women, or more one than the other? How?
26. Do you feel that the information you receive from the AEI gets to everyone who needs to know about it?
27. How does it help relations between men and women?
28. Do you get taught by men and women from the AEI? Which do you prefer?
29. Do you think that is it important for men to do men's roles and women to do women's roles? Why?
30. Do you think men and women generally get on well in Zimbabwe? Why?
31. Do you think that agricultural extension programmes need to include men and women or just men/women? Why?

## **APPENDIX 2: WORKSHOP ACTIVITY BREAKDOWN**

### **Workshop Activities**

The workshop activities were designed around an original hypothetical scenario about a community growing potatoes from potatoes. This narrative was specifically chosen because potatoes are not a staple food, nor part of the government agricultural schemes currently in place in Zimbabwe. Potatoes are also not widely grown commercially in Zimbabwe which means they are a neutral yet known crop. The primary function of these workshops was to use this narrative to spark and frame interactive group discussions around gender roles and agricultural information channels. All workshops were pre-organised, and key informant interviews took place beforehand as much as possible to build rapport and enable the participants to feel as comfortable as possible. Refreshments were provided for all workshop participants as each workshop took, on average, two hours to complete. Every workshop started with an overview of the ethical procedures, and everyone was asked for their consent to take photographs and film sections of the workshops for data collection purposes (noted in the field guide in Appendix 3).

The growing potatoes from potatoes process that was used was taken from <https://foodrevolution.org/blog/reduce-food-waste-regrow-from-scraps/> as a simple process that could be converted into a narrative that would show gender roles throughout different agricultural activities. It must be acknowledged that this information was created and presented as hypothetical, so was not approved agricultural extension advice as the focus was not on the information being given, but to spark conversation between the workshop groups. These workshops were run by the research team, and at no point was this information conveyed by an extension officer.

The key sections of the workshop design are detailed here to provide insight and justification for the workshop activities.

### **Introductory activity – The Potatoes from Potatoes Process**

This activity was designed to be used both as an ice breaker and set to the scene for the rest of the workshop. The activity was a hands-on demonstration of the process of growing potatoes from potatoes, providing an example of the information channel of ‘demonstration’ to be referred to later on in the workshops, and providing the basis of the hypothetical narrative that would be used in following activities. The facilitator introduced this activity by explaining what the workshop aimed to do, and then moved into a demonstration asking two to three people to plant with the facilitator as he/she explained. In some cases, the participants already knew how to plant potatoes from potatoes, in which case they were invited to demonstrate to the group to try and overcome any power imbalances between the facilitator and the participants as much as possible.

### **Activity 1: Group Deconstruction: Gender roles and ownership**

This activity aimed to get the participants to start to identify and discuss assigned gender roles and expectations within the agricultural production process. The facilitator began by giving an overview of the narrative setting of the poster (Figure 3) which the participants were asked to complete. The poster provided the hypothetical stage for the workshops, and the facilitators used this space to place the narratives that developed throughout the workshop. The poster was designed as a dynamic space that could be used by the facilitator and the participants to change stories and explain throughout the whole session. This process is described here.

The posters were accompanied by a set of figure stickers to represent different community members and a set of implement stickers tools that might be used in the narratives to indicate ownership arrangements (Figure 1 and Figure 2). The researcher decided to base the images and design on the recent development campaign, WASH (CAWST, 2019) as these images had been trialled in similar situations and appeared to be contextually appropriate. Participant groups stuck these stickers onto the posters throughout Activity 1 to identify who does what at each stage of the Potatoes from Potato Process. Deciding on the graphical images of the posters and the stickers was difficult, as the primary researcher wanted to remove as many Western bias assumptions as possible given her positionality, yet also ensure that the stickers and poster remained contextually applicable and relatable. As can be seen in Figure 1, the people stickers were grouped into 6 binary categories based on physical appearance and in the case of the able-bodied man and woman, on capability. This distinction was deemed necessary by the local research assistant following the trial sessions given their experience of cultural definitions.



FIGURE 1: PEOPLE STICKERS TO REPRESENT DIFFERENT COMMUNITY MEMBERS<sup>6</sup>

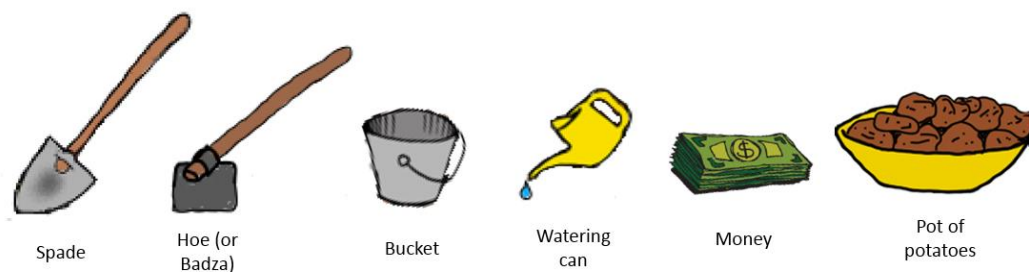


FIGURE 2: IMPLEMENT STICKERS TO REPRESENT FARMING ACTIVITIES AND OWNERSHIP<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Source: adapted from WASH materials (CAWST, 2019)

<sup>7</sup> Source: adapted from WASH materials (CAWST, 2019)

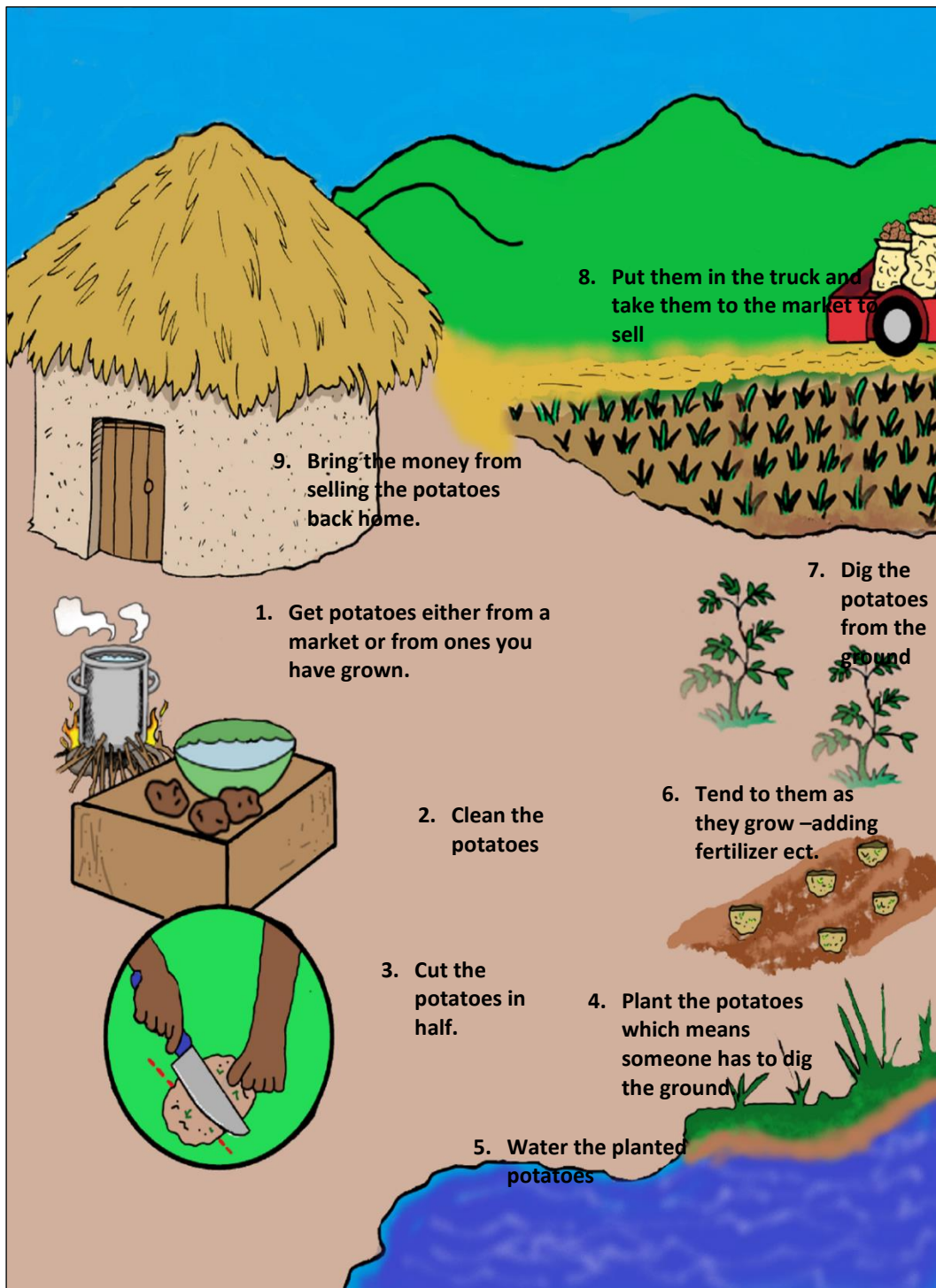


FIGURE 3: POSTER AND POTATO NARRATIVE<sup>8</sup>

As the posters were introduced ensuring that participants understood that the information presented was not technical or scientific information, the facilitator explained the various sticker options the participants had been given. To limit any assumptions, the stickers were very carefully explained by the facilitator using neutral language which avoided ascribed gender roles as much as possible such as able-bodied women rather than mother, and making it clear that participants could use all or none of the stickers. Each group was also given a whiteboard marker and post-it notes in case they

<sup>8</sup> Imagery adapted from (CAWST, 2019)



wanted to add notes or anything else to their story that was not included in the stickers and narrative provided.

The stickers and the poster aimed to enable the participants to tell their own stories in terms of gender roles allocated to the hypothetical steps identified in the narrative neutrally and objectively, but also in a visual way that brought gender structures, ownership and decision making to the forefront of the discussion. It was hoped that by using this interactive tool, everyone would be able to participate in the process as it surpassed the need to be literate or well-spoken due to the use of visual methods.

Once briefed, the participants were asked to self-organise into two sub-groups (of around 3-4 people each). They were then asked to place the stickers on the posters showing what would, for the AEI worker groups, typically happen in this situation in the TA communities that the AEI workers worked with, or for the TA groups, what would typically happen in their own communities. As the groups worked on this task, the facilitator noted down any points of interest for the research team. Once both groups had completed their poster, each group selected one member to present their poster to all workshops participants explaining who they thought did what in the hypothetical process. This part of the workshops was filmed for data analysis.

Once the presentations were finished, the facilitator asked any clarification questions and some probing questions to the groups about why certain roles were allocated to certain people. A full list of these questions can be found in Appendix 2. The groups were encouraged to comment on and discuss any differences between the two posters.

The following pictures (Figure 4) are photographs from the trial session detailed in Section 3.7.1 to show what the workshop outputs might look like at this stage.

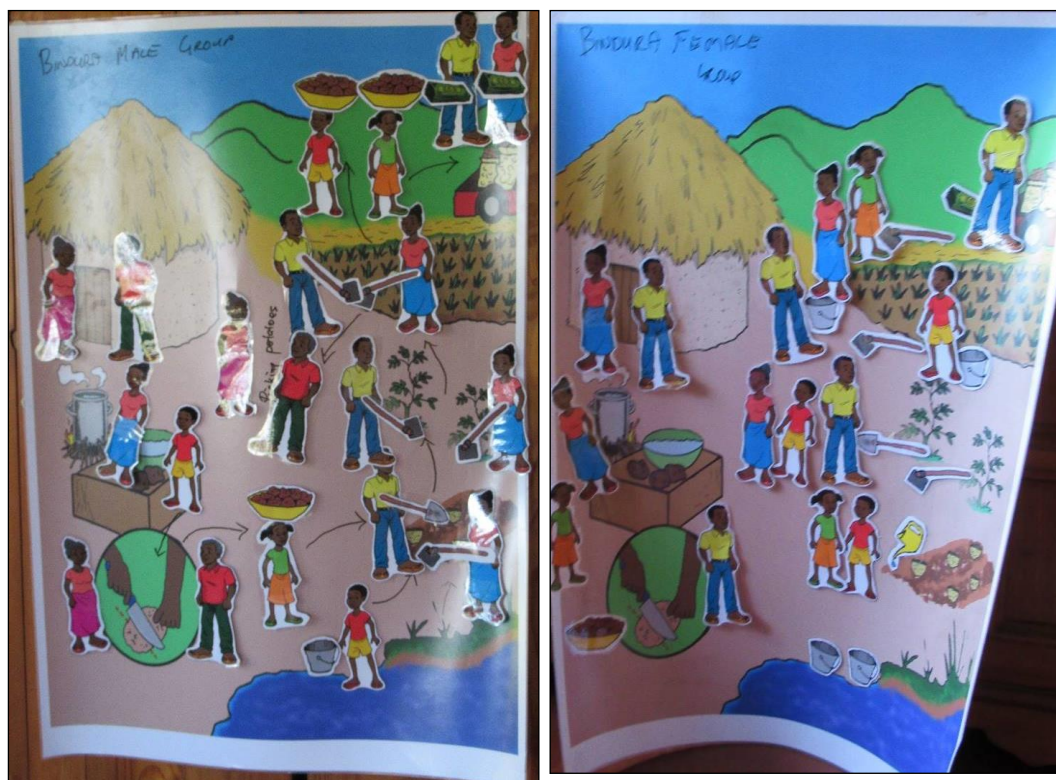


FIGURE 4: ACTIVITY 1 OUTPUT EXAMPLE: HIGHLIGHTING GENDER ROLES

### Activity 2: Group Deconstruction: Information channel discussion

This activity aimed to understand what agricultural information sources and channels the research participants had access to. It also aimed to facilitate a discussion about what participants liked and disliked about the information channels mentioned. As the group moved through the information channel discussion, they were encouraged to refer back to the posters they completed in Activity 1 to indicate access and ownership aspects.

The introduction of this activity was based on a second hypothetical scenario. The facilitator asked the group that, if in the event the community wanted to learn how to grow a new crop, how would they go about this. The inclusion of a 'new' crop was to assess how the participants would go about getting information on alternative crops. This exercise was facilitated as a group discussion and the facilitator made notes on the poster or whiteboard as the discussion developed as a way of recording the key parts of the discussion. As different information channels were identified by the group, the facilitator asked a set of questions around each one (these questions can be found in Appendix 1). For example, if the group said that they would find out crop information via the governmental extension officer, the facilitator probed on aspects such as how did they contact them, who contacted them and what was liked about this information channel and why. For every information channel brought up by the participants, the facilitator had to probe on access, use and the pros and cons of each one. As information channels came up, the facilitator used the information channel stickers (Figure 5) and samples to prompt more discussion where possible. This was an organic process that varied from group to group.

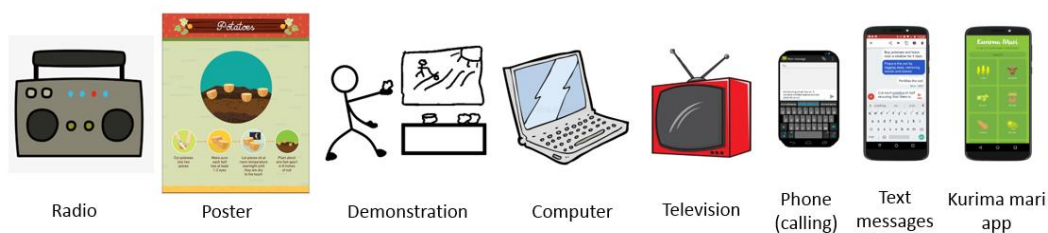


FIGURE 5: STICKERS TO REPRESENT INFORMATION CHANNELS<sup>9</sup>

Once the participants had exhausted ideas of where they would go and get information, the facilitator then discussed any remaining major information channels that hadn't been mentioned. It was important to make a distinction between the information channels that the TA came up themselves and the ones that were introduced by the facilitators, as this was considered in the data analysis. The images in Figure 6 illustrate what Activity 2 outputs may look like. These pictures are taken from the trial sessions (whiteboard from Bindura Trial Group, Poster from UK Trial Group. Not included in data collection).

<sup>9</sup>Radio adapted from: [https://www.123rf.com/photo\\_92444132\\_stock-vector-old-radio-stereo-icon-vector-illustration-graphic-design.html](https://www.123rf.com/photo_92444132_stock-vector-old-radio-stereo-icon-vector-illustration-graphic-design.html)

Poster taken from: <https://www.custommade.com/blog/regrow-food-from-scrap/>

Demonstration draw by researcher

Computer adapted from: <https://www.istockphoto.com/gb/vector/cartoon-laptop-computer-with-thought-bubble-gm537471737-58248142>

TV taken from: <http://clipart-library.com/clipart/11565.htm>

Phones adapted from: <https://pixabay.com/vectors/smartphone-icon-modern-symbol-1557796/>



### **APPENDIX 3: FIELD GUIDE**

A field guide to support the study  
of:

Understanding the gendered  
nature of the information  
exchange process in agricultural  
communication services in  
Zimbabwe: A comparative  
mapping study of commercial and  
non- governmental approaches

**By Luisa Ciampi**

[This is the final version written before the fieldwork  
campaign which took place from November 2018 to  
February 2019]

The structure of this field guide is based on a field guide done for an FAO project by the Roonaraine, Pozarny, Estruch, & Fisher, 2015.

This guide contains the following sections:

1. Aims of this guide
2. Research assistant training
3. Key definitions and understandings
4. Study overview
5. Key research aims
6. The chosen Agriculture Extension Institutes
7. Ethical procedures
8. Overall research process
9. Workshop breakdown
10. Data sorting: Reflection tool kit

Appendix 1 Participant Information Sheet

Appendix 1b Participant Details Sheet

Appendix 2 Verbatim Transcriptions Guidelines

## **1. Aims of this guide**

This field work guide is designed as an overall guide to be used as part of the research assistant training and throughout the data collection process. It provides details on the key research areas and questions that this project is aiming to explore, provides instructions and guidance on the participatory tools and accompanying materials which will be used, guidance on how to record data throughout the collection process, and details on the daily debrief which will take place. Finally, it outlines the expectations around translations and transcriptions.

## **2. Research assistant training**

Before undertaking any form of research, research assistants will undertake three days of compulsory training led by the primary researcher. The first two days of the training will be held at the primary researchers' home in Harare and food and breaks will be provided. The third day of training will be used to practice some workshops and observations on a farm in Bindura. We will meet at the primary researcher's home and all travel there and back together. A schedule of the training will be provided.

It is important to undertake this training so that the research team all understands the key research questions, methodologies, reflection sessions and data collection tools. It is also important to review the contracts and associated practicalities, as well as providing a space to ask any questions. It is very important that the training sessions are used as a discussion space, and any feedback from the research assistants is welcome.

### **Key expectations:**

#### **Research assistants must:**

- Make me aware of any issues, concerns, anything that is unclear – please talk to me and keep me aware of any problems – this is very important!
- Be on time and must attend every debriefing session
- Follow the guidelines in this document
- Use and do NOT lose the field books provided
- Make sure that all notes taken in the field books are legible
- Always be polite and respectful and use active listening

### 3. Key definitions and understandings

**AEI (Agricultural Extension Institution)** – This term refers to any organisation or institution which is administering agricultural extension.

**AEI worker** – this refers to anyone who is employed by an AEI.

**Communication** – This study uses the term communication to not just mean talking, but all forms of information exchange from one form to another. This means that videos, books, posters, pulling a face, and talking all count as forms of communication.

**Gender** – This study takes the stance that gender is not the same as the biological sexual differences between males and females. It takes the understanding that gender is the social expectation and construction that society places on the female and male roles, and therefore gender is the act that males and females perform to meet societies' expectations. This means that gender can change in different spheres of influence. This also means that this study is exploring how these gender expectations limit development programmes' effectiveness.

**Information exchange** – This refers to the process by which information is given and received.

**Positionality** – This is the understanding that every individual has a different set of life experiences which affects their behaviour, values systems, expectations, and interpretations. This is linked to spheres of influence

**Power** – Power can take many forms and refers to the rules, acts or constraints which make people behave in certain ways. It is complex and can be seen, unseen and/or invisible.

**Target Audience** – Often referred to as 'beneficiaries' in NGO programmes, the Target Audience refers to the people which the AEIs are trying reach to provide with information, training or technology.

#### **Spheres of influence**

Spheres of influence is about the different spaces which individuals operate in and how these different spaces change their behaviour. Spheres of influence can vary and can range from individuals, communities, work places to cultural identity. This is an important idea for this study because it is trying to identify key factors within different spheres of influence which influence the way gender is performed.

## 4. Study overview

Development projects are about making a change to improve people's lives. But development projects are not as effective as they could be because of a number of reasons. Two of the areas which hinder development work are gender and communication.

Gender presents difficulties because it is an overarching social structure that determines the way that people behave and their positions of power within a society. An added complexity to this is that gender changes in every context, institution, and means something different to every individual.

Communication in development terms is about information exchange. Information exchange can take all sorts of different forms, but one of the key gaps in development is that many information exchange processes don't include, question or challenge gender in context.

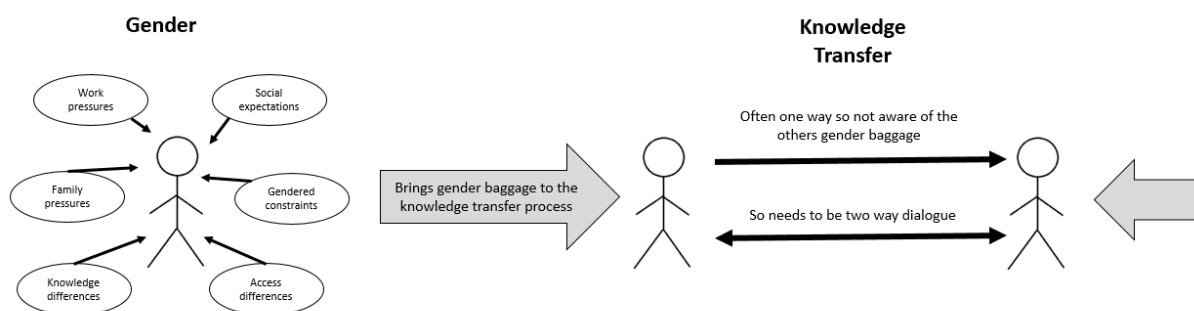
To begin to solve this problem, this study will ultimately be creating a framework to make sure that gender can be fully included in information exchange design and input.

In order to this there is a need to:

- a) Identify and deconstruct what is happening at the time and in the place in terms of gender thereby highlighting and questioning what power structures, hierarchies and assumptions are taking place.
- b) Establish how the information exchange is happening at the time and in the place by establishing what type of communication strategy is being used, what tools are being used to convey the information and understand how the information exchange is taking place.

Once these two separate spheres have been understood, the clash of the two areas can then be examined by exploring:

- What gender 'baggage' is being brought to the information exchange process from all parties involved.
- How is this gender 'baggage' affecting the information exchange process.



**Figure 1: Gender and information exchange**

### But how do we solve this?

The first thing we need to do is establish the baselines. For gender this means establishing:



- The wider social pressures of the cultural and social context.
- The institutional or sub cultural pressures.
- The individual pressures around each actor

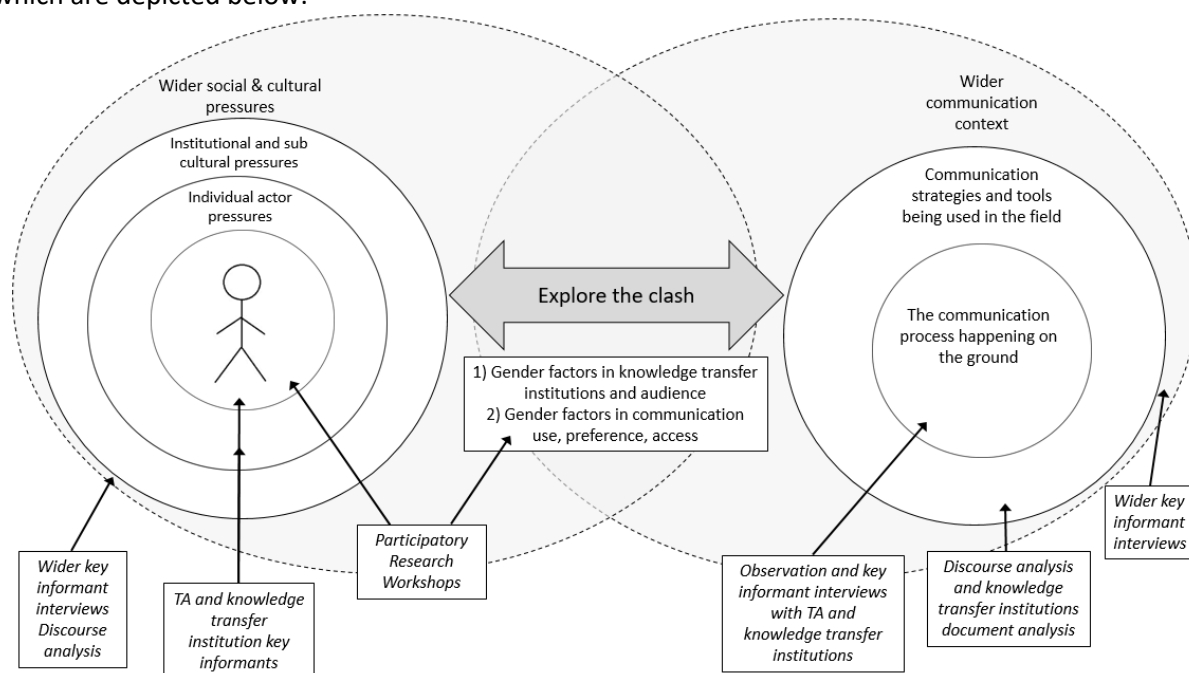
For the information exchange this means establishing:

- The communication strategies and tools which are being used in the wider social and cultural context.
- The communication strategies and tools being used in the specific field.
- The communication process that is happening on the ground.

Once the baselines of these two areas have been established we can then look at clash of the two areas by looking at:

- The gender factors in the information exchange institutions and audience.
- The gender factors in communication preference, access and use.

We will be establishing these by using a suite of data collection and analysis methods which are depicted below:



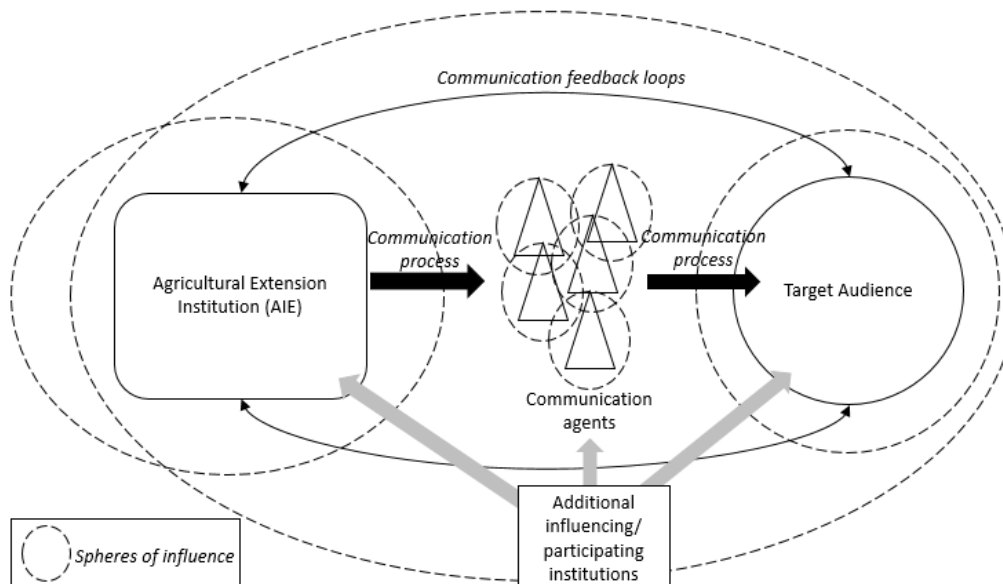
**Figure 2: Fieldwork map**

This study will be looking at the information exchange processes in agriculture, more commonly known as 'agricultural extension', to explore the above. The field of agriculture has been chosen because:

- The communication processes are a little more straightforward or well established than other development areas.
- Gender within agriculture is a well-documented phenomenon which often highlights gender issues around roles, responsibilities and access.
- Agriculture is a fundamental part of successful development.

It will specifically be looking at small scale farmers (A1) and how information exchange processes vary between different agricultural development types which, in this study, will include commercial agricultural development, market linkage and networking, and development aid/assistance. Each Agricultural Extension Institute (AEI) that has been selected as a case study has a different agricultural motive. The reason for selecting these different types of institutions is because this study is not focused on WHAT knowledge is being communicated, but rather HOW the information exchange process is taking place and WHY organisations pick the tools they do, how this experience differs for men and women and how this process differs between different types of organisations.

Mapping any form of communication whilst considering how gender is included, displayed and represented is complex because of the fundamental need to understand the spheres of influence in which the communications are operating in through the whole system. Figure 3 attempts to capture the complexities of this process by displaying the predicted communication processes and affiliated groups or institutions.



**Figure 3: Diagram of spheres of influence**

It is imperative to note that all communication actors operate within a large sphere of influence which is displayed as the dashed outer line in Figure 3. This refers to the need for a contextual understanding of the environment in which the communication process is taking place – in this study this is a wider understanding of the common attitudes and social structures of Zimbabwe.

However, this is only one sphere of operation. There are many others at play. The AIEs will have other driving forces which influence them depending on their funding, management and political alignment which will vary between institutions, and this may well stretch outside the wider contextual sphere into other nations. Likewise, every communication agent will be influenced by their own individual sphere such as upbringing, personality and values, and the target audience may have their own sphere of influence such as communal laws or expectations, political alignment and previous experience. Clearly it is impossible to map every sphere of influence and therefore is out of the scope of this study. But what this study does aim to do is map key influencing factors

that determine decisions around communication and gender approaches particularly at the AIE and Target Audience levels, but also provide some insight into some of the key factors of the wider contextual sphere of Zimbabwe.

This contextual understanding also needs to extend to the selected AIEs, and actors as much as possible. Therefore, this complex understanding will come from a number of sources:

- a) Wider Zimbabwean contextual understanding of the broad agricultural sector and the cultural and social expectations around gender.
- b) Operational understanding of each selected AIE.
- c) Operational sphere of the associated selected target audiences.

Because this understanding is often subtle, it is very important that any translation is translated word for word, and that workshops and interviews are conducted in the language that each participant is most comfortable with.

## 5. Key research aims are:

To use case studies of agricultural information exchange in Zimbabwe to:

- 1) To understand the information exchange process happening between the small scale farmers and the selected Agricultural Extension Institutions (AEIs) by establishing:
  - The communication strategy
  - The communication tools being used
  - The role that the people play in this process
- 2) To explore the gender constructions at play in:
  - The wider context
  - The AEIs
  - The TAs
- 3) To understand how 1) and 2) connect and clash by exploring:
  - How gender is embedded in the information exchange process
    - The design
    - The delivery
  - How gender is embedded in the various actors of the information exchange process
    - Access
    - Preference
    - Ownership
    - Use
    - Assumptions
- 4) To build a conceptual framework based on these findings that can be used to ensure that gender is included in information exchange processes across development.

## 6. The chosen Agriculture Extension Institutes

Each AEI that we will be looking at has a different function and, therefore, agricultural extension process. These differing organisations have been chosen because of the aim to analyse contrasting agricultural communication strategies. All data collected from these institutions is to be kept secure and not released to anyone. All subsequent publications will go to each institutions before submission.

Three AEIs have been chosen because they all target A1 farmers, but with slightly different information exchange aims. When combined, they also mirror the whole agriculture extension picture. Commercial production provides an income for number of farmers. Many small scale farmers also intercrop consumable crops (which are often part of a subsistence livelihood) with cash crops such as tobacco or coffee, so commercial production is an important factor of developing livelihoods. Linked to commercial production is access and interactions with markets and, typically, mechanisation as farms get bigger. An important aspect of this interaction is being able to produce a sufficient quality and quantity of crops that markets will buy. The other side of this is improving production of subsistence crops. This is often deemed as an important aspect of solving poverty in development approaches based on the understanding that many people rely on the food they produce themselves. Typically, this is what agricultural development initiatives engage with and try to develop. This type of production is not always as clear as it is presumed. Often people also rely on selling excess crop production at local market systems which then means that there is a link back to the market but the need to improve quality and sufficient quantity is still needed.

The link and crossover of the three areas of production, consumption and marketing mentioned above are all supported by different types of AEIs and, therefore, likely supported by different methods of information exchange. To try and understand these differences and map and compare information exchange practices, this study has selected a commercial, cash crop organisation, a trust which focuses on market linkage and production outputs, and one which focuses on sustainable crop production. By looking at each AEI in depth, we should be able to establish what role gender and communication strategy plays in improving livelihoods.

A brief summary of each institution is noted below:

### **a) Contract Tobacco Company (CTC) (Commercial)**

CTC is a commercial tobacco company based in Harare. Because they are commercial, it is particularly fundamental that all data is kept securely and not released to anyone. Among other activities, CTC implements contract farming with numerous farmers. The ones this study is interested in is the small scale farmers (A1) which they contract. Tobacco is a globally sensitive product because of labour and health associations. This study is not interested in collecting data around this. It is objectively focusing on how contract farmers are given information about improving or learning how to farm tobacco. This includes looking at how the trainers themselves are recruited and trained by the company, and how and where gender comes into play throughout the whole process.

### **b) Market Linkage Organisation (MLO) (Market linking)**

MLO are an agricultural trust who concentrate on linking small scale farmers with the market whilst supplying them with training around improving produce. An important element that MLO also engages with is that they get the producers involved in the training of the farmers. This is an interesting institution because of the angle in which it engages markets and supports farmers in both consumable and marketable agricultural produce.

**c) Final case study TBC (Community Development NGO)**

This case study has not yet been identified but will be over the course of the next weeks.

**d) AGRITEX (Governmental)**

Whilst not a case study insitution, it is imperative that this study gets some insight into governmental extension services. Due to political sensitivities, this insight is likely to come from key informant interviews with AGRITEX officers but should the opportunity arise and time allows, observation of this information exchange process would be extremely valuable.

## 7. Ethical Procedures

This study has gained ethical clearance from the University of Reading and the Zimbabwe Research Council. We have letters of support from the University of Zimbabwe, AGRITEX, CTC and MLO, and are affiliated with and supported by the Women's University in Africa. Should Research Assistants need any of this documentation for any reason please speak to the primary researcher.

There are a number of ethical processes whilst conducting this research which we MUST follow so that the data collection is valid.

Before each interview or workshop, every participant will complete a Participant Details Sheet (Appendix 1a) either orally or written. This sheet will be allocated with their unique reference number. All sheets must be returned to the primary researcher after each fieldwork activity for safe storage. We need this information for a number of reasons:

- 1) To be able to contact participants for any follow up interviews if needed.
- 2) To know basic demographic data such as sex and age.
- 3) To allocate everyone with a unique reference number.

The primary researcher will store all of this information on a password protected computer and this information is not to be given to anyone else. The interviewees names and phone numbers will not be published as part of the research. All the data will be presented in aggregate format and it will not be possible to identify any individuals from their responses.

All participants must also be given an information sheet (Appendix 1 b) or have the contents of the information sheet clearly explained to them so that everyone understands the key things on there.

All interviews will be audio recorded assuming interviewees agree. We have to gain verbal consent to audio or video record anything before doing so. Once the script is transcribed, this must be sent to the primary researcher who will store this safely. Please make sure that three months after the fieldwork has finished, all copies of the transcripts are deleted from any research assistant's laptops.

Workshops will be video recorded assuming all participants agree. We will verbally present the information sheet in these circumstances with the option of anyone being able to have a copy if they would like one. As part of this verbal presentation, we must make sure we check that everyone is aware it is being filmed and get their verbal consent to do so. We will also need to gather participant information from each participant. In some cases, it might be easier to do this verbally, in other cases it might be easier to ask every individual to complete the form. This will need to be adjusted to the group we are working with at the time. If people do not want to be filmed we will conduct the workshops without recording, but may be able to audio record them if this is deemed to be helpful.

Photographs of people are okay so long as we get verbal consent from individuals, and it would be nice to be able to share these with institutions. I would like to develop any nice photos and give them back to people if possible.

## **8. Overall research process**

This section provides a description of the overall research design and processes including:

- Methodological orientation
- Key informant interviews
- Observations
- Workshops

This research has been designed to be flexible and reactive to the participants it is engaging with, so this document outlines the structure in which data collections should take place, but this may change slightly depending on the given circumstance.

### **8.1 Fieldwork timeline and design**

The fieldwork for this project will take place from mid-November 2018 to mid-February 2019. This is because the growing season for tobacco starts around November, so this is when most of the extension training for CTC will take place. The estimated time needed for the fieldwork is as follows:

#### **10 to 20 wider contextual key informant interviews each around 1 hour long**

All of these interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. These will be conducted by the primary researcher only unless special cases arise such as requiring translation. These will be conducted throughout the course of the data collection period.

#### **3 full days of observation of AEI extension application**

The agricultural extension process of each AEI will be observed for one day. The observation days of each AEIs practice will done by the primary researcher and two of the research assistants. These days might include initial selection of AEI and TA key informants and workshop attendees.

#### **12 key informant interviews each around 1 hour long**

All interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. Two AEI workers and two AEI target audience members from each selected AEI will be interviewed. These will be lead by the primary researcher and supported by the research assistants. There may a couple more of these from the AGRITEX officers.

#### **12 half day workshops**

Each AEI will have four half day workshops – two for the AEI workers (one male and one female group) and two for the associated TA (one male and one female group). All workshops will be video recorded for additional analysis if participants agree, however they can be conducted without being filmed. One of the research assistants will conduct the workshops so that the primary researcher can take notes throughout the session. The second research assistant will also take notes and/or translate for the primary research assistant where appropriate.

**Appendix 2** is a Gantt chart showing the data collection timeline.

### **8.2 Methodological orientation**

The data this study will collect will be qualitative. This study needs to be receptive and reactive to gain peoples honest opinions whilst limiting positionality as much as possible. Understanding that positionality is unavoidable, but that researchers need to be aware of it at all times is fundamental. This is particularly important because of the gender



sensitivities and power relations that this study is trying to understand. This will mean that as much as possible, men and women will be split into separate workshops so that both sexes can speak as freely as possible. This will also mean that, ideally, male research assistants will interview and/or translate men groups, and female research assistants will interview and/or translate women groups. Because understanding positionality, power and how this alters people's behaviour and therefore can alter research results is so important to be aware of in this study, this will be a core part of the research assistant training.

Being able to adapt to individual needs and preferences means that whilst conducting research, the research team must remain flexible and fluid, and therefore interviews and discussions are likely to be guided but not scripted.

This research is also underpinned by the fundamentals of participatory action research. Participatory Action Research (PAR) has been defined as a collaborative process of education research and action (Hall, 1981) which is particularly orientated towards social transformation (McTaggart, 1997). This research approach focuses on research whose purpose is to enable action which is achieved through a reflective cycle whereby participants analyse data and then determine what action should follow (Baum, MacDougall and Smith, 2006). It also pays careful attention to power relationships advocating that power should be deliberately shared between those being researched and the researcher blurring the line between them until the researched become the researchers making them partners in the research process (ibid). PAR also posits that the observer has an impact on what is being observed (ibid). It is underpinned by respecting people's knowledge and their abilities to understand and address the issues confronting them and their communities (Brydon-miller, Greenwood and Maguire, 2003). It is important that the researchers have a respect for the complexity of local situations and therefore understand that the people in situ have the best insights and knowledge in this sphere. PAR is also about using research as vehicle that results in challenging economic, social and political practices and systems (ibid). This is very important for this study as it aims at challenging gender norms which are a social structure and, therefore, will aim to use research methods which challenge the way people think and hopefully result in some change on the ground. The workshops will particularly lend themselves to this approach, and ensure that we probe the participants for their thoughts on the solutions for making information exchange more accessible for both men and women.

### **8.3 Wider key informants**

Interviews are a flexible manner of data gathering that provide the opportunity to look deeper into areas that will present themselves, and can be adjusted to varying circumstances (Shipman, 1997). The interviews will be semi-structured and will ask open ended questions. The primary researcher is likely to conduct and transcribe most if not all of these interviews on her own. They are important for the wider contextual understanding of the Zimbabwean agricultural and social climate (Full interview question set can be found in Appendix 4). The wider key informants will be selected based on the following criteria:

- Must be over 18 years of age.
- Must have in depth experience of working in and with Zimbabwe.
- Must have a deep contextual understanding and first-hand experience of Zimbabwe's wider history and nuances.
- Must have relevant experience and knowledge of the following areas/sectors:

- a) Zimbabwean agricultural sector
- b) Communications and media in Zimbabwe
- c) Gender in Zimbabwe

This can be practical experience such as working in the sectors in various capacities and/or having an academic understanding of them.

These participants are likely to be academics and practitioners.

#### **8.4 Extension observations**

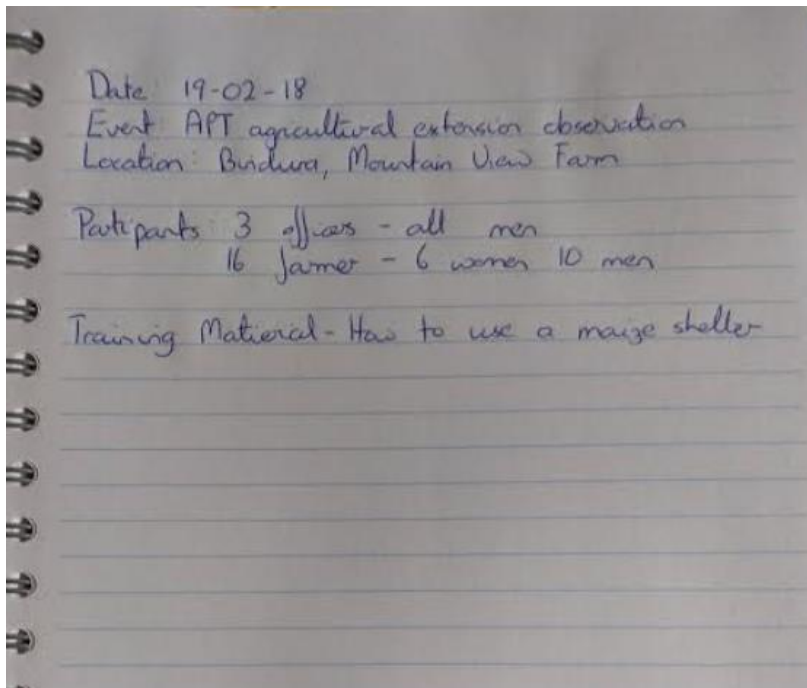
Observation is our usual way of obtaining information and is a useful exercise for many reasons including that it is unlikely to disturb the natural situation and it helps the researcher notice and record subtle human interaction (Shipman, 1997). It does, however, have constraints which include the difficulty in that our observations are interpreted by our own point of reference and that the researcher has to pick the sites of observation which are often restricted by various factors (Shipman, 1997). To overcome these difficulties we will have three observers on the observation days, and will have a reflection session at the end of each day to discuss what was seen.

The primary researcher and the two research assistants who will be running the associated workshops will attend the observation days. The key activity the selected research team will be observing is a full day of Agricultural Extension. On these observation days, it is very important not to intervene or interrupt at any point unless lead by the primary researcher. As observers we are simply there to look and take notes in our field books. If translation is needed, one of the researchers should quietly translate to the primary researcher translating the communications word for word whilst the other research assistant continues to take notes and observe. No researchers will be asking any questions or conducting any interviews on these days unless otherwise asked by the primary researcher. As noted above, the key aims of this activity is to gather information on the following:

- What information is being communicated and by whom and to whom?
- How is the information being communicated?
- What type of communication strategy is being used?
- Are there any gender assumptions being recycled or imposed?

All notes should be made in the fieldwork books provided by the primary researcher. At the end of the data collection phase these fieldwork books will be given to the primary researcher to take back to England to use as part of the data analysis.

Every entry must have the following information before observation starts:



**Figure 4: How to enter information into the field work books**

To help digest the information collected in this manner, the research team will use the reflection sheet found in Section 10. It would be good if research assistants use the reflection framework as a guide for what we are looking for in the observation days.

### **8.5 AEI and target audience key informants**

Key informant interviews will be conducted before any workshops are run. There will be workshops for each AEI and each AEI Target audience that will need the input of the relevant Key Informant Interviews conducted beforehand. Ideally, we want to select two to three individuals to interview of different sexes who hold an active role in either the AEI they are working for or in the TA they are part of. These interviews will give the research team some initial insight into the AEI or TA before conducting and organising the workshops and will help in identifying participants for the workshops. The primary researcher will conduct these where possible, but in some circumstances, it might be more fitting for the interview to be conducted in either Shona or Ndebele in which case a research assistant will conduct, translate and transcribe the interview. Ideally, one of the two selected research assistants should attend these key informant interviews to gather understanding – but we will need to see how this is going to work in practice. It might be that research assistants will transcribe some of these interviews in which case they should follow the guidelines in Appendix 3.

### **8.6 Workshops**

There will be workshops for each selected AEI and a sample of their associated TA members. We will need six males and six females from each AEI and each TA. These individuals will be identified by the key informants, but will all be over the age of 18, actively engaged in the AEI (ideally in the information exchange processes) or actively engaged within the community farming processes. Males and females will be in separate workshops, and the workshops will be led by one research assistant, the primary researcher will observe and take notes, and the other research assistant will translate (if applicable) and take notes.

Observations on training must be focused on gender, power interactions, media and techniques used, and key messages being transferred.

A step by step process of the workshops is found in Section 9.

### **8.7 Reflection and debriefing sessions**

At the end of each fieldwork day, there will be an essential debriefing session which will last around 45 minutes to 1 hour. These are a fundamental part of digesting and sorting the data collection of the day and all relevant researchers must attend these. They will most probably take place at the primary researchers' house. These are important so that:

- All three researchers can discuss and compare main thoughts on the day and catch up on anything that may have been missed or lost in translation.
- Any suggestions or alterations on the fieldwork can be discussed, decided and implemented for the next data collection day.
- The research team can digest, discuss and categorise data collected that day.

Each debriefing session will follow the arrangement of:

- Each researcher will take around 20 minutes to prepare and organise their data into the following thematic areas by highlighting field notes with different colour highlighters:
  - Green: Gender  
Any references to gendered activities or roles  
Any gender tensions  
Any gender assumptions  
Any power relations displayed  
Anything about family/ people arriving late or early to training?
  - Orange: Communication  
Anything that was not clearly received by the target audience  
Anything that was contentious/ argued about  
Anything around what the target audience would like instead/in addition
  - Pink: Key constraints around agricultural production  
Any references to the reasons of poor production of crops  
Any references of things which have helped crop production
  - Yellow: Interesting quotes

Each researcher will then fill out the Reflection Sheet which can be found in Appendix C, and then briefly present their key observations and findings of the day for about 5 – 10 mins each.

This will be followed by a recorded discussion lead by the primary researcher to help answer key research questions and to complete the framework as a group.

#### **Key discussion questions will include:**

How did you feel today went? Where there any issues or difficulties?

What were the main impressions around the information exchange process? What did this look like – and did it look like it was effective?

What were the gender observations? Was there any tensions between males and females, or any segregation or hints at gender relations/roles difficulties? (both in the AEs and the TAs)

Did you notice anyone using particular types of technology throughout the day?

Any other observations? Are we seeing any wider links between gender, comms and agriculture?

## **9: Workshop breakdown**

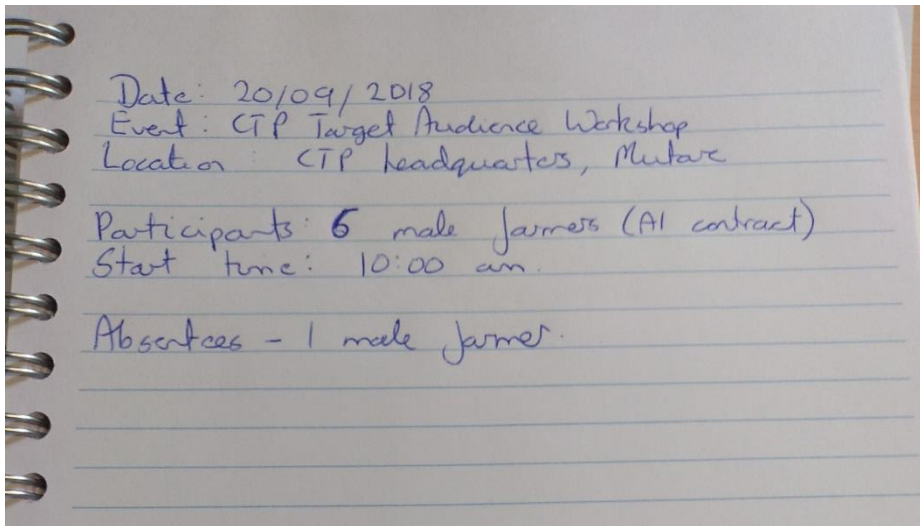
The AEI and the TA workshops have been designed to be similar, and whilst the questions they are asking of the participants vary slightly, they both follow similar methodology. The reasons behind this similarity is so that the outputs of both can be comparable and translatable. As both groups of participants are intertwined in the information exchange process, there is a need to look at both simultaneously and comparatively. The workshops will be about three to four hours long and will contain a set of activities which are detailed below.

Both workshops have specifically been called 'workshops' to try and invoke a mutual power distribution between both the AEIs and the target audience, and to try and encourage language that treats both groups of participants with equal value remembering that in an action research approach, the people in situ are the people who know best. Both workshops will remain fluid and flexible with the ability to react to any issues flagged in the preceding key informant interviews and the participant's needs and wants. This design is imperative to create an open communication space for all involved. Both groups will have male only and female only workshops, and the male workshops will be facilitated by a male research assistant, and the female ones by a female research assistant. The reason for this is to help minimise some of the power structures at play. It must be noted that this will not, by any means, mean that all participants will be equal, but every measure possible will be taken to ensure that people have a chance to speak and be heard. This may also mean conducting the workshops and key informant interviews in Shona/Ndebele where applicable. To make sure everyone is heard, there may be a need for the workshop facilitator to directly ask quieter members of the group what they think and occasionally gently make sure that one or two people are not dominating a session. If this needs to be done it needs to be done, carefully and respectfully and at no point should a participant be made to feel uncomfortable. It is imperative to stress that there are no right answers and that the facilitator makes sure that group discussions stay on track.

### **9.1 Workshop activities**

This design and approach of using workshops containing a series of activities is not dissimilar to the well-known and widely used Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach that is a style of research that moves away from survey questionnaire styles of research towards activities which directly involve the research participants (Chambers, 1994). The PRA approach aims to generate data by using activities that actively engage the research participants, and the action research approach mentioned previously supports this in trying to get people to ask their own questions. By using interactive media examples and diagrammatic representations, the workshop has been designed to break down fundamental communication barriers, and allow everyone to actively participate. All materials used in the workshop are merely suggestive – the poster background is starting point to stimulate discussion, as are the media presented. What is being presented is not necessarily factual or representative. The idea is that participants will actively question and engage more by using what they are presented with to talk about and compare with what is the reality on the ground.

As mentioned previously, whilst one of the research assistants will be conducting the workshop, they will not be on their own. All three researchers must be at all workshops to step in and support the facilitator if needed. The second research assistant and the primary researcher will be present but will be observing and taking notes in the fieldwork notebook in a very similar manner to the observations of the agricultural extension training mentioned earlier. Every notebook entry must have the following information at the start:



**Figure 5: How to enter workshop information into field books**

Where possible we will try to only conduct one workshop in a day. Every workshop will be followed by a compulsory de-briefing session as mentioned previously.

Locations of the workshops is not yet known, but this should be made apparent once discussions with the AEs start to be more frequent.

Before every workshop begins, the research team will need to make sure there is sufficient time to allow for the workshop set up including filming, material distribution and checks. Once the participants arrive and before the workshop starts, researchers must gather participant information on the sheets in Appendix 2 and the participants will need to be briefed using the Participant Information Sheets in Appendix 1. The research team needs to get verbal consent from all participants before the session begins.

#### **Introduction activity – The Potato From Potato Process**

**Aims: To be used as an ice breaker**

**Materials: Planting pots, chopping board and seed potatoes**

**Time taken: 10 mins**

This is a hands-on demonstration of the growing potatoes from potatoes process that we will be basing the workshops on. This exercise should follow introductions of everyone in the room. The facilitator will explain The Potato From Potato Process explaining that today's workshop is about different ways of getting information. The facilitator should then move into a demonstration of what the process looks like asking two or three people to plant with the facilitator as he/she explains.

This activity sets the ground for the deconstruction exercises and also means that during the media exercise, the facilitator can refer back to this experience when talking about field days or extension officer training, but clearly explaining that obviously this is not a field experience, how probing on how it differs ect.

#### **Activity 1: Group Deconstruction: Gender role assignments**

**Aims: To get the participants to start to critically think about assigned gender roles and expectations inherent in development communications**

**Materials: Sticky Stuff, poster and stickers and conversation questions**

**Time taken: 1 hour**

The group deconstruction is not a common tool used in PRA approaches. This is a tool which has been developed within this study following the in depth literature review, and based on the key works of Stuart Hall (1973), Derrida and Bass (1982), Foucault (1986), Saussure (2011) and Butler, (1990). This tool is essentially a set of questions around the construction of social identities and how communication is a key instrument in this.

This activity starts by giving a brief of the activity and setting the scene for the poster which we are asking participants to complete. The poster is a dynamic space which should be used to track stories and explain things throughout the whole session. Regular photos of the posters should be taken so that the changes can be tracked. The briefing should be along the following lines:

This picture shows the process for growing potatoes from potatoes. This is going to be our theme for the workshop today. The process for growing potatoes from potatoes is as follows:

1. Get potatoes either from a market or from one you have grown.
2. Clean the potatoes.
3. Cut the potatoes in half.
4. Plant the potatoes which means someone has to dig the ground.
5. Water them.
6. Tend to them as they grow – adding fertilizer ect.
7. Dig the potatoes from the ground.
8. Put them in the truck and take them to the market to sell.
9. Bring the money from selling the potatoes back home.

We can show them and explain the implements as we introduce the process above, ensuring that we reach a common understanding of what each one represents. We then let the participants choose who goes where whilst being careful not to point to the different people we have. We don't to influence decisions of people.

It is very important not to assign anyone – male or female – be careful with pronouns! – to any of the processes above. We want to see from the AElS who they think does what in this process in the community they work in. From the TAs we want to see who does what in this process in their communities. Once everyone is clear on the process we can split them into two groups. We offer them a bag of figures and implements to decide who does what with what and ask each group to stick what they think on the posters. It is important that observers (including the facilitator if necessary) capture the discussions that each group has when deciding. We will then discuss their outputs as one large group – actively questioning any differences, exploring any uncertainties and asking why frequently. It is imperative that groups know that there is no right answer here, and that if they want to put, for example, an old woman as doing everything, then that is perfectly fine. They will have multiple figures to allow for this kind of overlap. There is also the possibility of writing or drawing on the poster to show processes, key words ect should the participants want to use this.





**Figure 6: Using Poster 1 to question gender roles**

Once both groups are happy with their poster, both groups will explain their posters to the other team and then the facilitator will encourage a discussion about differences, similarities and dig a bit deeper as to why certain jobs are allocated to certain people, questioning if anything or anyone has been left out.

This discussion should focus on role allocation, ownership and community contribution. Key questions could include:

- Why is X a man's job?
- Why is Y a woman's job?
- Do X and y help each other?
- Who owns the truck/spade/ bucket act?
- Why do X and Y do this job together?
- What are the differences between the two posters? Why are these differences here?

### **Activity 2: Group Deconstruction: Media Discussion**

***Aims: To understand what people like and dislike about a variety of media and promote discussion around why is it used or isn't and if it could be used and by who. As we move through the media presentations we can go back to the posters to display what people are talking about in terms of access and ownership. If any media channels come up that we haven't discussed we can add them using the white board markers, ask people to act them out – a bit of improvisation may be needed.***

***Materials: See each media experience below.***

***Time: 1 hour***

Once we have discussed the gender roles, and explored around why people do certain things, and asked them if there are people on here that are missing (can be noted onto the posters or extra cards with the white board markers), we will move to into talking about information channels.

The introduction of this next exercise should naturally lead on from the end of the previous exercise. It may even be that it makes more sense to integrate to two processes as the discussion develops. The main idea behind using the additional media experiences are to see if and how people experience the different channels of information.

This exercise will be used to show a number of different information channels which have been used in development contexts. The styles will include asking the audience to watch or use the communication types detailed below and after each experience should be asked what they enjoyed, what they didn't enjoy, and if they could use it in their communities, how could they use and who could use it. Where possible, I have used actual communications which are currently being used within the public domain, but a number of them have been edited so that the theme of the workshop can stay intact. It is important to guide the conversations so that the conversations stay around the actual process of information exchange and the media channel – not the content. We will be using the Kurima Mari app which is part of a project currently being implemented by Welt Hunger Hilfe (The Herald, 2016), a poster, a sample set of text messages, a radio message (designed using the free scripts available at Farm Radio (2018), a short video and a mock-up of an actual demonstration of the training given by myself or one of the research assistants. There will be two charged tablets available to the group to see the apps and the video. It is very important that we explain that the information they are given through these communications are just examples.

The key idea behind this exercise to use the different types of media to stimulate conversation around if people like this style of information, if it would be accessible and useful to them, and if it is being used in agricultural extension and to what extent. What is important is that the focus of the discussions remains on the MEDIA and the EXPERIENCE of the media, not the content of media. Discussions should include if men and women can both access the media, how and why one media could be better for one sex than another. What we are trying to do here is understand the main ways that people get their information (through TA workshops) or how the AEIs assume people get their information (through AEI workshops). We will present them with the scenario that their potatoes have acquired a disease and are dying. How do they solve this problem? How would they find out how to fix this problem? This moves into a full group discussion with the third, enlarged deconstruction poster which is blank to start with.

As the conversation starts, the facilitator should place relevant figures, media, implements and notes onto the new poster, encouraging participants to get actively involved should they want to. Figures can be moved around as the conversation develops. The discussion should be organic but should constantly come back to access, use, ownership and preference of the type of information channel being discussed,

It is very important not to provide any hints at media form. If participants start talking about a radio – we can then give them a radio to place on the poster. If they mention information channels which we do not have icons for they can make their own icons on the additional cards with the white board markers.

Once this scenario has been discussed we can then present them with the scenario that they don't know where to sell their potatoes – how do they find this out? Again, we will use the same principals. Throughout this process it is really important to ask questions about who owns communication tools, who has access to them and how.

As the discussion carries out and different information channels are brought up, if they are part of the selection of media experiences which are detailed in the next section, the facilitator should demonstrate the relevant media experience as it brought up, adding the representative icon to the poster and encouraging a discussion around the key questions below.

Once all media avenues have been decided and discussed we can then ask them about any media left over and why they didn't think of that type of information channel. At this point we demonstrate any remaining media experiences we have left over and ask the same set of questions.

After each communication demonstration the facilitator will lead a discussion around the following key questions:

*Both AElIs and Target audience questions:*

What is the key message you get from this communication?

What is good about this communication?

What is bad about this communication?

Do you currently give (for AElIs)/receive (for target audiences) any information using this type of media?

If so, how does it work, do you like it/not like it? Do communities receive it well/not?

*AElIs only:*

Why would you use or not use this media in the communities that you work in?

Do you see any gender issues around using this type of media?

Would people in the community that you work with be able to use this to help sell their crops or link to other farmers ect.

Do you think that the farmers would use this media for anything else?

*Target audiences only:*

Could your whole community access this or would they all like to access it?

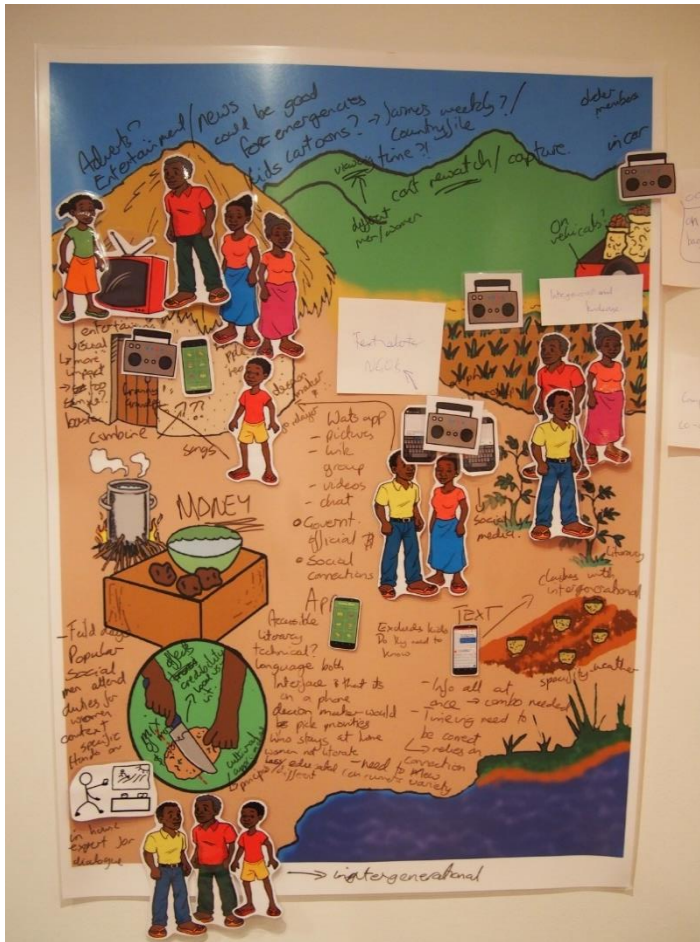
Would you use this media to solve a problem with your crops? If not, why? If yes, why?

Would you use this to help you sell your crops or link to other farmers ect. If not why? If yes, why?

Would you use this media for anything else?

It would be beneficial to try and link the media experiences back to the first set of questions around the scenarios we suggested at the start e.g. If you had access to the [Kurima Mari App] how would you find it helpful to solve to selling your crop. It is also important to try and establish if a medium (such as a phone or TV) carries more than just the information it can hold or present. Phones can be a symbol of wealth, or assist in social networking or community participation, in the same way that videos or TV's can be a source of entertainment which may have nothing to do with agriculture. Understanding and pulling out these subtle reasons are important as they can be expressions of power.

Figure 7 illustrates what this third poster may end up looking like.



**Figure 7: Using Poster 1 to explore access to information**

## Media experience's overview

This section explains each media experience in detail.

### 1) Kurima Mari

*Materials required:*

*Two fully charged tablets with app downloaded and spare. Chargers.*

The app will be available on two tablets which will be fully charged. The real app will be used which consists of content put together by Welt Hungerhilfe and DFID. We will start by directing them to the potato page but they can browse for a bit if they want to.

### 2) Poster

*Materials required:*

*One large poster of the poster below in the appropriate language*



This poster has been taken from: <https://foodrevolution.org/blog/reduce-food-waste-regrow-from-scraps/>

### 3) Sample text message

*Materials required:*

*Phone, airtime, signal, participant's cell numbers*

We will ask some people for their phone numbers and send the series of text message below punctuating them by explaining how much time has passed:

Each text limited to 160 characters including space:

**Day 1: Buy potatoes with and leave near a window for 4 days.**

**Day 2: Prepare the soil by digging deep, removing weeds and stones.**

**Day 3: Fertilise the soil.**

**Day 4: Cut each potatoes in half ensuring that there is a GROWTH ON EACH HALF. Leave for 4 days.**

**Day 7: Dig trenches in soil – 10 cm deep, 60 cm apart.**

**Day 8: Plant potatoes in trenches with growth facing up. Cover with top soil. Water daily.**

**Day 12: Put mulch around the growing plants. Every time they grow 15cm, add more soil and mulch.**

**10 weeks later: You can start to harvest**

We need to explain that this is just an example. Once all of the text messages have been sent, discuss the good and bad things of this approach, where they want more information, how would they get that, does everyone have a cell phone, has anyone ever had access to this type of information, do they use WhatsApp at all in the same way?

This content has been adapted from <https://www.thompson-morgan.com/how-to-grow-potatoes-in-the-ground> and <https://www.craftsy.com/gardening/article/how-to-grow-potatoes/>.

### **3) Radio Show**

*Materials required:*

*Speakers, tablet, audio recording (use appropriate language) and speakers*

Play the radio show and discuss the pros and cons of this type of communication. How often do they listen to a radio, who has a radio at home, does it always work, did they enjoy learning this way?

The following is the script which will be used which has been adapted from:

<http://scripts.farmradio.fm/radio-resource-packs/package-86/mr-or-mrs-potato-of-the-year/>

<http://scripts.farmradio.fm/radio-resource-packs/theme-pack-february-april/resources-about-gender/>

**FX:** *Very lively signature tune, over background applause and cheers. Hold for 5 seconds, and then fade under announcer and out.*

**Announcer:** Hello and welcome everybody, to the very first **Annual Potato Quiz!** Today we will meet our first two carefully selected contestants who will compete for the distinction of being Mr. or Mrs. Potato head of the year.

**FX:** *Applause*

**Announcer:** This is truly a great honour. In addition to the prestige of the title of Mr. or Mrs. Potatohead our lucky winner will also receive these valuable prizes:

10 kilograms of potatoes

20 bags of Simba chips

And last, but by no means least, the coveted bronze Statue Award of the Potato

*{applause and cheering is now almost hysterical}*

Thank you, thank you, and now, without further delay, let me introduce you to our Master of-Ceremonies for today, the big chip himself, Mr. Tatenda Shamisa. {introduction as WWF)

**FX:** *Loud dance music and “hysterical” cheering, as if the crowd is cheering for a famous musician or singer.*

**Mr. Shamisa:** *(Shouting over the applause and cheering)* Thank you, thank you, I love you all and welcome to the show! Yes, yes, I know, welcome, welcome everyone! *(After the cheering dies down)*

**Mr. Shamisa:** Ok, ok, let’s get down to the business at hand. Now let’s see who our two very first fabulous contestants are. First, we have Mrs. Chiedza Manaka, an agricultural

trader from Macheke in Headlands. What she doesn't know about potatoes is ... well, nothing. She knows absolutely everything! She is dreamy, she is fabulous and she will be hard to eat.. I mean beat...just a little joke there

*FX: The audience laugh and there is more applause*

**Chiedza Manaka:** Thank you. I'd like to thank ...

**Mr. Shamisa:** (*interrupting rather rudely*) Yes, yes, yes, you'll get your chance. Okay, now it's time to meet our second contestant - Mr. Tinotenda Chifamba. Mr. Chifamba is a local farmer from Bende in Nyanga.

*FX: Applause*

**Mr. Shamisa:** Why, Mr. Chifamba, I can see you are a man of the land, why you still have dirt under your fingernails. You must know an awful lot about potatoes.

**Tinotenda Chifamba:** Well I definitely know a lot about the soil they grown in..

**Audience:** *Laughter*

**Mr. Shamisa:** Well we shall shortly find out! Now, without further delay, let's get right on with the game. The rules are very simple. I will ask you three questions about potatoes. The person who presses their buzzer gets to answer first. The contestant with the most number of right answers wins! Now are you both ready?

**Together:** Yes.

**Mr. Shamisa:** Put your fingers on your buzzers , Is it TRUE or FALSE that potatoes can be grown in most parts of Zimbabwe?

**Chiedza Manaka:** (*Quickly*) TRUE! Yes definitely – potatoes can be grown in most soils!

**Mr. Shamisa:** And what do you think Mr Chifamba?

**Tinotenda Chifamba:** (*Slowly*) Well – due to my in depth understanding of soil .. I think that potatoes only like to be grown in very wet dark soil... so I will say False.

**Mr. Shamisa:** Fabulous! But Mr Chifamba, I think you may need to tune into your soil a little better because potatoes are indeed a versatile crop which can grow in a wide range of soils and therefor can be grown in most parts of Zimbabwe! So that's one correct answer for Mrs Manaka! (*Cheering*) The second question is: When is the best time of year to plant potatoes?

**Chiedza Manaka:** (*Buzzer*) (*Quickly and eagerly*) I know! In the hottest part of the year. Potatoes LOVE the heat and sunbathing almost as much as I do!

**Mr. Shamisa:** And you Mr Chifamba?

**Tinotenda Chifamba:** Let me just consult the dirt under my fingernails.

*FX: Audience laughter and then a slight pause.*

**Tinotenda Chifamba:** The soil is telling me that potatoes like to be planted when the weather is cold and dry.

**Mr. Shamisa:** And your fingernails would be ... right! You have found a better connection with the soil now (laughs). Mrs Manaka you have clearly spent a little TOO long in the sun!

*FX: Laughter and Applause*

**Mr. Shamisa:** So that's one correct answer for Mr. Chifamba and one for Mrs. Manaka. So - that brings the score to one correct answer each. So this final question is a tie breaker! Is it TRUE or FALSE that, if farmed properly, shoots will start to appear after about 2 weeks?

**Tinotenda Chifamba:** (*Buzzer*) That's FALSE. Potatoes take ages to grow – at least 4 months!

**Mr. Shamisa:** Mrs Manaka, what do you say?

**Chiedza Manaka:** This time, he is wrong. Potatoes do start to shoot in 2 weeks so the answer is TRUE!

**Mr. Shamisa:** Now what do we have here? What a fabulous situation! Each of our contestants is waiting anxiously to find out if he or she is correct. The situation is tight with drama, full of joy and sorrow. Who is going to go away the happy one tonight, with every dream fulfilled, Mr. or Mrs. Potatohead of the Year? It's finally time to reveal the answer ... As long as potatoes are planted in prepared soil in trenches about 30 cm deep, 20 cm wide and 30 cm apart and fully covered, shoots will start to appear after ..... Drum

roll ... Two weeks! That means that Mrs Manaka has given the correct answer making her the winner!

FX: Sustained Cheering

**Chiedza Manaka:** *(Amid loud cheering but clearly very pleased with herself)* Thank you very much – you have been such a wonderful and truely supportive crowd and I would just like to say ..

**Mr. Shamisa:** *(cutting Mrs Manaka off rudely)* Yes yes yes *(With applause and cheering in the background through this speech)* Mrs Chiedza Manaka is Mrs. Potatohead of the Year! She has shown an incredible knowledge of this wonderfully versatile food, which is easy to grow, can be prepared and eaten in many delicious ways, and should be part of everyone’s diet. It can generate lots of income for farmers such as Mrs Mananka and Mr Chifamba! Please, Mrs Manaka, accept our congratulations and don’t forget to pick up your fabulous prizes on your way out.

*(Disgruntled ‘well really’ from Mrs Manaka clearly still not impressed at being cut off from finishing her speech)*

**Mr Shamisa:** *(Ignoring Mrs Manaka and continuing more loudly)* That’s all we have time for this week. It just remains for me to say goodnight!

**FX:** *The quizmaster drowned by cheering and applause. The signature tune fades up, holds for 5 seconds, then the music, quizmaster’s voice trying to be heard in the background, applause and cheering fade out.*

#### **4) Physical demonstration**

*Materials required:*

*A sprouting potato and knife for each participant. A small soil box, 2 watering cans.*

We will demonstrate planting a potato from a potato – giving every participant the opportunity to do so with us. This is the introductory exercise.

#### **5) Video**

*Materials required:*

*Two fully charged tablets with the short video preloaded onto them. Sound up to full.*

#### **Activity 3: Final group discussion**

Once we have finished both exercises this is the prime to talk about anything we have may missed or not covered. This is also the time to ask some of the larger overarching questions around themes such as:

- Do you feel like framers/yourselves are getting enough information?
- What are the main areas they/ you think they want more information on?
- How do agricultural institutions help in information exchange?
- Are there any difficulties as a man/women in any of these processes?
- How would you improve the information exchange process so that both men and women can get access to more and better information?

#### **10 Data sorting: Reflection tool kit**

Data sorting and discussion will take place after every data collection activity. We will be using the following reflection sheet to frame these activities. This sheet has been designed to ask questions which will help us to identify:

- The communication strategy currently being used by the institution in question which has been based on Leeuwis & Ban's (2004) work.
- The gender awareness of each AEI and community by looking at the rules, activities, resources, people and power of both spaces Nailia Kabeer (1994).



- A quick power analysis to identify different types of power at play and their effect (framework adapted from The Power, Political Participation and Social Change Framework from Just Associates (2002)).

-  
The reflection sheet has been designed to be as simple as possible, but plays an important part in guiding the reflection discussion and retaining data analysis and observation so that as little is lost as possible.

It is important that these sheets are completed so that they are legible and that research assistants actively participate in the discussions around them. This will be done at the end of fieldwork days so is likely to be hard work when we are all tired, but they are really key. We will try and make sure there are biscuits to have whilst we do them=)

# Post Field Trip Reflection Log

**Name:**

**Date:**

**What we did today:**

**Insitution:**

MLO

3<sup>rd</sup> NGO

CTC

**Activity:**

Key informant interview

Workshop (AEI)

Observation

**Comments (note any difficulties/key points)**

**Section 1: Communication Type**

	Answers (yes/no)	Additional notes/examples
1) <i>Is there any evidence of conversations about the problems first?</i>		
2) <i>If yes, is the problem owned by the TA or the AEI?</i>		
3) <i>Are the TA being asked how they would fix the problem?</i>		
4) <i>Is the AEI worker having two way conversations with the TA?</i>		
5) <i>Is the AEI worker linking farmers to others?</i>		
6) <i>Is there any evidence of any networking events for the farmers?</i>		
7) <i>Is there any farmer to farmer learning?</i>		
8) <i>Is the communication about finding solutions to already determined problems?</i>		
9) <i>Is it about getting information from the TA to AEI worker so the AEI can solve a problem?</i>		
10) <i>Is the AEI worker having to stop arguing or mediate misunderstandings between the TA?</i>		
11) <i>Are there any questions being asked about what is hindering community change?</i>		
12) <i>Is the training about encouraging co-operative or group action?</i>		
13) <i>Does the AEI know how it wants the TA to change before training?</i>		
14) <i>Are the TA members passive recipients?</i>		
15) <i>Is the AEI worker having to convince farmers to adopt practices?</i>		
16) <i>Are the AEIs expecting that the TA will accept and adopt their practice?</i>		

**Section 2: Gender**

**Rules: How things get done**

What is done in the AEI extension process OR in the community farming process?	
How is it done?	
Who is it done by?	
Who will benefit from this activity being done?	

**Activities: What is done?**

Who does what in the AEI extension process OR in the community farming process?	
Who gets what?	
Who can claim what?	

**Resources: What is used, what is produced**

What training materials were being used?	
Who gets access to them?	
What seemed to be the preferred information channel for agricultural information?	

**People: who is in, who is out, who does what?**

Who is allowed/selected to attend/give AEI training?	
Who is excluded from attending/giving AEI training?	
Who is assigned resources, tasks and responsibilities?	
Who is positioned in the hierarchy?	

**Power: Who decides and whose interests are served**

Who decides on the target audience?	
Who decides on the extension worker?	
Who funds the projects?	
Who holds the decision making power?	

**Was there any indication in the AEI or the TA of role allocation, and if so please list below:**

*Examples:*

*Who gives the training?*

*Who decides on the content of the training?*

*Who attends the training?*

*Who does the planting?*

*Who does the harvesting?*

--

**Section 3: Power analysis**

What are some examples of visible, hidden and invisible power that you have seen today?

	Examples	Effect
<b>Hidden</b>		
<b>Visible</b>		
<b>Invisible</b>		

Did any of the power you saw strengthen gender relations or information exchange?	
Did any of the power you saw hinder gender relations or information exchange?	
Did you see any positive results from any of the forms of power you saw?	
Did you see any negative results from any of the forms of power you saw?	

**Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet (will also be available in Shona and Ndebele)**



**Participant Information Sheet**

**Project name:** Understanding the gendered nature of the information exchange processes in agricultural communication services in Zimbabwe

**Investigators:** Ms Luisa Ciampi (PhD Student)

*(Add research assistants in when necessary)*

**Introduction**

I am a PhD student at the University of Reading. As part of my research I am learning about the differences of agricultural training for men and women and hope to make the training more successful.

**What am I being asked to do?**

To do this I am talking to farmers/workers of CTC/MLO/3<sup>rd</sup> NGO to understand the training. Because of your involvement with the organisation noted above, we are very interested in your views. We will have an interview/workshop to ask some questions which will last for an hour. You are an important participant for this study because of your experience of agricultural training.

Your views and opinions are important so please feel free to be honest. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions asked.

**How confidential is the study?**

I will store your name and email address on my personal locked computer so that I can contact you if needed. Your name will not be used in any of my work because each participant will be given an anonymous number and it will not be possible to identify any individuals from their responses.

If you agree, the discussion will be audio recorded, and the anonymised transcripts of the audio/video recordings will be used by the researchers working on the project. The recording will be deleted at the end of the research.

### **Can I withdraw?**

Participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to leave the interview/workshop at any time you want without a reason.

Your contribution can be withdrawn up until the data has been analysed. After this process has taken place it will not be possible to withdraw your contribution from the results of the research. If you wish to withdraw, please contact Luisa Ciampi (details below).

### **Further information about the project?**

If you would like further information about this project, please contact Luisa before June 2021 date.

The findings will be written up into my thesis and published in academic journals. This will not affect your anonymity.

By participating in this interview or workshop, you are acknowledging that you understand the terms and conditions of participation in this study and that you consent to these terms.

This research project has been approved by the ethical clearance bodies of The University of Reading and the Research Council of Zimbabwe, and the research is supported by the University of Zimbabwe and The Women's University in Africa.

Thank you very much for taking time to take part in this study!

Luisa Ciampi

**Email:** [l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

**Phone number: (will insert local number once confirmed)**

School of Agriculture, Policy and Development

Agriculture Building

Earley Gate, Whiteknights Road

PO Box 237

Reading RG6 6AR

United Kingdom

E-Mail: [l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

**Supervisor Contact Details**

Name s.cardey@reading.ac.uk

Phone:

E-Mail: [s.cardey@reading.ac.uk](mailto:s.cardey@reading.ac.uk)

**Appendix 1b: Participant Details Sheet**

Event:

.....

Anon Number: (generated by the research team).....

Date:

.....

Name:

.....

Date of

Birth:.....

Male or

Female:.....

Telephone Number:

.....









# APPENDIX 4: ETHICAL APPROVAL

## Ethical Clearance from the University of Reading

School of Agriculture, Policy and Development

**ETHICAL  
CLEARANCE  
GRANTED**



### Form 2. MSc PhD Staff Ethical Clearance Submission Form

PLEASE allow a minimum of 3 weeks for this process.

You must not begin your research until you have obtained consent as evidenced by this form returned from the APD student Office signed and dated. Ethical Clearance cannot be granted retrospectively.

This form can only be used if the application :

- Does not involve participants who are patients or clients of the health or social services
- Does not involve participants whose capacity to give free and informed consent may be impaired within the meaning of the Mental Capacity Act 2005
- Does not involve patients who are 'vulnerable'
- Does not involve any element of risk to the researchers or participants
- Does not involve any participants who have a special relationship to the researchers/investigators

If any of the above apply, please refer to the APD Ethics Chair to decide whether an application can be made through the APD review process or whether the application needs to be referred to the full University Committee.

It is the applicant's responsibility to check for any particular requirements of a funder regarding ethical review. Some funders may require that the application is reviewed by full University Committee and not the devolved School committee.

Full details of the University Research Ethics procedures are available at <http://www.reading.ac.uk/internal/res/ResearchEthics/reas-REethicshomepage.aspx> and you are encouraged to access these pages for a fuller understanding. Some helpful advice is available on this link <http://www.reading.ac.uk/internal/res/ResearchEthics/reas-REwhatdoIneedtodo.aspx> and the FAQs are particularly relevant.

#### ALL QUESTIONS MUST BE COMPLETED.

APD Ethical Clearance Application Reference Number : [Click here to enter text.](#)

#### 1. APPLICANT DETAILS:

Main applicant name:	Luisa Ciampi
Name of academic supervisor/project investigator:	Dr. Sarah Cardey
Email Address (decision will be emailed here):	<a href="mailto:l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk">l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk</a>
MSc Student	<input type="checkbox"/>
PhD Student	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Staff Member	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<a href="#">Click here to enter text.</a>

#### 2. PROJECT DETAILS:

Title of project: "Understanding the gendered nature of the knowledge transfer processes in agricultural communication services in Zimbabwe: A comparative mapping study of commercial and non-governmental approaches"

Please provide a lay summary of the project, including what is being investigated and why:

In the field of development communication it is widely accepted that, whilst there is innovative thinking around communication strategies, many development communication initiatives are using one of two models (Quarry and Ramirez 2009). They are either using older communication models which concentrate on

'message delivery, informing the population about projects, illustrating the advantage of these projects and recommending that they be supported' (Quarry and Ramirez 2009, pg 19) or participatory models which 'imply the right to participation in the planning and production of media content (Servaes and Malikhao 2005 pg 22). Quarry and Ramirez (2009) argue that development communication is stranded in this polarization, and that there is a need to develop a theoretical framework for an alternative and more holistic approach to development communication. This, coupled with the frequented use of the Gender and Development (GAD) approach which often reflects a highly structural and Westernised view of gender roles and performance (Singh 2007), suggests that there is a need for a conceptual framework which can start to facilitate a fresh approach to designing development communications which can encourage more effective communications and higher levels of gender equity.

By using post development and post structuralist thinking and by encapsulating and translating Queer Theory to a developmental context, this study aims to create such a framework. This conceptual framework will be informed by primary data collection and be designed in such a way that it can be translated into travelling principals and practical application as further work. By also situating this study firmly in the field of development communication, the inherent interdisciplinary nature of this field (Mefalopulos 2008; Wilkins and Mody 2001) will facilitate the ability to use theory from varying academic spheres to enable this study to address the complex and inherently 'messy' areas and issues surrounding this project.

The field of Agricultural development is particularly important in solving the increasing poverty levels in developing countries. This is also a fundamental aspect of the Zimbabwean economy and therefore is the ideal area of development to concentrate on in terms of gathering data around different styles and techniques of development communications in the manner of agricultural extension programmes. The field of agriculture also has an inherent gender dynamic which is important for this study to examine. Because of this, this study will be concentrating on exploring some of the current key methods of agricultural extension in Zimbabwe, comparing the commercial sector to the non-governmental section.

This PhD aims to investigate three key areas which are:

1. How do current development communications in agricultural extension (commercial and non-governmental) in Zimbabwe include gender?
2. What effect does this have?
3. How can we improve the production of development communications in agricultural extension to make them more gender equitable and effective?

The fieldwork element is designed to carry out researching informing these areas engaging with both agricultural institutions and their target audiences, which will ultimately inform the creation of conceptual framework which will help enable the development of gender equitable communications in varying development initiatives.

#### References:

- Mefalopulos, Paolo. 2008. *Development Communication Sourcebook: Broadening the Boundaries of Communication*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Quarry, Wendy, and Ricardo Ramirez. 2009. *Communication for Another Development: Listen before Telling*. London: Zed books.
- Servaes, Jan, and Patchanee Malikhao. 2005. "Communication and Sustainable Development: A History of Communication for Development." In *Communication for Development Roundtable Report, Focus on Sustainable Development*, edited by FAO, 1–96. CDR Report. [https://doi.org/ISBN 0897145232](https://doi.org/ISBN%200897145232).
- Singh, Shweta. 2007. "Deconstructing 'Gender and Development' for 'Identities of Women.'" *International Journal of Social Welfare* 16:100–109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2006.00454.x>.

Wilkins, Karin Gwinn, and Bella Mody. 2001. "Reshaping Development Communication: Developing Communication and Communicating Development." *Communication Theory* 11 (4):385-96.

**Procedure.** Please outline the project's research protocol (what procedures, research methods and analysis methods are being used) :

This fieldwork has been designed using a combination of the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) approaches (Chambers 1994). The difference between these two approaches is that RRA tends to stress the importance of secondary data and sources, observation and verbal interactions; whereas PRA has a distinctive focus on shared visual representations and analysis of local people (Chambers, 1994). This study sits somewhere in the centre of these two processes, using a mixture of the approaches which will be evaluated in depth later on in this section. All the data collected will be qualitative, and therefore will be analysed using discourse analysis.

This fieldwork consists of a four month Trip to Zimbabwe, Harare with the room for an additional one month trip if required. The overall design of this fieldwork has also been carefully considered and created in a way that allows the research to be conducted in an adaptable and reflexive manner (Shipman 1997) so that it can be conducted appropriately for the different contexts it will take place in. This is an important aspect of this fieldwork because this work is exploring potentially sensitive areas such as gender and power meaning that there is a fundamental need to make sure that participants feel as comfortable as possible. This is likely to mean that any research conducted will have to be conducted in a gender sensitive style meaning that there will need to be careful consideration about inputting design mechanisms which can support this. These could include mechanisms such as grouping males and females together to run the group data collection and having research assistants of the same sex of the group available to help conduct the sessions.

Another key element for consideration in the design of the study is that of positionality. Because this data collection is about understanding people's behaviour, it is subject to a number of positionalities which may influence the data generated including both the researchers and the participants. It is impossible to mitigate this limitation entirely, but steps have been taken to limit it as much as possible by allowing the research to be flexible to allow using multiple data collection techniques and having Zimbabwean research assistants who can conduct the work in the most appropriate language if it is not English.

Two locally hired research assistants, one male and one female, from the University of Zimbabwe who are fluent in Shona will support all data collection to ensure that nothing is lost in communications or interpretation, and to ensure that all participants are fully aware of all aspects of this research before agreeing to participate. The research process in country will be supported by the Agricultural Department of University of Zimbabwe and the Women's University of Africa. The Women's University of Africa will provide an in-country supervisor to support the in country research process and ensure that all research is conducted in a culturally sensitive and appropriate manner.

To develop the conceptual framework, the data collection of this study will take place in three smallholder agricultural extension programmes which will be a mixture of commercial non-governmental interventions which will be supported by key informant interviews of surrounding relevant areas. The organisations will include Consolidated Tobacco Processes (CTP), Agricultural Partnerships Trust (APT) and CABI or CARITAS. CTP and APT have provided letter of support which are attached to this application. Key informants will include a number of people associated with the aforementioned organisations, AGRITEX officers which I will access through the Agricultural Department of the University of Zimbabwe, and local experts on gender, communication and agriculture in Zimbabwe which may include current Zimbabwean practitioners and academics.

There are three stages to this field work:

1 The Scoping Stage

The first phase is termed as the scoping stage and is planned for the first three weeks of the visit with the key

aim of gaining an in situ general understanding of what the fields of gender and communication look like in Zimbabwe. The scoping stage has been designed to allow the space for this understanding to take place although this is a process which will continue throughout the entirety of this study. It should be noted that gender analysis is not simply interested in examining what men/women are or do. It examines how the world surrounding us is gendered and how it affects us, our identity, everyday activities as well as all other products of human behaviour. It studies how gender is taken up, regularized, institutionalized, resisted, contested and transformed (Jarviluoma, H., Moisala, P., Vilkkko 2003; pg 6). Because of this complex, multifaceted understanding of gender, I have designed the scoping stage to use a series of different methods which should allow a number of perspectives of communication and gender to be explored. These methods will include observation techniques, reflexive journaling and key informant interviews. The key objectives of this stage are as follows:

Scoping stage objective 1: Set up detailed schedule of fieldwork days and interviews with selected institutions and identify wider key informants

Scoping stage objective 2: Establish a grounded understanding of the current gender and communication situation in Zimbabwe

Scoping stage objective 3: Gain an insight into the agricultural extension programmes on the ground

The next stages are Stages 2 (The Agricultural Extension Institution (AEI) Stage) and Stage 3 (The AEIs associated Target Audience Stage)

Following the scoping stage, the Stages 2 and 3 of the fieldwork will be focusing on understanding how AEI agents construct development communications. The main aims of these stages are:

1. To outline the construction process for the creation of development communications for the selected institutions.
2. To understand how the selected AEIs include their target audiences and consider gender roles.
3. To compare and contrast these practices, particularly focusing on the differences between commercial and on-governmental practices.

These questions will be answered through a combined methods approach using key informant interviews, discourse analysis of AEI material (including deconstructions) and a series of workshops, which will contain a number of participatory techniques. These workshops will be observed, and notes will be taken. Videos and photography will be avoided to limit ethical complications. Locally hired research assistants will help to document these workshops through the use of note-taking templates and audio recording (where possible and agreed by participants). A series of activities (reviewed later on in this section) will be used throughout the workshops which will produce data outputs which will be analysed. Researcher notes will also be taken, using note-taking templates.

The key informant interviews with AEI members, supported by secondary data collected discussed in Section 4.1) should take place before the AEI workshops are run. The point of the key informants is to get a general understanding of each of the selected NGOs overarching context, processes and composition. This is important to try and avoid any difficulties and contentions which may arise in the workshops. This will also be important in informing the actual set up of the workshops with regards to ensuring that the dynamic is correct. This will probably entail aspects such as evaluating the benefits of separating men and women for example. The key informant interviews will run on from the scoping stage and will play a fundamental role in ensuring that the questions posed by the fieldwork are correct.

The main event of both Stage 2 and Stage 3 is the workshops that will take place in both. These workshops have been designed to be similar, and whilst the questions they are asking of the participants vary slightly, they both follow similar methodology. The reasons behind this similarity is that I want the outputs of both to be comparable and translatable. As both groups of participants are intertwined in the development communication production line, there is a need to look at both simultaneously and comparatively. The workshops will be about an hour long and will contain a number of activities which are noted in Table 3.

Both workshops have specifically been coined 'workshops' to try and invoke a mutual power distribution

between the two, and to try and encourage language which treats both groups of participants with equal value. Both workshops will remain fluid and flexible with the ability to react to any issues flagged in the preceding key informant interviews, and the participant's needs and wants. This design is imperative to try and create an open communication space for all involved. It is likely that both groups will have workshops which are gender specific. The reason for this is to help minimise some of the power structures at play. It must be noted that this will not, by any means, mean that all participants will be equal, but every measure possible will be taken to ensure that people have a chance to speak and be heard. It is probable that some of the fieldwork workshops will need translation, so I am planning on having locally hired research assistants for this.

The main aims for the Stage 3 data collection are:

1. To find out what key messages are being received from the development communications given by the relevant AEs, specifically looking at gendered assumptions.
2. To understand the target audience's role in the creation of the development communications is.
3. To understand what information the target audiences require and how they want to receive it.

Just as in the design of the second stage, the initial phase of this will consist of a number of key informant interviews with members of the Target Audiences which will inform the design and execution of the workshops to follow. The point of conducting these initial interviews is not different to the reasons mentioned in the first stage, but will also be important in forming initial rapport, which will be imperative when organising and conducting workshops. Another reason for conducting these individual interviews is that it provides a different dimension of communication – people may behave differently on a one to one basis than they do when in a larger group of people.

The group interrogation of the key research questions will be done through a series of workshops, very similar to those conducted in Stage 2 for the AEs workshops. The key differences between the two sets of workshops are that the target audience ones will include a practical element of designing their own development communication in order to truly get an understanding of what the target audiences wants. These outputs will also provide a comparative output against what AEs are producing and therefore an indication of how aligned the two are.

Aside from these additional participatory exercises, the same considerations and sensitivities for the workshop design will be considered. This will include making sure that the spaces in the workshops are spaces which encourage and allow each actor to express their opinion freely and that they are as accessible to as many actors as possible. This will probably mean that there will be at least 6 workshops for differing groups which will be a similar number for the AEI fieldwork.

The AEI workshops have been designed to include a participant mapping exercise, a group interview, a group deconstruction, a ranking exercise and in the case of the Target Audience workshops, a communication creation. Conducting the workshops will be supported by the research assistants, as will observing and noting them. This approach will allow the research assistants to support me with regards to language and rapport, but also to ensure that data is captured as these workshops will not be video recorded.

The set of activities has been chosen to give the workshops some structure, some comparative elements and outputs as well as to encourage them to be interactive. The idea behind this design is to allow comparison between all groups, which will hopefully not only mean a comparison between the AEI and their target audience, but also between the three different types of AEs and between the male and female groups in both the AEI workshops and the target audience workshops. The gender themes that are likely to emerge in every workshop will be an important component of understanding and highlighting some of the more subtle but broader gender structure in place. If the data be easily compared across all the participants, the common themes will be more easily identifiable.

Each activity will now be reviewed and a working example of what output is envisaged will be presented.



#### 1) Participant Mapping Exercise

Mapping exercises have been used frequently in development PRA approaches and there is varying guidance on executing this activity in the field (Emmel 2008, Preston City Council 2017, FAO and Mekonnen 1991). This tool can be altered to measure varying aspects of community life including mapping land use, tracing social structures and understanding the nature of physical and social space (Dana 2010) and is said to be useful because maps are visual and easy to relate to (Preston City Council 2017). In this study we will be using markers and paper to try and amp the process and interaction between the selected AEI and their selected target audience. These outputs will be important to understand how and when target audiences are engaged.

#### 2) Group Interview

The group interview is a vehicle for facilitating a discussion around the process they produced in the previous stage, questioning the way in which information is disseminated, how problems and solutions are defined and what messages and outcome are expected. Group interviews are a method which capitalises on the communication between the research participants to generate data (Kitzinger 1995). One of the key pros of using this data collection technique is that it encourages people to talk to one another, providing the researcher with an insight into exploring not only what participants think, but also why they think that and how they relate to others (ibid). This aspect of this method will be useful for this study as it will provide insight as how different individuals see and deal with different social norms and communication strategies, and how gender relations are viewed or enacted. Difficulties of conducting group interviews are that they can generate cumbersome and complex data (ibid), the dynamics, power structures and individuals of the group may mean that individuals contributions are limited, overinflated or not true (Shipman 1997), and that communication difficulties could be present (Kitzinger 1995). Each of these constraints have been accounted for and the fieldwork design has tried to combat them by ensuring that individuals have multiple activities which they can engage in to allow as much opportunity for participation as possible and that discussion can take place in whatever language is most comfortable. The need to the group interview in this study is allow space to discuss, as a group, what each group struggles with in terms of communication and access, and where they feel the knowledge gaps are. This is important because there is a need during the deconstruction phase to explore if current extension communications are addressing the key problems that each group feels is key to improving agriculture.

#### 3) Group Deconstruction

The group deconstruction is not a hugely common tool used in PRA approaches, if at all. This is a tool which has been developed within this study following the in depth literature review, and based on the key works of Stuart Hall (1973), Derrida and Bass (1982), Foucault (1986), Saussure (2011) and Butler (1990b) which is essentially a set of questions around the construction of social identities and how communication is a key instrument in this. In practice, this activity will require a few of the current selected AEI's communication tools to be presented to the group, and then discussed using some guiding questions such as what key messages are being received here, what roles are being assigned to genders, where are there gaps in the communication in terms of what information the group would prefer or like to add.

#### 4) Ranking Exercise

Ranking exercises are commonly used in PRA approaches and there are numerous toolkits which are available such as the PRA toolkit by the FAO (FAO and Mekonnen 1991). Whilst in development terms this is often used in terms of ranking wealth and defining poverty levels, this exercise will be used to display and rank a comparative set of alternative communication styles. The styles will include asking the audience to watch or use the following communication types, and then rank and discuss which was their favourite and least favourite and why. Where possible I have included actual communications, which are currently being used within the public domain, but a few of the communication will need to be edited and/or acted out so that

the content of each one is comparable. We will be using the Kurima Mari app (a project currently being implemented by Welt Hunger Hilfe (The Herald 2016), a poster, a sample set of text messages, a radio message (designed using the free scripts available at (Farm Radio 2018), a booklet or leaflet and a mock-up of an actual demonstration of the training given by myself or one of the research assistants. Each of these communication types will be delivering the same small sample of training (such as growing potatoes seeding for example) but each in a slightly different manner. There will be two charger tablets available to the group to see the apps and the text messages.

5) Communication creation

The final exercise of the target audience designing their own development communication is aimed at allowing all members to define the issues important to them and their communities, their proposed solutions and to display how they would like to communicate this to their own communities. The idea behind this is that people will be able to work either individually or as a group to produce what they in in whatever medium they like, producing a rich data which can be analysed and compared to current AEI communications.

A number of these tools are commonly used in PRA approaches and allow participants to use a number of mediums to express their opinions including diagrammatical dimensions which combat verbal and written constraints participants many have in both sets of workshops (Mosse 1994).

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Period over which the data collection is to be undertaken (note: data collection CANNOT commence until ethical approval has been granted as evidenced by this form signed and returned).

Proposed Start Date: 14/06/2018

Proposed End Date: 31/08/2020

### 3. THE RESEARCH:

- a) **Nature and number of participants** who are expected to take part in your survey/focus group. Please estimate if uncertain. As ethical clearance involving minors is more complex because of safeguarding and consent issues, please consider carefully whether you need to involve minors under the age of 16 in your research.

Participants	Number participating
Minors under 16 years of age	<a href="#">Click here to enter text.</a>
Students	<a href="#">Click here to enter text.</a>
Other members of the University	5
Members of the general public	40
Businesses	<a href="#">Click here to enter text.</a>
Government officials	<a href="#">Click here to enter text.</a>
Other <i>If other please specify:</i>	AEI workers - 40

- b) **Funding.** Is the research supported by funding from a research council or other external sources for example a charity or business?

Yes  If yes, please specify funder : [Click here to enter text.](#)  
No

If yes, it is the responsibility of the applicant to check for any particular requirements of the funder regarding ethical review. Some funders may require that the application is reviewed by full University Committee and not the devolved School committee.

- c) **Recruitment.** Please describe recruitment procedures. How have participants been selected? Are there any inclusion/exclusion criteria? Participants must be told on the Participant Information Sheet how and why they have been selected. You should attach any recruitment materials to this application.

The contextual key informants for the scoping study will be selected by networking techniques and will begin with academics in the development field working at the University of Zimbabwe and the Women's University in Africa as well as key actors in the agricultural development area of Zimbabwe. I also plan to interview some of governmental extension officers – AGRITEX offices, whom I will be able to access through the support of the University of Zimbabwe. There is not a formal selection process for key informants in place because of the necessary fluid design of this fieldwork which initially needs a range of perspectives and understanding from a large number of actors to get a broad understanding of gender and communication within the context of Zimbabwe.

The second set of key informants for the AEI element of this study will be chosen from the selected AEI's (see selection criteria below) to get a general understanding of each of the chosen AEI's overarching processes and composition. This is important to gain a broad understanding of each AEI's approach to development communication, but also to identify and then try and avoid any difficulties and contentions which may arise in the workshops by informing the design and set up of the workshops with regards to ensuring that the dynamic is correct. This will probably entail aspects such as evaluating the benefits of separating men and women and finding out when a suitable time and place to conduct the workshops is. The AEI key informant interviews will play a fundamental role in determining that the AEI is correct for this study.

The selection of the AEI's will be based on a number of factors:

1. The physical and practical accessibility

I will select AEIs which are based around Harare. The reasons behind this are that it will be more physically accessible to get to and from the research sites

2. The accessibility of the AEI's target audience

This aspect will be particularly important for Stage 3, and I will choose AEI's that are currently actively implementing a development communication strategy to a community close to Harare – again because of the logistical reasons afore mentioned.

3. The level of the AEI's Target Audience

This study will be focusing small scale agricultural extension interventions so has selected organisations which are implementing such programmes.

4. The type of AEI

This study aims to compare agricultural extension programmes between the commercial sector and the non-governmental sector therefore I will select AEIS which fit into these categories.

5. The type of communication strategy

Communication strategies vary widely between AEIs. In development there are essentially three main categories which are Advocacy change, Social change and Behaviour change. All are linked, but Social change and Behaviour change communication strategies tend to morph into one another at some point. As this study is concentrating on challenging harmful social norms, I will choose communication strategies which focus on Social and Behaviour change.

Stage 2 will involve selecting AEI key informants who are likely to be AEI workers in positions of leadership or program implementation. The workshops will involve selecting a group of people (about 6 – 12 people) who currently work the AEI in question, ideally from different areas of the AEI. I will be aiming to select an even number of both males and females, but this may not be possible.

Stage 3 will involve engaging and working with the selected AEI's target audiences. As noted above, the choice of the target audiences will be based on the choice of AEI's because, as noted above the target audiences will be the ones that the three AEI's are working with. This has been designed like this so that community engagement is relevant, practical and accessible. The access to these communities will depend on the AEI, and any protocol and processes that needs to be followed on the ground will be adhered to. There may be a need to gain council level permissions - the University of Zimbabwe has offered to support me in this process if needed.

Not unlike the Stage 2, Stage 3 will be selecting a number of key informants who have different roles within the community in question. These interviews will be followed by a series of workshops very similar to Stage 2, and again these workshops will comprise of a number of people within that community (about 6 - 12 people), ideally an equal number of males and females.

I will not be including anyone in the key informant interviews or workshops who is under the age of 18.

- d) **Exceptions.** Does the research involve minors, medical patients, individuals with learning difficulties, vulnerable adults, participants recruited through social service departments, or anyone in a special relationship with yourself/data collectors? E.g. Supervisor; lecturer to a group of students; or person in a position of responsibility for participants.

Yes   
 No

If yes, this may result in referral to the University Research Ethics Committee (please note their deadlines). Please provide extra detail here: [Click here to enter text.](#)

- e) **Where is the data collection to be undertaken?** Specify country(ies) and specific location(s) Three AEI's and their associated target audiences around Harare, Zimbabwe

- f) **What forms of data collection does the research involve?**

Group discussion/ workshop   
 Personal interviews   
 Telephone interviews   
 Questionnaire/paper survey   
 Postal survey   
 Email/ online survey

Which software tool will be used, if any? Skype may be used to support any out - of - field data selection

Other (specify): [Click here to enter text.](#)

- g) **Who will undertake the collection and/or analysis of data?**

Myself   
 Other MSc students   
 Other Higher degree students   
 Other contract research and/or academic staff   
 Individuals outside University   
 External organisations

If individuals outside the University and/or external organisations are involved in the collection or analysis of data, give brief details below. Indicate how the ethical procedures and standards of the University will be satisfied: This study will require at least 2 additional research staff who are fluent in both Shona and English – written and spoken and who hold a master's qualification in Agriculture and/or International Development. The University of Zimbabwe has supplied me 2 potential research assistants who meet the criteria above which are likely to be the assistants that I will use. These assistants will likely support me whilst I am conducting research, so I will be implementing all of the ethical clearance procedures myself. I will also ensure that data quality moderation steps are taken in the event that workshops need to be conducted in Shona.

**h) Does the research require participants to consume any food products?**

No   
Yes

If yes, please provide full details and indicate measures in place to ensure excellent food hygiene standards and ensure participant safety. [Click here to enter text.](#)

**i) Do you consider there are any potential ethical issues in this project? Does the research require collection of information that might be considered sensitive in terms of confidentiality, potential to cause personal upset, etc.?**

No   
Yes

If yes, please provide full details and indicate how these issues will be addressed, how researchers will manage participant reaction. Support and de-brief sheets should be attached if relevant. [Click here to enter text.](#)

**j) Will the research involve any element of intentional deception at any stage? (i.e. providing false or misleading information about the study, or omitting information)?**

No   
Yes

If yes, this must be justified here. You should also consider including debriefing materials for participants which outline the nature and justification of the deception used. [Click here to enter text.](#)

**k) Are participants offered a guarantee of anonymity and/or that the information they supply will remain confidential?**

Yes   
No

If yes, give brief details of the procedures to be used to ensure this and particularly if the data has 'linked' or 'keyed' anonymity (eg. where published results are anonymous but participant details are recorded and held separately to the responses but keyed with reference number) : This study will collect names and phone numbers for follow up purposes. However, participants will be allocated numbers which will be keyed to the participants by way of a Participant Details Sheet. The numbers are what will be referred to in the thesis and any publications. The key will be held on my personal laptop which is password protected and will remain in the research team.

**l) Will participants be required to complete a separate consent form? Many APD applications do not require participants to complete a separate consent form. Please see the templates provided.**

Yes. Names, addresses and copies of completed forms will be given to APD student office  
 No. The data collection is anonymous and a combined information/consent sheet supplied

Neither of the above, or the research involves participants under the age of 16  
If 'neither of the above' selected, or the research involves participants under the age of 16, please outline the specific circumstances. [Click here to enter text.](#)

**m) Will participants be offered any form of incentive for undertaking the research?**

No   
Yes

If yes, give brief details, including what will happen to the incentive should the participant later withdraw their input or decide not to proceed :

**4. DATA PROTECTION**

**Data Storage, data protection and confidentiality. Please make sure you are familiar with the University of Reading's guidelines for data protection and information security.**  
<http://www.reading.ac.uk/internal/imps/>

**Please outline plans for the handling of data to ensure data protection and confidentiality.**  
Covering the following issues: Will any personal information be stored? How and where will the data be stored? Who will have access to the data? When will it be deleted?

Before each interview or workshop, every participant will complete a Participant Details Sheet (Annex 4). This sheet will have their unique reference number. I will store the Participant Details Sheet electronically, and destroy any hard copies, keeping the interviewees names and phone numbers so that I can contact them for follow up questions. The name and phone numbers will be linked to their original responses by means of a keyed spreadsheet held separately. This spreadsheet and contact details will be password protected and the password known only to me and my supervisor and will not be shared with any third parties. The spreadsheet will be kept on my password protected laptop and will be destroyed at the end of my degree in July 2021. The interviewees names and phone numbers will not be published as part of my research. All the data will be presented in aggregate format and it will not be possible to identify any individuals from their responses.

The interviews and workshops will be audio recorded if interviewees agree, and the anonymised transcripts of the audio recordings will be used by myself and the research assistants working on the project. Once transcribed the original recording will be deleted. The anonymity will not be compromised as only the reference number on the Participant Information sheet provided will be used to identify the transcript.

Questions on demographic details (for example age and sex) will be asked where it is helpful to analyse data, but again this will be generic, and each participant will be anonymised, so they will not be identifying factors.

**Applicants: Please now scroll to Section 7** to input your :

- Information Sheet(s) for Participants (mandatory)
- Data Collection Tools, for example: recruitment materials, interview/focus group protocols (how you are conducting the process), interview/focus group questions, questionnaires, online survey questions, debriefing and fact sheets
- Consent Forms (optional, may not be necessary if consent assumed in Information Sheet)

If the text boxes do not allow input in the desired format, please append documents separately to the email when sending this form.

**Please then email your completed form (and any separate supporting documents) to your supervisor/project investigator. Project investigators or independent academics may return form directly to [sapdethics@reading.ac.uk](mailto:sapdethics@reading.ac.uk)**

A decision on whether ethical clearance has been granted will be emailed to you via the APD Student Office along with your authorised form.

You may NOT proceed with your data collection until ethical approval has been granted as evidenced by return of this approved form.

**Note: The process of obtaining ethical approval does not include an assessment of the scientific merit of the questionnaire. That is the separate responsibility of your supervisor/project investigator in discussion with yourself.**



## 5. Supervisor/project investigator review. Section to be completed by supervisor/PI where relevant.

Participant information sheet(s), data collection tools and any other supporting information may be pasted in [section 7 below](#). Alternatively they may be attached to this email. Please review these documents and then complete the checklist below.

**Checklist.** Does this application and supporting documents adequately address the following ?

- The safety of the researcher(s) and those collecting data, the safety of the participant(s)
- Is the language /grammar/content appropriate (i.e. University standards and reputation upheld)
- There are no questions that might reasonably be considered impertinent or likely to cause distress to the participants
- The researcher has provided the participant information sheet (mandatory)
- The researcher has provided the questionnaire or survey/ workshop, focus group or interview questions (mandatory)
- The Participant Information Sheet gives sufficient information for the participants to give their INFORMED consent
- A separate consent form has been included (optional)
- Data will be handled, stored and deleted appropriately according to University guidelines, and the participants have been adequately informed about this in the Participant Information Sheet
- The Participant Information Sheet contains all relevant sections
  
- I am satisfied that this application meets the minimum standards for APD Ethical Clearance to be granted

Supervisor/Project Investigator, please forward this form as a WORD document and any separate supporting documents to [sapdethics@reading.ac.uk](mailto:sapdethics@reading.ac.uk). The form will be logged by the student office and allocated to an APD ethics committee reviewer. The APD ethics reviewer will review the application and complete section 6.

## 6. APD ethics committee review. Section to be completed by APD Ethics Committee member.

### Decision

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clearance refused                                | <input type="checkbox"/> Resubmission required                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clearance granted as presented                   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No need to resubmit once amended |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clearance granted subject to revisions suggested | <input type="checkbox"/> May require further information             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Referred to APD Research Ethics Chair            |  |

Ethics Committee Member please enter comments, reasons for rejection, summary of revisions required before proceeding (if applicable):

[Click here to enter text.](#)

Committee Member Name: A.Ainslie

Date Reviewed : 31/07/2018

APD Ethics Committee member electronic signature (For signature, save document as pdf, then open pdf and use 'sign' option. Alternatively check here if no electronic signature used )

**APD Ethics Committee Member : Now please email this completed form (as signed pdf) to [sapdethics@reading.ac.uk](mailto:sapdethics@reading.ac.uk) together with any separate supporting documents .** The student office will record the outcome and return the completed form to the applicant with the decision.

## 7. Supporting Documents.

Please cut and paste the following documents into the text boxes below.

- Participant Information Sheet(s),
- Protocols (the procedures, how you will conduct and administer the data collection, interviews, surveys)
- Data Collection Instruments (interview questions and survey questions)
- Consent Forms (if Participant Information Sheet does not assume consent)
- Recruitment Materials (if relevant)

It is preferable that all information connected to this application is contained in one document. However, if you find that the text boxes below are not adequate, you may attach and email these supporting documents separately.

---

**Supporting Documents for this application are pasted below.** The text boxes cannot accept some types of formatting when pasting in documents. If this is the case, append them separately to the email with this form.

Annex 1: Participant Information Sheet (will also be available in Shona)



### Participant Information Sheet

**Project name:** Understanding the gendered nature of the knowledge transfer processes in agricultural communication services in Zimbabwe

**Investigators:** Ms Luisa Ciampi (PhD Student)  
(Add research assistants in when necessary)

#### Introduction

I am a PhD student at the University of Reading. As part of my research I am learning about the differences of agricultural training for men and women, and hope to make the training more successful.

#### What am I being asked to do?

To do this I am talking to farmers/workers of CTP/APT/CARITAS to understand the training. Because of your involvement with the organisation noted above we are very interested in your views. We will have an interview/workshop to ask some questions which will last for an hour. You are an important participant for this study because of your experience of agricultural training.

Your views and opinions are important so please feel free to be honest. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions asked.

#### How confidential is the study?

I will store your name and email address on my personal locked computer so that I can contact you if needed. Your name will not be used in any of my work because each participant will be given a number and it will not be possible to identify any individuals from their responses.

The discussion will be audio recorded if you agree, and the anonymised transcripts of the audio/video recordings will be used by the students/researchers working on the project. The recording will be deleted at the end of the research.

**Can I withdraw?**

Participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to leave the interview/workshop at any time you want without a reason.

Your contribution can be withdrawn up until the data has been analysed. After this process has taken place it will not be possible to withdraw your contribution from the results of the research. If you wish to withdraw, please contact Luisa Ciampi (details below)

**Further information about the project?**

If you would like further information about this project please contact Luisa before June 2021 date.

The findings will be written up into my thesis and published in academic journals. This will not affect your anonymity.

By participating in this interview or workshop, you are acknowledging that you understand the terms and conditions of participation in this study and that you consent to these terms.

This research project has been approved by the ethical clearance bodies of The University of Reading and the Research Council of Zimbabwe, and the research is supported by the University of Zimbabwe and The Women's University in Africa.

Thank you very much for taking time to take part in this study!

Luisa Ciampi

**Email:** [l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

**Phone number:** (will insert local number once confirmed)

School of Agriculture, Policy and Development

Agriculture Building

Earley Gate, Whiteknights Road

PO Box 237

Reading RG6 6AR

United Kingdom

E-Mail: [l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:l.ciampi@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

**Supervisor Contact Details**

Name [s.cardey@reading.ac.uk](mailto:s.cardey@reading.ac.uk)

Phone:

E-Mail: [s.cardey@reading.ac.uk](mailto:s.cardey@reading.ac.uk)

## Annex 2: Research Protocol

The data collection for this study will primarily consist of key informant interviews and group workshops. All key informant interviews will be audio recorded, transcribed, anonymised and stored securely. All workshops conducted will be observed and notes will be taken which will be anonymised and stored securely. Each interviewee and workshop participant will be given a participant information sheet (Annex 1) which detail the aims of the study explains that their participation in the study means they understand the term and the protocol. The protocol is that I will store the interviewees names and phone numbers so that I can contact them for follow up questions. The name and phone number will be linked to their original responses by which will be allocated a reference number on the Participant information sheet and will be stored by means of a keyed spreadsheet held separately. This spreadsheet and contact details will be password protected and the password known only to me and my supervisor, and will not be shared with any third parties. The spreadsheet will be kept on my password protected laptop and will be destroyed after the end of my degree in July 2021. The interviewees names and phone numbers will not be published as part of my research. All the data will be presented in an aggregate format it will not be possible to identify any individuals from their responses.

Participants will be made aware that they are able to withdraw if they wish.

All the data that I will collect will be stored securely electronically on a password-protected computer or in hard copy version in a locked cupboard. The data will be destroyed at the end of the research project no later than 01/01/2022 date.

Annex 3: Data Collection tools (will also be translated and executed in Shona if needed)

Draft key informant interview questions:

The following draft interview questions will also be available in Shona:

**Key Informant Interview Questions : AEI informants**

	Question	Research Question Area
<b>Section A:</b>		
<i>General interviewee information</i>	1. What is your name	Establish contextual understanding and highlight any potential bias. <i>Imperative as being critical of bias a positionality if fundamental for this study.</i>
	2. Please describe your professional background	
	3. How long have you lived/worked in Zimbabwe for?	
<b>Section B:</b>		
<i>AEI Development programmes</i>	4. Please describe what type of development work the AEI that you are currently working for does?	Gain a clear understanding of the aims, drivers and operations of the AEI in question and establish if there are any general concerns or compliments about AEI work. <i>Imperative to gain a deep understanding of each AEI and highlight any external drivers for programme design and outcome. These key informant interviews will inform the creation of the AEI workshops.</i>
	5. Please can you give me some examples of development projects that your AEI is currently implementing in Zimbabwe particularly around Harare.	
	6. Do you believe they are effective?	
	7. If so, why?	
	8. Do you believe that there are way AEI's could be more effective in Zimbabwe? How?	
	9. Where does your AEI mainly get funding from? Are you expected to produce results for your funders?	
	10. What is your general view of other AEI development programmes currently occurring in Zimbabwe?	
<b>Section C:</b>		
<i>Communication</i>	15. Does your AEI have a formal communication strategy or approach when implementing development projects?	Establish a broad understanding of the communication strategy that AEI's are using <i>Important to have a broader understanding of this to a) see if the AEI is suitable for deeper fieldwork b) for designing the 2nd and third phase of the fieldwork</i>
	16. What language (s) does most of your development interventions and publications take place in?	
	17. Do you use local members of the community, your local AEI members or international AEI members to facilitate any of the development work you do?	
	18. What do you believe is the primary way that Zimbabweans access the information your AEI projects produce? (Personal communications and formal information)	

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	19. Do you believe that the current infrastructure in Zimbabwe supports these ways of accessing information?	
<b>Section D:</b>		
<i>Gender</i>	20. What do you understand by 'gender'?	Establish a grounded understanding of the current attitudes and understandings of gender and gender roles within the AEI and start to explore how these are dealt with in development project design <i>This section may be tweaked after the Wider context informants, but this is important to understand before designing the next phases of the fieldwork and to start to understand how this is constructed in Zimbabwean AEIs and their work</i>
	21. Please can you describe how you think gender is generally understood within the AEI and Zimbabwe?	
	22. Please can you describe what you believe are the 'social norms' of gender relations in Zimbabwe.	
	25. Do you feel that your AEI takes gender and gender relations into consideration during the design and execution of development programmes?	
	26. If so - how - could you provide an example?	
<b>Section E:</b>		
<i>AEI's, gender and communications</i>	27. Do you feel that your AEI communication approach includes and acknowledges gender and gender relations?	To establish a more holistic view of the three main concepts and work out the relations between them within the AEI
	28. If so could you give me an example of this?	
	29. Do you feel that other AEI's include gender in their communication strategies?	
	22. Do you believe that AEI's take gender into consideration when implementing programmes?	

**Key Informant Interview Questions : Target Audience informants**

	Question	Research Question Area
<b>Section A:</b>		
<i>General interviewee information</i>	1. What is your name	Establish contextual understanding and highlight any potential bias. <i>Imperative as being critical of bias a positionality if fundamental for this study.</i>
	2. Please describe your relation to the selected Target Audience	
	3. How long have you lived/worked in Zimbabwe for?	
<b>Section B:</b>		
<i>AEI Development programmes</i>	4. Please describe what type of development work the AEI is currently working in this community is doing	Gain a clear understanding of the view of AEIs from the target audience that AEI's are working with and to question and establish if there are any general concerns or compliments about AEI work. <i>Imperative to gain a deep understanding of each Selected Target Audience and highlight any broader issues/ positives of AEI programmes from the Target Audience group. These key informant interviews will</i>
	5. Please describe what activities you are asked to participate in by the AEI	
	6. Have you seen any changes in your community because of this AEI work? If so what have they been?	
	7. Do you think that the AEI has been helpful and positive to your community?	
	8. Do you believe that there are way AEI's could be more effective in Zimbabwe? How?	
	9. Does your community have access to the results of the AEI's projects at the end of them?	

	10. What is your general view of other AEI development programmes currently occurring in Zimbabwe?	<i>inform the creation of the target audience workshop.</i>
<b>Section C:</b>		
<i>Communication</i>	11. What language (s) does most of the AEI workers use and what language is most of the activities they have in?	Establish a broad understanding of how the AEI's are providing information, how effective it is, and if it correlates with how people access information more generally
	12. Are any local members of the community involved with helping the AEI's with designing and facilitating their exercises or training?	
	13. What is the primary way that you, and then wider Zimbabweans access the information your AEI projects produce? (Personal communications and formal information)	
	14. What is the main way that you and the wider community access general information?	
<b>Section D:</b>		
<i>Gender</i>	15. What do you understand by 'gender'?	Establish a grounded understanding of the current attitudes and understandings of gender and gender roles within the Target Audience and start to explore if this understanding changes in different place and where problems may lie <i>This is important to understand before designing the next phases of the fieldwork and to start to understand how this is constructed in Zimbabwean public and their work</i>
	16. Please can you describe how you think gender is generally understood within the AEI and Zimbabwe?	
	17. Please can you describe what you believe are the 'social norms' of gender relations in Zimbabwe.	
	18. Do you feel that the AEI working here takes gender and gender relations into consideration during the design and execution of development programmes?	
	19. If so - how - could you provide an example?	
<b>Section E:</b>		
<i>AEI's, gender and communications</i>	27. Do you feel that the information you receive from the AEI includes and acknowledges gender and gender relations?	To establish a more holistic view of the three main concepts and work out the relations between them
	28. If so could you give me an example of this?	
	29. Do you feel that gender relations and roles play an important part in Zimbabwean society?	
	22. Do you believe that AEI's take gender into consideration when implementing programmes?	



#### Annex 4: Participant Details Sheet

Before each workshop or interview, every participant will be asked to complete the following basic Participant Details sheet which will contain the anonymous reference number:

Participant Details Sheet:

Date:

Name:

Date of Birth:

Male or Female

Telephone Number:

The workshops will consist of a number of activities which will include group discussions around development communications such as posters which have been made available to the public by AEF's or development interventions. They will involve a ranking exercise of different development communication from highest to lowest and an exercise on drawing maps of communication flows. They will also involve asking participants to create their own development communication which could be in the form of a poster or a performance for example.

The group discussion questions will be around the following areas:

- Understanding the processes in which NGO's create and disseminate development communications
- Understanding what gender tools are used in this process
- Understanding how the target audience is involved in this process
- Understanding how the target audience receives these communications
- Understanding how they understand the content of the messages the communications contains
- Finding out how target audiences would like to receive information, and what they would like information on.

# Ethical Clearance from the Zimbabwe Research Council

## RESEARCH COUNCIL OF ZIMBABWE



Leadership, Innovation and Development

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REF SC/9

02 November 2018

**The Vice Chancellor**  
Women's University in Africa  
549 Arcturus Road  
Manresa  
Harare

Dear Madam

**Application for Registration: Understanding the Gendered Nature of the Knowledge Transfer Process in Agricultural Communication Services in Zimbabwe: a Comparative Mapping Study of Commercial and Non-Governmental Approaches: Ms Luisa Ciampi**

The above mentioned application was considered by the Research Council of Zimbabwe (RCZ) and it was approved.

Please find attached the research registration certificate (number 03410) for Ms Luisa Ciampi.

Yours faithfully,

**For Executive Director**

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*Board Members:* Dr. M. J. Tumbare (*Chairman*), Prof. I. Sithole-Niang (*Vice Chairperson*), Mrs. D.M. Chasi, Mr. S. C. Chigwamba, Ms. M. Chitewo, Prof. H. Chimhundu, Dr. D. Garwe, Mrs. J. Gombe, Mr. D. E. H. Murangari, Mr. S. Nyarota, Mr. C.A. Samkange, Prof. S. Sibanda.  
*Executive Director:* Mrs. S. Muzite



## APPENDIX 5: DATA COLLECTION TIMELINE

A timeline of the fieldwork activities is shown below:

	Jun-18		Nov-18		Dec-19				Jan-19				Feb-19		
	4	2	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	
<b>Scoping visit to Zimbabwe (1 week)</b>															
Country shut down															
Christmas break															
Research assistant training															
Wider KI interviews															
<b>Case Study 1: Commercial Tobacco Company (CTC)</b>															
CTC Field Observation															
CPC AEI Key Informant Interviews															
CTC AEI Workshops 1 and 2															
CTC TA Key Informant Interviews															
CTC TA Workshops 1 and 2															
<b>Case Study 2: Market Linkage Organisation (MLO)</b>															
MLO Field Observation															
MLO AEI Key Informant Interviews															
MLO AEI Workshops 1 and 2															
MLO TA Key Informant Interviews															
MLO TA Workshops 1 and 2															
<b>Case Study 3: Community Development Organisation (CDO)</b>															
CDO Field Observation															
CDO AEI Key Informant Interviews															
CDO AEI Workshop 1 and 2 <b>(Did not happen)</b>															
CDO TA Key Informant interviews															
CDO TA Workshop 1 and 2															
<b>Non- associated farmers</b>															
Farmer Key Informant Interviews															
AGRITEX Key Informant Interviews															

## **APPENDIX 6: THE ANALYSIS CODING STRUCTURE**

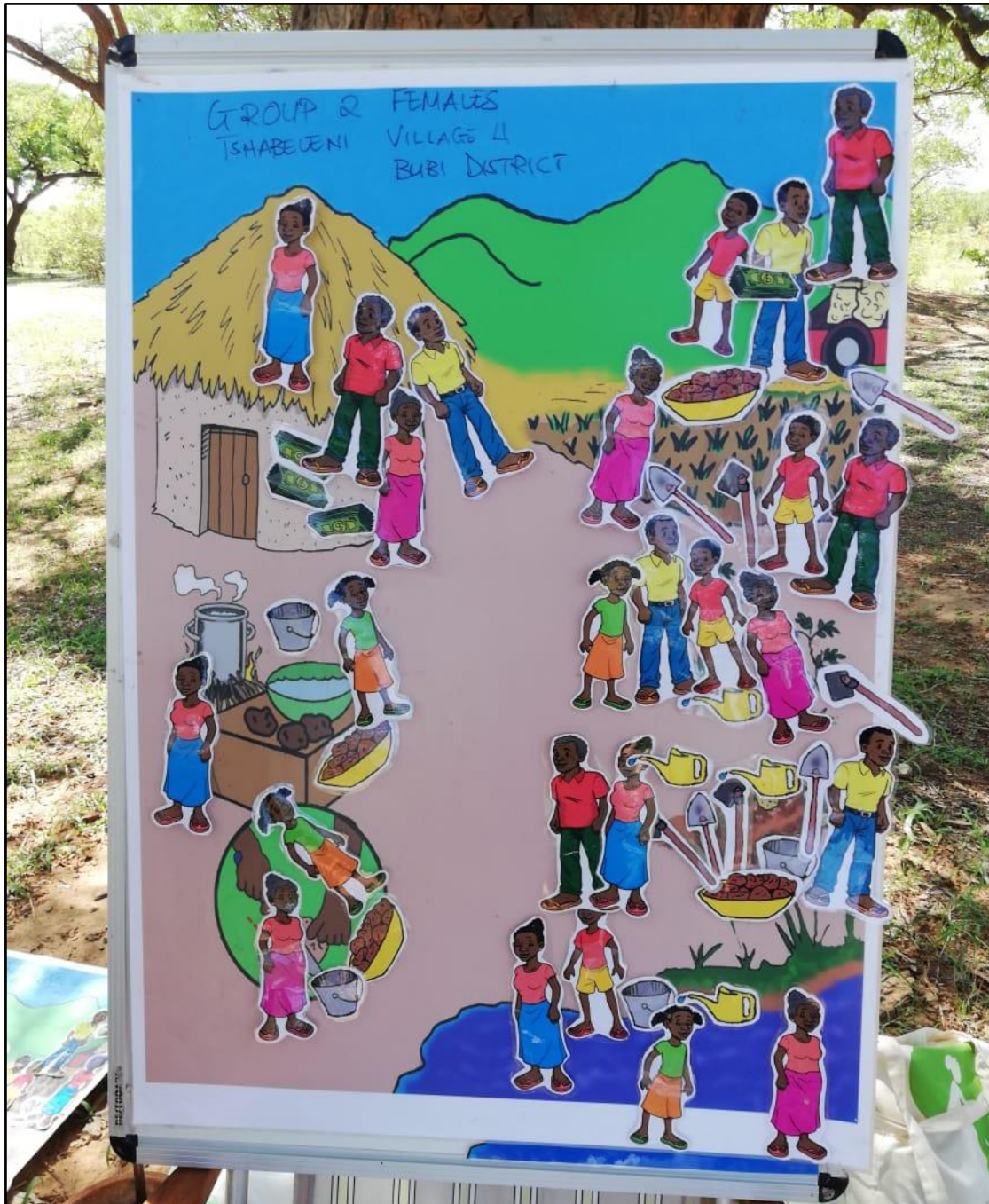
<b>Name</b>	<b>Description</b>
Activities what	What activities are being done
Activities who	Who is involved in the activities
AEI promotion	How AEI attract/recruit farmers
AEI result	Any impacts of the AEI activities/interventions/trainings
Overcoming gender barriers	Any impacts of AEI interventions dealing specifically with gender barriers
AEI set up	Organisation structure and function - part of the organisational structure
Age	Any themes around age differences within the TAs
Conflict	Any form of conflict or harmony identified
Gender	Any gendered aspects (both male or female)
Information channels	Information channels refer to any mechanism that transfer agricultural information.
Information sources	Information sources refer to any agriculture source of information
Link	Key links between different structural layers or AEI types
AGRITEX	Links with the national extension service
Contract farming	Links with contract farming
NGOs	Links with NGO's
Livelihood	Livelihood refers to how the target audience makes a living or key livelihood activities noted.
Noise	Any barrier to communication
Point of interest	Any item of specific interest
Power	Any power reference
Leadership position	Any interviewee holding a leadership position
Power Over	Any sign of exertion of power
Power to	Any sign of ability
Power with	Any sign of power from working together
Power within	Any sign of agency
Recruitment	How AEI workers are recruited
Roles	Who is expected to do what - usually in relations to gender
Selection criteria	Selection criteria of farmers to access training
Sustainability	Anything relating to the longevity of the interventions
Trainer preference	Refers to any reference to what AEI trainer is preferred or if there is no preference.
Should it be mixed?	Any reference to the training being both male and female together
Training improvements and challenges	This refers to any suggested improvements to the AEI training that the TA mentions. Sub nodes include information improvement, sustainability, economic/outside improvements. I have also used this to code wider development improvements/challenges faced
Training techniques	Training techniques refers to any training structures or design used by the AEI. This is based on the communication framework, but will often be co-coded with information channels.
AEI role	The role of the AEI in terms of information delivery and relation with the TA members
Intervention goal	Overarching aim of the AEI information provision
Key processes	Similar to key activities

TA role	The role of the TA members in terms of receiving information and relation with the AEI workers
Wider Structures	Links to Structural level issues/aspects

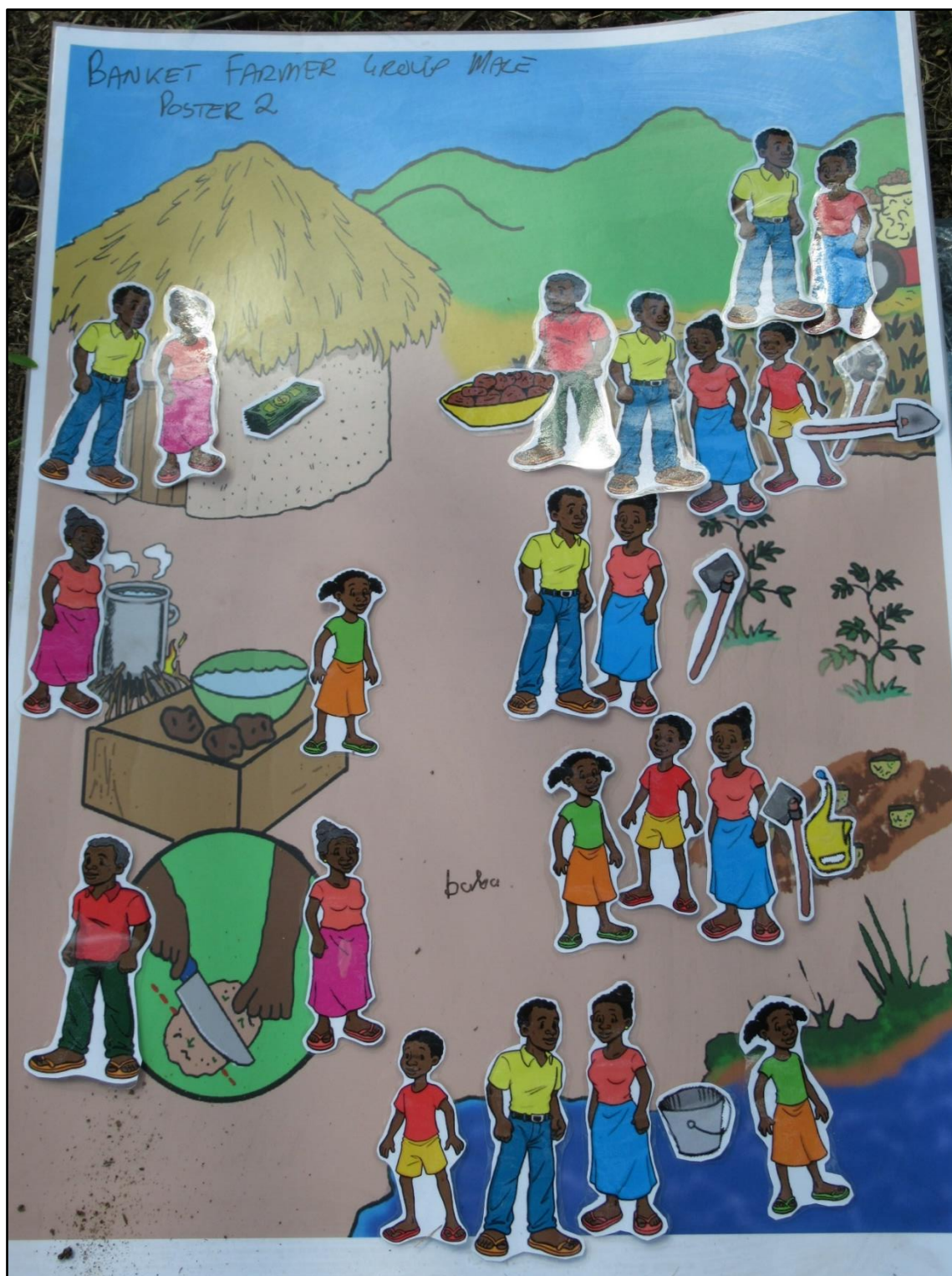
## **APPENDIX 7: WORKSHOP OUTPUT EXAMPLES**

The full workshop data set is available upon request, but this Appendix provides some examples of the two main workshop outputs.

### **Gender agricultural role allocation example (1 male and 1 female farmer poster)**



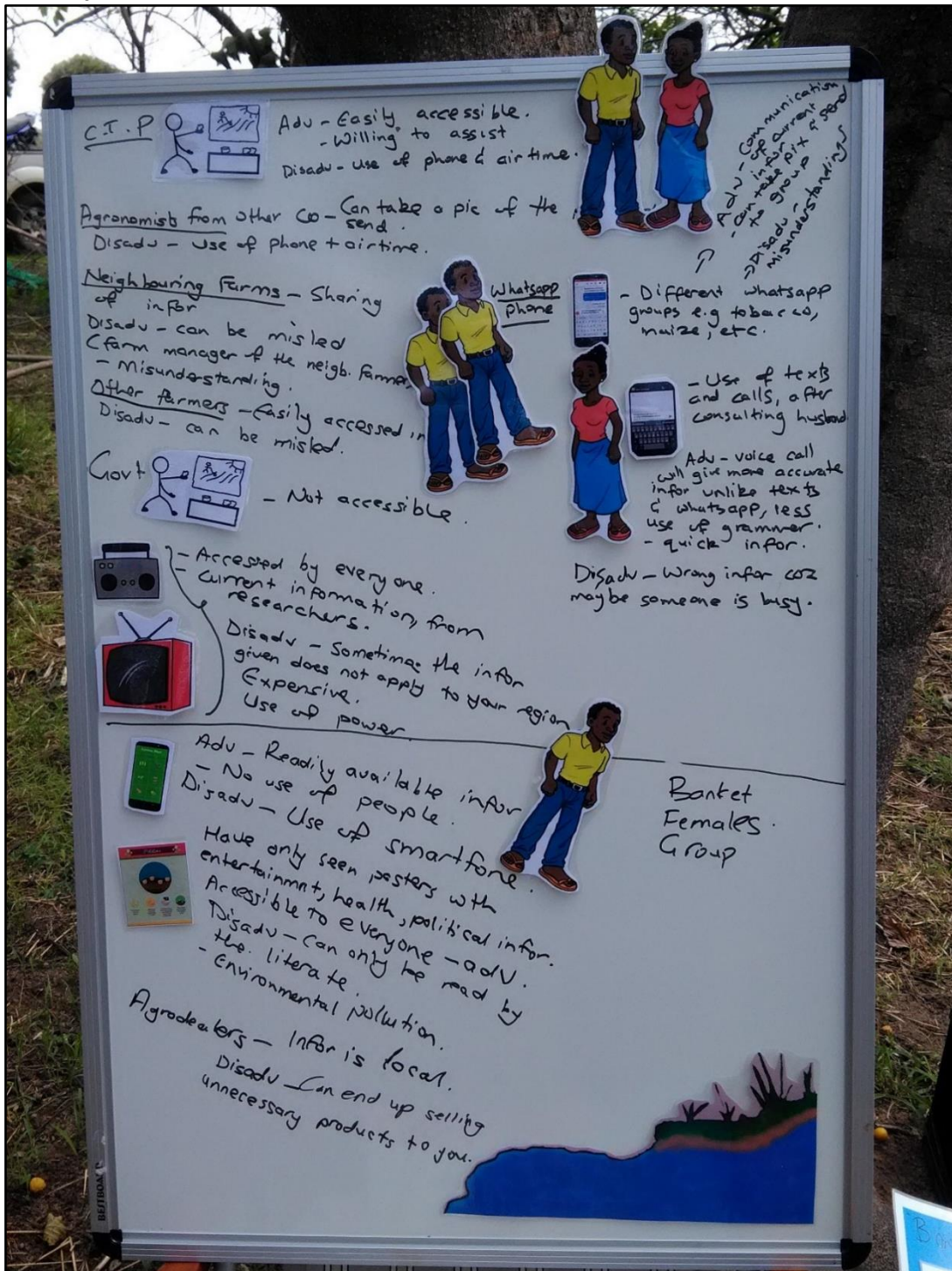
EXAMPLE OF MLO FEMALE FARMER AGRICULTURAL ROLE ALLOCATION POSTER WORKSHOP OUTPUT



EXAMPLE OF CTC MALE FARMER AGRICULTURAL ROLE ALLOCATION POSTER WORKSHOP OUTPUT



**Media discussion example (1 male and 1 female farmer discussion board)**



EXAMPLE OF CTC FEMALE FARMER DISCUSSION BOARD AS A WORKSHOP OUTPUT

able bodied male/female but mostly male

Area  
 → Extension worker → Visit  
 → OR another extension worker → Call  
 → WhatsApp  
 → Text

→ No preference btwn male and female FW.  
 adv → FW always happy to serve the community.

Neighbour  
 → Able bodied male/female visit neighbour and consult  
 adv → no cost  
 disad → may lie because of jealous

Extension office  
 → Able bodied male visit extension offices.  
 adv → Always find someone to help.  
 disad → costly

Books  
 → Success in Agriculture.  
 → boy and girl more likely to have books.  
 adv → Trusted and verified information.  
 disad → may not understand the concepts.

The elderly as well as able bodied male/female listens.  
 → In dzeverimi, gives opportunity for farmers to call.  
 adv → Experts will be available to give information that will benefit even people in other areas.  
 disad → may miss the program.

EcoFAAMA (text)  
 → The able bodied can use this platform  
 adv → instant reply  
 disad → subscriptions.

→ All members watch  
 adv → visually  
 disad → one way.

→ posters can be read by anyone  
 adv → visually

→ Able bodied  
 adv → Faster  
 disad → requires a smartphone which can be expensive.

EXAMPLE OF CDO MALE FARMER DISCUSSION BOARD AS A WORKSHOP OUTPUT

## APPENDIX 8: PROS AND COS OF QDAS

Pros of using QDAS	Concerns of using QDAS:
<p><i>QDAS's ability for different data awareness</i></p> <p>Some argue that QDAS enables researchers to have both the closeness and distance required for full analysis (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013).</p>	<p><i>QDAS's distance researchers from their data</i></p> <p>Others argue that QDAS causes loss of context (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013) and can limit the researchers ability to see the larger picture (Gilbert, 2011), however</p>
<p><i>Coding</i></p> <p>QDAS's have developed functions such as linking, modelling and memoing to facilitate the user with a balance between coding and reflection processes (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). It is noted that using a computer helps researchers work more methodically, thoroughly and attentively</p>	<p><i>Coding</i></p> <p>There are some concerns that the coding process provided by QDAS encourages users to use this as the only analysis activity which can result in simply stating the data themes (Richards, 2002).</p>
<p><i>Automation</i></p> <p>The software reduces a number of manual tasks and the researcher more time to recognise themes, discover tendencies and draw conclusions (AlYahmady and Alabri, 2013). It also supports the management of data such as interview transcripts, surveys, observations notes and published documents (ibid).</p>	<p><i>Automation</i></p> <p>There some concerns that QDAS might allow the computer to control and take decisions in the analysis process through automation (ibid). However, the limited functions that do this within QDAS are not to be used as substitutes to the manual process (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013).</p>
<p><i>QDAS doesn't do the research – it supports the research</i></p> <p>Qualitative analysis processes are shaped by the nature of the research questions, philosophical viewpoints and the methodological approaches taken. This means that researchers must ensure that their data analysis method fits with their study structure and therefore, how best to use any QDAS (Bazeley &amp; Jackson, 2013). It also supports managing ideas and query data as part of the ongoing enquiry process (AlYahmady and Alabri, 2013).</p>	<p><i>Oversimplification and homogenization of the qualitative data analysis process</i></p> <p>QDAS can sometimes been seen as software that has 'its own method' (Bazeley &amp; Jackson, 2013 p. 10), but it is well recognised that research is shaped and managed by the researcher and that # oversimplification happens whether QDAS is being used or not (ibid).</p>

## **APPENDIX 9: LIST OF INFORMATION SOURCES**

Source	Definition	Group allocation	Website
Agritrade	Links small scale farmers to affordable inputs	Other commercial company	<a href="http://agritradeleaf.co.zw/">http://agritradeleaf.co.zw/</a>
Kutsaga	Mandate is to direct, control and conduct tobacco research in Zimbabwe	Research institute	<a href="https://www.zimyellowpage.com/listings/tobacco-processing/tobacco-research-board">https://www.zimyellowpage.com/listings/tobacco-processing/tobacco-research-board</a>
MTC (Mashonaland Tobacco Company)	Part of a commercial tobacco company called Alliance One	Other commercial company	<a href="http://www.aointl.com/">http://www.aointl.com/</a>
ZLT (Zimbabwe Leaf Tobacco)	Contract tobacco company	Other commercial company	<a href="http://www.universalcorp.com/Africa/Zimbabwe">http://www.universalcorp.com/Africa/Zimbabwe</a>
Aqua Tobacco Zimbabwe	Contract Tobacco company	Other commercial company	<a href="http://www.atz.co.zw/">http://www.atz.co.zw/</a>
Progressive	Limited details	Other commercial company	none
TTC Training centre	Limited details	Research institute	none
K2 (Klien Karoo)	Seed Producer	Fertilizer company	<a href="https://www.seedproduction.co.za/">https://www.seedproduction.co.za/</a>
National tested seed	Farmshop and seed suppliers, contract farm equipment hire	Fertilizer company	<a href="http://www.natseeds.co.zw/">http://www.natseeds.co.zw/</a>
Emthanjeni Women's Forum	Gender based violence prevention network	NGO	<a href="http://preventgbvafrica.org/member/emthonjeni-womens-forum/">http://preventgbvafrica.org/member/emthonjeni-womens-forum/</a>

HOCCIC (Hope for a Child in Christ)	Implementing livelihoods, child protection and empowerment programs for vulnerable communities	NGO	<a href="https://www.hocic.org.zw/about-us/">https://www.hocic.org.zw/about-us/</a>
SEEDCO	Develops and sells crop seeds	Fertilizer company	<a href="http://www.seedcogroup.com/zw/">http://www.seedcogroup.com/zw/</a>
Superphate	Limited details	Fertilizer company	none
World vision	Previously ran community development in the Bubi district	NGO	<a href="https://www.wvi.org/zimbabwe/our-work">https://www.wvi.org/zimbabwe/our-work</a>
Windmill	Private fertiliser producer	Fertilizer company	<a href="http://www.windmill.co.zw/Home/About">http://www.windmill.co.zw/Home/About</a>
Better Agriculture	Contracts small-holder farmers in the production of chillies	Other commercial company	<a href="http://www.aiz.co.zw/">http://www.aiz.co.zw/</a>
UNICEFF	Runs multiple programmes throughout the country on varying aspects of community development	NGO	<a href="https://www.unicef.org/zimbabwe/">https://www.unicef.org/zimbabwe/</a>
ORAP (Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress)	Runs community projects on nutrition, wellness, education and enterprise	NGO	<a href="https://orapzenzele.org/">https://orapzenzele.org/</a>
GOAL	Previously delivered programmes food security and livelihoods	NGO	<a href="https://www.goalglobal.org/countries/zimbabwe">https://www.goalglobal.org/countries/zimbabwe</a>
OJ (Operation Joseph programme)	Project implemented by Christian Care in 1985 to improve household food security in resettlement areas	NGO	<a href="https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/6943.pdf">https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/6943.pdf</a> (P. 48)