

Assessing the Impact of IFPRI's Intra-Household Research Program, 1995-2000, on the Field Practice of INGOs

Final Technical Report

2nd DRAFT

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Acknowledgements

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Contributions of each team member were as follows.

Kristi conceptualized the approach for surveying gender experts in donor HQ, assembled and reviewed a collection of gender policy documents of DAC donors, developed an initial list of persons to be contacted for interview, coordinated the interview process and conducted a subset of the interviews, prepared a draft report for the working paper on the results of the review of gender policies of DAC donors, contributed to the design of the in-country surveys, compiled a bibliography of INGO guidance documents on gender, and contributed to the critical junctures timeline.

Sabrina facilitated contacts with gender experts of DAC donors in Europe, conducted a subset of the gender expert interviews, identified and interviewed other key European-based informants in OECD, UN agencies and civil society, contributed to the draft report for the working paper on the results of the review of gender policies of DAC donors, contributed to the design of the in-country surveys, conducted field interviews with donor and INGO staff in Burkina Faso, and contributed detailed interview notes and reflections for the working paper on results of the in-country survey of INGOs and donor field staff.

Darren reviewed selected guidance documents of INGOs and interviewed some of their HQ staff, contributed to the design of the in-country surveys, conducted field interviews with donor and INGO staff in Mozambique and Rwanda, and contributed detailed interview notes and reflections for the draft working paper on results of the in-country survey of INGOs and donor field staff.

Elizabeth assisted in assembling the gender policy documents, conducted a key word search that led to the modification of the methodological approach, and compiled a database which consolidated the results of the qualitative documentary review and interviews. She also analyzed the themes addressed by the intra-HH program research, coordinated the compilation of the professional profiles of the program contributors, conducted a citations analysis for their peer-reviewed articles, and prepared background notes on the evolution of development cooperation policies of DAC donors. Finally, she provided the operational link between TANGO HQ and the other team members, all of whom were located elsewhere.

Barbara coordinated the work; analyzed the implications of the themes analysis and the profiles and movements of program contributors; conducted the discussions with core contributors and IFPRI staff; compiled the critical junctures timeline; conceptualized and implemented a method for randomly selecting study countries and in-country interviewees; prepared background notes on the countries to be visited, the INGOs to be interviewed, and the field programs to be reviewed; led the design of the in-

country surveys; conducted field interviews with donor and INGO staff in Nepal, contributed detailed interview notes and reflections for the draft report on results of the in-country survey of INGOs and donor field staff; and prepared the interim reports, final, edited versions of the working papers and final technical report, based on contributions, comments and suggestions from all team members.

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Barbara Huddleston
Study Team Leader and Principal Investigator
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Acronyms

A4NH	Agriculture for Nutrition and Health (CGIAR Research Program)
AFSI	L'Aquila Food Security Initiative
AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
A-S-R	Agency-Structure-Relations (CARE framework for women's empowerment)
BMGF	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
CAPRI	Collective Action and Property Rights
CBOs	Community-based organizations
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CLTS	Community-led Total Sanitation
CLUSA	Cooperative League of the USA
CRS	Creditor Reporting System (OECD)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DG	Director General
DHS	Demographic and health surveys
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FCND	Food Consumption and Nutrition Division (IFPRI)
GAAP	Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project
GAFSP	Global Agriculture and Food Security Program
GALS	Gender Action Learning System
GBV	Gender-based violence
GESI	Gender and social inclusion
HH	Household
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HKI	Helen Keller International
HOPEM	Men for Change Network, Mozambique
HQ	Headquarters
ICIMOD	International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development
ICN	International Conference on Nutrition
IDRC	International Development Research Centre (Ottawa)
IDS	Institute of Development Studies (Sussex)
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISPC	Independent Science and Partnership Council (CGIAR)
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency

LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Studies
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDGS	Millennium Development Goals
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
RQ	Research Question
RWAMREC	Rwandan Men's Resource Center
SDGS	Sustainable Development Goals
SOFA	State of Food and Agriculture (FAO)
SPIA	Standing Panel on Impact Assessment of the CGIAR
TOPS	Technical and Operational Performance Support Program (USAID)
UN	United Nations
UNCED	UN Conference on the Environment and Development
US	United States
USAID	US Agency for International Development
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Association
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Health
WDR	World Development Report
WEAI	Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index
WID	USAID Office of Women in Development
WFP	World Food Program

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INTRODUCTION

About the Study

In 1995 the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) received a 5-year grant from the Office of Women in Development (WID) in the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The grant, entitled *Strengthening Development Policy through Gender Analysis: An Integrated Multi-Country Research Program*, funded a series of case studies on intra-household decision-making and resource allocation which came to be known collectively as the Intra-Household Research Program (intra-HH program). In October 2015, the Standing Panel on Impact Assessment (SPIA) of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) awarded a grant to TANGO International for an assessment of the long-term impact of the intra-HH program. The grant was one of several awarded by SPIA for studies demonstrating widespread impact of CGIAR research.

This paper reports on the findings of the TANGO assessment. The main purpose of the study was to ascertain whether the core message of the intra-HH program had made its way to the field, either directly or indirectly, and if so, to what extent it was being put to practical use by international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Other purposes included documenting the processes by which the IFPRI messages were diffused, assessing the extent to which the messages were picked up by donors and international agencies in a position to influence how these messages were applied in the field, and identifying factors other than the IFPRI research that might have influenced INGO practice.

Overall Goals and Research Questions

The study design underwent several changes in order to take account of preliminary findings as the work proceeded. These changes and justifications for them are described in a status report dated November 15, 2016 (TANGO, November 2016). The study's goals and research questions, as formulated in the status report, are the following:

Goal One

Assess the impact of IFPRI's research on intra-household decision-making processes on the field practices of INGOs

Research Questions 1, 2, 3 and 4

1. What were the critical junctures when IFPRI's research entered mainstream dialogue on women in agriculture?
2. To what extent have donors and INGO implementing partners internalized messages reflecting the research results and to what extent are they attempting to act on these messages?
3. What were the processes by which results of IFPRI's research were diffused?
4. What influence did the key IFPRI messages have on donors and INGOS within the context of other factors influencing current approaches to gender being applied in the field?

Goal Two

Elaborate a non-linear model of diffusion and uptake processes for IFPRI's intra-household research findings, with possibilities for more general use in impact assessments of policy research

Research Question 5

5. Can an understanding of the diffusion and uptake processes for IFPRI's intra-household research program provide the basis for developing a more generalized model for use in assessing the impact of policy research?

Conduct of the Study

The original study design called for implementation of six tasks, and set out a methodology for carrying out each of them. These tasks, and the associated methodologies, are described in the grant document (TANGO, October 2015 [1]). During the course of implementation, the study team found that some data collection methods and metrics proposed were either not useful or not feasible. Accordingly, some tasks were redefined to reflect more realistically what could be accomplished. The modifications introduced are described in the launch workshop report (TANGO, October 2015 [2]) and the midterm progress report (TANGO, February 2016), and the justifications for them are described in the status report (TANGO, November 2016). The study was implemented in four phases, summarized below.

Phase One (October 15, 2015 – March 31, 2016)

- Review of background material
- Profiling of contributors to the intra-HH program
- Thematic analysis of intra-HH program publications
- Identification of donors belonging to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and funding agriculture sector-related programs or projects in 2013 (latest year for which data was available when the study began)
- Selection of a sample of four least-developed countries for study coverage
- Review of gender policies of all DAC donors present in the four study countries, and initial interviews with gender experts in donor headquarters
- Focus group discussions with core contributors to the intra-HH program and current IFPRI staff
- Construction of draft timeline showing key events which could have influenced the diffusion process

Phase Two (April 1 – July 14, 2016)

- Completion of interviews with gender experts in donor headquarters
- Interviews with key informants from the United Nations (UN) system, European think tanks and INGOs
- Consolidation of findings from Phase One

Phase Three (July 15 – November 14, 2016)

- Selection of INGOs for in-country survey and scheduling of INGOs and DAC donors to be approached for interview in each of the four study countries
- Preparation of background notes on development cooperation policies of DAC donors, field programs and approach to gender of INGOs selected for interview, and projects selected for review
- Logistical arrangements and preparation of topic guides for in-country survey
- Conduct of in-country survey

Phase Four (November 15 – May 31, 2016)

- Write-up of results from in-country survey
- Analysis of findings
- Drafting of working papers and final report

Details on how each of these tasks was implemented are given in three working papers under preparation by responsible members of the study team:¹

Tabaj, K. and S. Aguiari, with E. Cuellar and B. Huddleston. (June 2017). *Evolution of donor country approaches on gender: Results of a review of IFPRI's influence on the gender policies of DAC donors, 1995-2015*. Working Paper One (WP1). Tucson, AZ: TANGO International.

Huddleston, B., D. Hedley, and S. Aguiari. (June 2017). *Addressing intra-household gender gaps in the field: Results of an in-country survey of selected DAC donors and INGOs*. Working Paper Two (WP2). Tucson, AZ: TANGO International.

Huddleston, B., Tabaj, K., and Cuellar, E. (September 2017, forthcoming). *Translating policy research findings into action: Results of an analysis of diffusion processes for key messages of the IFPRI intra-household research program*. Working Paper Three (WP3). Tucson, AZ: TANGO International.

Sampling Procedure

This was a qualitative study, so no attempt was made to achieve the degree of statistical rigor required by quantitative research methods. Nevertheless, the study team sought to eliminate as much bias as possible from the sampling procedures. Specifically, the goals were to obtain a sample that would be geographically diverse; that would cover all DAC donors funding agriculture sector-related projects implemented by INGOs; and that would capture a representative selection of INGOs in terms of headquarters location, size and characteristics. The approach followed is summarized briefly below.

To achieve geographical diversity, four least developed countries were randomly selected for visits, such that the final sample would include one country from each of the following sub-regions – West Africa, East Africa, Southern Africa, and Asia – and would include a very large, a large, a quite large and a small country in terms of population size. To ensure that the selection would provide comprehensive coverage of all DAC donors funding agriculture sector-related projects implemented by INGOs, data was extracted from the Agriculture Development Assistance Mapping system (ADAM) of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) for each country that came up through the random selection process, after exclusion of countries where travel restrictions were in effect. If there was little donor presence, the country was not retained, and the next country on the random list was considered. Using this procedure, Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Nepal and Rwanda came out on top. Out of 24 DAC donors reporting agriculture-sector related projects to the Creditor Reporting System (CRS) of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 2013 (the latest year for which data was available from ADAM), only two (Greece and New Zealand) were not present in these four countries. This was considered this to be an adequate degree of donor coverage, so Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Nepal and Rwanda were accepted as the final list of countries to be visited.

¹ The working papers, the grant document, the study reports, and the cleaned datasets for the study are accessible via the impact assessment page on the website of the CGIAR Independent Science and Partnership Council (ISPC) (www.ispc.cgiar.org).

To identify the pool of INGOs from which to select those to be interviewed, an excel worksheet was downloaded for each of the four study countries from the ADAM database, listing all agriculture sector-related projects in the country. A preliminary review of these lists suggested that it could be of interest to add the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) as a donor, the only foundation shown as funding agriculture sector-related projects. Each country's project list was then filtered to include only those projects: (i) funded by DAC donors or BMGF, (ii) belonging to sub-sectors of most relevance for this study, (iii) implemented by INGOs, and (iv) having a disbursement value of US\$ 200,000 or more in 2013. Next, the four individual country lists were consolidated into a single table showing INGOs and the projects they were implementing, by study country and donor. Finally, the consolidated table was reorganized by study country, and a subset of donors and INGOs was selected for interview in each country, such that there were no duplications, and the selection provided maximum coverage of donors and diversity in the pool of selected INGOs.

This process resulted in the elimination of Australia, France and the Republic of Korea from the list of donors to be interviewed. Further adjustments reflecting developments since 2013 resulted in the restoration of Australia and the deletion of Denmark as donors. Some adjustments were also made to align the list of INGOs to be interviewed and the projects to be reviewed with current information about their activities, based on initial review of the background material.

Actual Coverage of DAC Donors and INGOs

The 22 DAC donors present in the four study countries were selected for the donor policy review. Policy documents were obtained for all except Korea and Portugal. Representatives from 19 of them were interviewed. Interviews were conducted in both headquarters and the field for 5 of them, in headquarters only for 8 of them, and in the field only for 6 of them. Korea, Luxembourg and Portugal were the 3 countries not covered by interviews. BMGF also did not respond to a request for interview and is excluded from the analysis of findings. The response rate for donors was considered to be overall quite acceptable.

Out of the final respondent pool of 33 INGOs, 19 interviews were conducted in person or by phone, for a response rate of 57.5 percent. Given the relatively small size of the final respondent pool, and the effort made to contact every selected respondent individually to schedule an interview, the response rate for INGOs was somewhat disappointing. Qualitative research designs such as the one used for this study generally do not aspire to produce findings that are statistically representative. Nevertheless, the sampling procedure was intended to produce a pool of respondents that would be reasonably representative. Comparison of the headquarters locations, types and global presence of the 33 INGOs selected for interview with those of the 19 INGOs actually interviewed shows that the diversity of the original pool was largely maintained in the sample actually interviewed, so the representativeness of the sample has not been seriously compromised by the relatively low response rate.

Core Message of the Intra-HH Program

The IFPRI literature does not contain any standard definition of the research themes, main findings or key messages of the intra HH program. For purposes of this study, the core message of the IFPRI intra-HH program has been defined as follows:

Gender dynamics of the household economy concern roles and power relationships of men and women in the household, and the degree to which each exercises decision-making control over allocation of resources, time, income, and program benefits, if any. A gender gap exists when the distribution of tasks, responsibilities, power and resources within the household is not equitable.

Reflection of this message in a policy document is recorded if the document mentions any aspect of intra-household dynamics as being important for its approach to gender in development cooperation. Application of the household approach in the field is taken to mean using methods that support dialogue within the household and respect for physical integrity of all household members. Interventions that simply target women or stop at the level of community consultations and do not explicitly address intra-household gender dynamics and gender gaps are viewed as not reflecting the core message of IFPRI's research.

About this Report

In the remainder of this paper, the findings and assessment results for the research questions (RQ) are presented in the following sequence. Findings on other topics of interest that are not directly related to the research questions are presented and discussed in the working papers.

- A. Findings from the review of gender policies of DAC donors (RQ2: reflection of the core message of the IFPRI research and RQ4: attribution of impact to IFPRI in the context of other sources of influence)
- B. Findings from the exploration of field practice of INGOs (RQ2: reflection of the core message of the IFPRI research and RQ4: attribution of impact to IFPRI in the context of other sources of influence)
- C. Critical junctures analysis (RQ1)
- D. Diffusion processes (RQ3)
- E. Explanatory factors for the observed impacts of the IFPRI research (RQ4)
- F. Elements for developing a generalized, non-linear model for assessing impact of policy research (RQ5)

A summary of the study's main findings and conclusions is presented in the last section of the report.

FINDINGS

Overview

The evidentiary base for the findings presented in this section consists of records of (i) a documentary review of gender policies of DAC donors, (ii) interviews with gender experts in DAC donor headquarters (HQ), and (iii) interviews with donor and INGO country office staff in the four study countries (Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Nepal and Rwanda). The cleaned records are accessible through the impact assessment page on the ISPC website (www.ispc.cgiar.org) and detailed summaries of all the findings are included in Working Papers One and Two.

In the brief summaries included here, we have used numerical counts to give some structure to our presentation of the findings. Although we endeavored to minimize bias in the selection of the

sample of INGOs for interview, this was a qualitative survey and the numerical counts should not be taken as statistically significant. The interviews were conducted using topic guides which gave considerable latitude to the interviewer to pursue points of interest as they arose, and these topics differed from one respondent to another. Moreover, vagueness of respondents on some points of particular interest for this report forced the team to make judgment calls as to what was meant. Finally, respondents often provided additional enlightening contextual information which could not be captured easily in these brief summaries. Annex Tables 1 and 2 provide detail on the documentary review and the interviewee responses from which we derived the summary findings presented here; the qualitative analysis is further elaborated in the working papers.

Findings from the Review of Gender Policies of DAC Donors

Reflection of Core Message in Gender Policies of DAC Donors

Of the 22 DAC donors selected for coverage by this study, the team reviewed policy documents for 20, conducted HQ interviews for 13, and conducted field interviews for 11. The core message was reflected in 11 of the 20 gender policy documents reviewed, in 8 of the 13 headquarters interviews, and in 5 of the 11 field interviews (Table 1). For 2 countries (Korea and Portugal), no information was obtained. Altogether, the core message of the IFPRI research was reflected in some way for 16 of the 20 DAC donors for which information was obtained.

DAC DONOR	REFLECTION				ATTRIBUTION		
	Doc	HQ	Field	All	Doc	HQ	Field
Australia	Y	Y	----	Y	Unclear	Unclear	----
Austria	Y	Y	----	Y	Unclear	Unclear	----
Belgium	N	N	Y	Y			Unclear
Canada	Y	----	Y	Y	Unclear	----	Unclear
Denmark	Y	----	----	Y	Unclear	----	----
European Union	Y	Y	Y	Y	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Finland	N	Y	N	Y		Unclear	
France	N	N	----	N			Unclear
Germany	Y	N	N	Y	Unclear		
Ireland	N	Y	----	Y		Unclear	----
Italy	N	N	N	N			Unclear
Japan	N	----	Y	Y		----	Unclear
Korea, Rep. of	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Luxemburg	Y	----	----	Y	Unclear	----	----
Netherlands	Y	Y	N	Y	D	Unclear	
Norway	N	----	----	N		----	----
Portugal	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Spain	N	----	N	N		----	
Sweden	N	Y	Y	Y		Unclear	Unclear
Switzerland	Y	Y	----	Y	D	D	----
United Kingdom	Y	----	N	Y	Unclear	----	
United States	Y	N	----	Y	Unclear		----
Yes Counts	11/20	8/13	5/11	16/20			

Attribution of Impact to IFPRI in Gender Policies of DAC Donors

Besides its core message, the intra-HH program produced important messages on several secondary themes. For purposes of this assessment, impacts of these secondary messages have been

treated as free goods and the focus of the impact assessment for the program has been restricted to assessing IFPRI’s contribution to uptake of the core message of the program by DAC donors and INGOs.

For DAC donors, the information collected was not sufficient to permit making a judgment call regarding attribution of impact to IFPRI. In the documents of two countries - Netherlands and Switzerland – there was direct mention (D) of IFPRI’s influence, and the HQ gender expert from Switzerland also mentioned IFPRI specifically (Table 1). On the whole, the results of our review indicated that at the policy level, donors were more focused on their post-Beijing commitments to gender equality as a human right, and, as one interviewee put it, “had little interest in going down to the household level because they do not act at that level.” Nevertheless, nearly all of the individuals interviewed had an appreciation and awareness of the need to address gender inequities at the household level, even if the gender policies of their development cooperation agencies did not always reflect this. Overall, their responses clearly indicated that the core message of the intra-HH program had been picked up, even though they could not point to its source - it was just common knowledge.

Influences on Gender Policies of DAC Donors

Main factors that have influenced donors’ gender policies differ significantly between those found in the policy documents and those mentioned by interviewees (Table 2). Many documents affirm their adherence to international commitments, particularly the Platform of Action adopted by the 4th World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Even more cite OECD/DAC as influential. This includes the 1999 DAC *Guidelines on Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment*, which were written in 1998 as a guide for donors on how to implement the undertakings contained in the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action; the knowledge-sharing platform – Gendernet; and exchanges of information and experience with other DAC donors.

INFLUENCE CATEGORY	DOCS	HQ	FIELD	ALL
IFPRI	2	1	0	3
INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND COMMITMENTS	8	2	0	10
CIVIL SOCIETY	0	14	2	16
UN AGENCIES	1	9	4	14
INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS	2	3	0	5
OECD/DAC	12	9	3	24
EU	3	3	0	6
LOCAL INPUT	0	2	5	7

By contrast, several HQ interviewees emphasized the importance of civil society actors and committed leadership for keeping gender as a priority on the policy agenda in their countries. They also looked to UN agencies and international financial institutions and OECD/DAC as important sources of practical guidance for fieldwork. Donor country interviewees in the field who spoke about sources of influence tended to emphasize the importance of country context and field experience – one even commenting that it is the field that drives policy, and not the other way round. This is consistent with the finding from the HQ interviews regarding the importance of civil society in setting the national policy agenda.

There is a confluence between national debate, which is strongly influenced by civil society, and international debate, where compromises and commitments are hammered out. These international commitments are then reflected back into national policies. Policy research may have an impact on the

technical experts who prepare position papers for organizations and government agencies taking part in these debates, but research results are rarely cited in the debates themselves or in the official policy documents of the participants. In the case of IFPRI's intra-HH program, important entry points for diffusion of the core message were via technical contributions of program collaborators to publications of the World Bank and FAO, which in turn fed international policy debates on gender and development. This process is discussed further in the section on 'Analysis of Diffusion Processes' in this report, and in Working Paper Three.

Findings from the Exploration of Field Practice of INGOs

Reflection of Core Message in Field Practice of INGOs

The core message of the intra-HH program was reflected at the design stage in only a quarter of the field programs or projects reviewed, and in less than half during the implementation phase. By contrast, three-quarters of these programs or projects incorporated questions about intra-household decision-making and/or women's roles and use of time in their monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems (Table 3).

INGO NAME	Reflection of Core Message					Attribution of Impact to IFPRI				
	D	I	M	HQ	Any Stage or Level	Direct and important	Direct but marginal	Probable indirect	Possible indirect	Not evident
CARE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		√			
CONCERN	N	N	N	Y	Y				√	
CLUSA	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	√				
FELM	N	N	Y	Y	Y				√	
HELEN KELLER	N	N	N	Y	Y	√				
HELVETAS	Y	Y	Y	NA	Y			√		
ICIMOD	N	N	Y	Y	Y	√				
IUCN	N	N	N	N	N				√	
LOVE GREEN	N	N	Y	N	Y				√	
MANI TESE	Y	Y	Y	NA	Y				√	
NPAID	N	Y	Y	N	Y					√
OXFAM INTERMÓN	N	N	Y	Y	Y				√	
SAVE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			√		
SNV	N	N	Y	Y	Y		√			
STICHTING SPARK	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			√		
TECHNOSERVE	N	N	N	N	N					√
WELTHUNGERHILFE	N	Y	Y	Y	Y			√		
WINROCK	N	N	Y	NA	Y				√	
WORLD VISION	N	N	N	NA	N				√	
YES COUNTS	5/19	8/19	14/19	11/15	16/19	3	2	4	8	2

D - Design Stage; I - Implementation Stage; M – Monitoring and Evaluation Stage; HQ - Headquarters

M&E reports were generally prepared by outside contractors, using guidance and indicator lists provided by the INGO HQ. This suggests that among INGOs, the uptake of the ideas embodied in the core message tended to occur at the HQ level and get embodied in their guidance for gender assessment and analysis. For various reasons, findings from M&E systems that looked at intra-HH issues did not necessarily get translated back into future program and project designs. Sometimes this was

because the program or project objectives simply did not lend themselves to work at the household level. Often it was because field experience had shown that greater intra-household gender equity could be achieved through actions that had other primary objectives. Sometimes it was simply because of lack of donor interest and lack of time.

In general, the individuals interviewed all had an appreciation and awareness of the importance of more equitable intra-household decision-making processes for achievement of their gender policy goals, even if the programs or projects reviewed with them did not have this specific focus. They also had a general awareness of the fact that targeting women does not work and may produce negative backlash, whereas engaging men and women together in constructive dialogue is much more productive. Their responses clearly indicated that the overall message of the intra-HH program had been absorbed, even though it was not always reflected in concrete ways in the field programs and projects they were managing.

Attribution of Impact to IFPRI in Field Practice of INGOs

For INGOs that reflected some aspect of the core message in their documentation or field practices, or both, attribution of impact to IFPRI has been evaluated using the criteria shown here. The attributions reflect qualitative judgments by the study team. The basis for these judgments is explained in Working Paper Two. We have not attempted to draw a conclusion about whether or not our judgment calls provide sufficient evidence to justify making a determination of widespread impact.

DEGREE OF IMPACT	TRACEABILITY OF IMPACT
Direct and important impact	IFPRI's work is specifically cited or mentioned as an important influence
Direct but marginal impact	IFPRI's work is cited or mentioned as one of several influences, but not the most important
Probable indirect impact	Another source that was influenced directly by IFPRI's work is cited or mentioned
Possible indirect impact	Possible links to another source that was influenced directly by IFPRI's work are identified
No impact evident	No links to any source influenced by IFPRI's work are identified

For INGOs, seven of the nineteen interviewed provided information that represented clear or probable attribution of impact to IFPRI. These seven were reasonably dispersed geographically, with three being US-based: Cooperative Leagues of the USA (CLUSA), Helen Keller International (HKI) and Save the Children International; three being based in Europe: Helvetas Swiss Intercooperation (Switzerland), Stichting Spark (Netherlands) and Welthungerhilfe (Germany); and one being based in Nepal: International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD). In eight instances we reached a finding of possible indirect impact, the reason being that we simply did not have enough information to make a more definitive judgment. More systematic exploration of the origins of the intermediate sources of influence in these instances might reveal upstream IFPRI impact that our research method did not capture.

In the work on diffusion undertaken for this study, we concentrated on tracing the processes that led to widespread acceptance of the core message of the intra-HH program by the community of development practitioners at the international level. The field interviews provided hints that large INGOs were also picking up on this message during the decade that followed termination of the intra-HH program, but this uptake was at the headquarters level. It would be both interesting and feasible to undertake a more systematic analysis of the impact pathways from IFPRI to the INGO community that

this study has tentatively identified, both for those where we have made a somewhat arbitrary judgment call about IFPRI’s impact, and for those where available information did not permit this.

Influences on INGO Approaches to Gender in the Field

The topic guide used to structure INGO interviews listed 10 possible sources of influence on the gender approach of the interviewee’s organization. Respondents commented on these and also listed other influences that came to mind. Altogether, 17 sources of influence were mentioned (Table 4).

SOURCES OF INFLUENCE	NO. OF CITATIONS OR MENTIONS (N=19)
Guidance documents	14
Country context (economy, governance, culture)	11
Field experience	11
Influential people/champions	9
Donor requirements	7
Knowledge sharing	6
Technical experts	5
Performance evaluation/research	4
Networks	3
Christian approach	2
External partners	2
HQ requirements	2
Local input	2
Trends	2
Webinars	2
Workshops	2
Sector working groups	1

Donor Requirements. The original design for this study hypothesized that donor requirements would be the main determinant of INGO field practice, and that other influences would be secondary. It was assumed that by now the gender policies of donors would have been translated into protocols for field practice that implementing agencies would have to follow. This proved not to be the case, however.

First, the climate for development assistance changed in several important ways during the first decade of the 21st century, resulting in declining aid budgets; greater emphasis on partner relationships with beneficiary countries and partner country autonomy; more focus on trade and investment opportunities for the private sector in the donor country; and more efficiency, transparency and accountability in the use of aid funds. Commitments to equitable and sustainable development are maintained in the

SDGs and Agenda 2030, but these are to be realized in a manner consistent with the *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* signed by OECD/DAC members in 2005.

Second, many donors fund INGO projects through a separate line item in their development assistance budgets and manage these projects from HQ, not from the field. They usually require M&E reports, but otherwise they give the INGOs considerable flexibility as to what to do in the field. Third, in the instances where donor requirements were cited as an influence, this was often viewed as a constraint limiting what implementers could do, not as a set of expectations for what the donor wanted the INGO to accomplish on the cross-cutting gender theme.

Country Context. As expected, country context (economic and political environment, cultural norms and gender policies) along with field experience, figured prominently in the list of influences identified by INGO interviewees. The country context is a factor that has to be taken into account, and can act as either a favorable or unfavorable influence. The context in each of the four countries visited for this study possesses unique characteristics that have influenced the approaches to gender followed by the INGOs interviewed.

In all four countries, traditional cultural norms accord a dominant role to males within the household. In Nepal and Rwanda, these norms are beginning to break down, in large part because of the disruptions caused by the 10-year civil war in Nepal (1996-2006) and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. By contrast, persistence of traditional attitudes is still the norm in Burkina Faso and Mozambique, although efforts are underway to bring about change.

In **Nepal**, Maoist commitment to gender equality led to enforced transformation of behaviors in rural areas that the Maoists controlled, and many of these changes took root during that period. Due to the high rate of male migration in search of work, many Nepalese families function with de facto female household heads, and this also contributes to their sense of empowerment even though many still defer to absent men to make important household decisions. Today, although traditional attitudes still persist, the country's Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) policy is enshrined in the Constitution and all INGOs are expected to reflect this in their field programs and projects.

In **Rwanda**, the genuine commitment to gender equality of the country's President, Paul Kagame, finds expression in numerous concrete actions instigated by Kagame to realize this objective. As one interviewee put it, "the President speaks, and then what he said trickles down to the communities, which take it to heart and act accordingly." Various institutional mechanisms have been established to coordinate gender policies and actions within the country, and INGOs are expected to participate in them. One of the most influential of these is the Rwandan Men's Resource Center (RWAMREC), discussed below in the paragraph on Mozambique, where similar efforts to engage men as advocates for gender equality are also beginning to emerge.

In **Burkina Faso**, during the 1980s, particularly during the period of the Thomas Sankara presidency (1983-1987), the need to overcome gender inequality became an openly-discussed issue on the political agenda, and the country became an inspiration for other African countries in advocating for women's participation in public life. In the subsequent 27-year rule of Blaise Compaoré (who assumed power following Sankara's violent death), the government took a strong stand in support of gender equality and received important backing from donors. Nevertheless, the official commitments and transformations in the legal framework were not matched with concrete actions or societal change.

Traditional attitudes remain deeply embedded in society, and the newly-elected leadership which took power at the end of 2015 appears to have backtracked to some extent, reducing investments for women's empowerment and merging the gender equality mandate with social inclusion and welfare. INGOs interviewees in Burkina reported that they generally attempt to adapt their field activities so that they accord with traditional attitudes and norms, rather than attempting to overturn them directly. There is a Common Fund for Gender which finances small projects that promote gender equality. The Fund's manager Diakonia (a Swedish INGO) makes various tools and guidance documents available to the projects, but does not impose any particular approach. At the household level, examples of successful approaches include the 'family dialogue' approach and the 'model husband' approach. In general, Fund projects adopt concrete priorities and approaches that are specific to the localities where they are to be implemented. This is very consistent with the recommendations that emerged from the IFPRI research. In the time available, however, it was not possible to trace the upstream influences that led donors in Burkina Faso to create the Common Fund, nor the influences other than country context that led Diakonia to choose the guidance materials that it makes available to the projects.

Control of household resources by men, including resources brought in or earned by women, is most pronounced in **Mozambique**. Efforts to provide women with opportunities to generate their own income may produce good results initially, but impact evaluations show that the women are not allowed to retain this income or decide on how it should be spent. Moreover, interviewees reported that efforts to give women more control often produce a backlash in the form of more gender-based violence (GBV) in the household. The most promising attempt to change these attitudes and behaviors has been introduced by the Engage Men movement. This movement originated with the sensitization campaigns about how to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS, which required men to develop more self-awareness about their attitudes toward their own masculinity, and how this affected their sexual behavior and relations with women more generally. Promundo, a Brazilian organization formed in 1998, has been a main proponent and supporter of the Engage Men movement, and its concepts and techniques have been successfully introduced in both Rwanda and Mozambique. The Rwandan Men's Resource Center (RWAMREC) has been promoting positive masculinities and male engagement approaches since 2006. HOPEM, the Mozambican 'Men for Change Network' founded around the same time, brings together some 25 local NGOs to work collaboratively in the areas of masculinity and gender to change behaviors, reduce discrimination, and promote gender equality. In Mozambique, use of techniques to engage men underpins a new 'gender transformative approach to social behavior change' introduced by Concern Worldwide in the program reviewed for this study.

Field Experience. INGOs which mentioned field experience as a source of influence on their programs generally had the time and the flexibility to modify their approaches as they went along. Some interviewees stressed that recent trends in development assistance were making it impossible for the INGO implementer to achieve stated goals within the shortened timeframes and more rigid guidelines imposed by some donors for their field projects. They felt that INGOs were being blamed unfairly when impacts were not achieved under these conditions. They also observed that this was demotivating, leading to high turnover of INGO field staff and loss of institutional memory.

The most important lessons learned in the field included: (i) The human dimension is a key factor in determining whether or not households will adopt new technologies. (ii) Targeting women generally does not work but engaging women and men together does work. (iii) Neither gender sensitization nor gender mainstreaming have much meaning in the field. One interviewee commented about gender mainstreaming that 'it appears everywhere and is applied nowhere.' (iv) Learning through action and experience is much more effective than formal training.

Influential people/champions. The role of influential people and champions proved to be very important for the upstream diffusion processes. In the field, half of the interviewees mentioned them as a source of influence. Committed national leaders, visionary founders of development organizations, top INGO executives, project managers, and technical experts from within an INGO or an external partner were all mentioned as influential. One interviewee summed up the influence of individual persons this way, "Commitment at the top of the hierarchy makes a big difference. Within an organization..., ideas that are taken up at the top eventually trickle down, but they can be reversed quickly if leadership changes. [Lower-level] leadership can also support or undermine directives from the top."

Other influences. The remaining 12 influences listed were mentioned by less than one-third of the interviewees. Interviewees who mentioned technical experts generally valued their support. Some INGOs maintain their own technical units and run their own performance evaluation and applied

research programs. These received high marks from interviewees who mentioned them. Knowledge-sharing platforms are maintained by the HQ of a number of INGOs, but not necessarily used by the field staff, due to lack of time. Some participate in informal networks, but this is not common. Views were divided about the value of workshops – some found them valuable, but others found them costly and a poor mechanism for transmitting information in the local context. For the latter, webinars were the preferred mechanism.

INGO	GUIDANCE DOCUMENTS USED IN THE FIELD
CARE International	Local strategies drive the approaches, e.g., agriculture and country office strategies, manual on gender and nutrition, documented process on how to recruit and retain volunteers, sub-sector strategy for water, sanitation and health (WASH) and community-led total sanitation (CLTS). Village savings and loan association (VSLA) guidance comes from elsewhere, but is adapted locally.
Cooperative League of the USA (CLUSA)	For the program reviewed in Mozambique, CLUSA uses its HQ Gender Guide and the PROMAC Implementation Guide.
Helvetas Swiss Intercooperation	HELVETAS does its own technical manuals and shares them through its own platforms; they are available online.
International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD)	ICIMOD strategic approach towards gender equity and analysis 2013-2017: <i>Gender Transformative Change in the Hindu Kush Himalayas</i> . Various guides and toolkits on gender and value chains.
International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)	IUCN Global Gender Policy (1998) covers women’s role as managers of forests, water, adaptation to climate change. There are 9 internal tools for integrating gender into projects.
Love Green	The donor agency, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) follows the OECD Guidelines on Gender Equality and Social Inclusion and the OECD DAC Evaluation System for monitoring and evaluating Japanese NGO projects that it funds, and uses inputs from HQ technical experts to adapt them to local contexts.
Mani Tese	Guidance documents used by the program reviewed include Burkina’s National Gender Policy, 2009; an internal gender strategy developed in partnership with Slow Food Accra; documentation and information from websites on gender and access to land of Oxfam and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).
Norwegian People/s Aid	There is internal HQ guidance for the <i>Women Can Do It</i> training, but only very general - local planning is the key.
Oxfam	Documents need to be user-friendly and accessible. Oxfam has a very complete gender toolkit, but it is very theoretical and heavy. Project management people do not have time for it. Simple checklists are useful to get around this problem. Best practice guidelines and case studies are also good. Oxfam subscribes to an evidence-based approach to M&E and all indicator frameworks are pre-defined. Local partners get training in how to use these frameworks. The Gender Action Learning System (GALS) framework developed by OXFAM-NOVIB is a promising new tool that could be useful.
Save the Children	CARE’s Agency=Structure-Relations (A-S-R) model is being used as the basis for the project approach to women’s empowerment. ActionAid’s Time Diary Tool – <i>Making Care Visible</i> , developed with inputs from CARE and HELVETAS, amongst others – is being piloted in 3 districts.
SNV	AgriProFocus Toolkits: (1) <i>Gender in Value Chains</i> (tools for collecting gender-disaggregated data, nothing at intra-HH level) and (2) <i>Sustainable Coffee Value Chains</i> (similar to GALS). SNV has a <i>Toolkit on Inclusive Business</i> , referencing other sources. Training guides for value chains are very context specific. For each one SNV works with specialists, e.g., with FAO on potato, go through potato cooperative arrangement and work out training guideline.
Stichting Spark	AgriProFocus Toolkit: <i>Gender in Value Chains</i>
Welthungerhilfe	All training materials were developed locally. Program had a toolbox on gender-sensitive topics. HQ provided a gender sensitive checklist for monitoring; the project had a copy of the World Bank/FAO/International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) <i>Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook</i> as a reference.
World Vision	World Vision has lots of guidance documents and tools from HQ. At international level, WV sets the standards, but at national level, the country office contextualizes the approach.

Guidance documents. Discussion of the influence of guidance documents has been left to last because this is the source of influence which was mentioned most frequently and was probably the most important channel through which the core message of IFPRI’s intra-HH program reached the field. Table 5 shows that guidance documents used in the field commonly include tools that have been developed locally, often by adapting guidance that originated elsewhere. ActionAid, AgriProfocus, CARE International and Oxfam-NOVIB were all mentioned by name as INGOs which had developed guidance documents and tools that others found useful in the field. Headquarters of INGOs typically provide guidance on monitoring and evaluation and supply core indicator lists, which may or may not be

supplemented by other locally-defined indicators. Guidance provided by donors does not figure in this list. Such guidance related mainly to M&E activities that the donors themselves implemented, or fed into guidance produced by INGO headquarters guidance and was not reported separately.

Interviewees who mentioned guidance documents as a source of influence were signaling that such documents existed and were used by field staff. Such mentions should not be interpreted to mean that guidance documents were more important than other sources of influence. The relative importance of the different sources mentioned was not covered by the survey questionnaire, and no conclusions can be drawn on this point. The fact that guidance documents were mentioned so frequently and the finding that INGOs rely on each other's methods and tools more than one might expect, suggest that a more systematic review of this body of literature, and profiling of the individuals who contributed to it, could provide additional useful insights into the processes that led INGOs to become aware of and act on the core message of the IFPRI research.

Conclusions regarding the Counterfactual

Would we be where we are today if there had been no intra-HH program? To answer this counterfactual question, the study team began its work by identifying academics from various disciplines who were not apparently identified with IFPRI and who might have conducted similar research. It soon became evident that many of them did in fact have some kind of association with the intra-household program, albeit from other institutional homes. Altogether nearly 100 individuals contributed to the IFPRI research program, with IFPRI, a highly-reputed think tank, serving as a platform or node holding them loosely together. It seems highly unlikely that an academic institution would have undertaken a similar research program involving such a large number of collaborators coming from so many different institutions.

Some pertinent work would have been produced by individual researchers. In particular, the feminist network, comprised of academics from many different disciplines, would have continued its research and advocacy activities, and the focus on gender equality as a human right and a global policy goal embodied in the MDGs and SDGs would not have been affected if there had been no intra-HH program. The element that would have been lost is the contextualization of the intra-household gender gap in specific rural settings in developing countries, an element that the IFPRI researchers argue was essential, both for triggering action and for adapting approaches to local conditions. Lack of this element would not have affected efforts to empower women by giving them greater voice and more legal rights in their communities and in society as a whole. INGOs efforts to promote gender equality at the levels of community and society also would not have been affected. It seems likely, however, that the experimentation with different methods for empowering rural women within their households would not have received so much attention, and that the movement to nurture connections and engage rural men and women in joint dialogue about the management of their household resources would have been slower to emerge, or would not have emerged at all. If this is so, the beneficiaries of this movement have IFPRI and the intra-HH program leadership to thank.

CRITICAL JUNCTURES ANALYSIS

Four timelines were constructed for use in identifying key events that contributed to the impact of the intra-HH program. These timelines cover the precursor, preparatory, implementation, and diffusion stages from 1979 to the present,² and include timelines for (i) key events at IFPRI, (ii) evolution of economic and political environment, (iii) professional movements of intra-HH program contributors, and (iv) milestones for publication of key documents reflecting the program’s core message. The consolidated timeline shown in Table 6 includes only the entries for key internal and external events and publication milestones. Data on professional movements of program contributors is shown in Annex Table 4, and will be analyzed in Working Paper Three.

DATE		KEY EVENTS AT IFPRI	KEY EXTERNAL EVENTS
PRE-1979	EVENT		Cold War
	SIGNIFICANCE		Cold War creates competition between the Soviet Union and the West for the allegiance of newly-independent developing countries, leading to large investments in their agriculture sectors.
1979	EVENT		Oil price crisis
	SIGNIFICANCE		Iranian revolution leads to spike in oil prices, run on the dollar and beginning of global recession.
	EVENT	DG John Mellor starts planning research on impacts of agricultural commercialization	First World Bank structural adjustment loans
	SIGNIFICANCE	Research question, “ <i>Can agricultural commercialization that triggers economic growth also bring about improvements in nutrition?</i> ”	Structural adjustment programs are introduced to cut unsustainable public sector expenditure in developing countries, including for food and agriculture subsidies.
1980	EVENT	Per Pinstrup-Andersen becomes Director of Food Consumption and Nutrition Division (FCND)	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Pinstrup-Andersen begins to develop a research program to address Mellor’s question.	
1981	EVENT		Amartya Sen publishes <i>Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation</i>
	SIGNIFICANCE		Main propositions of Sen’s Entitlement Theory are that food security means right of the individual to food, and that political failure, not lack of food, causes of famine.
1982	EVENT		Global debt crisis
	SIGNIFICANCE		World Bank and IMF make structural adjustment reform in debtor countries a standard condition for loans.
	EVENT		Five-year African food crisis begins
	SIGNIFICANCE		Resulted from combination of drought, conflict, inability to import sufficient food commercially and inability to distribute available food to those in need.
1983	EVENT		FAO publishes <i>Broadened Concept of Food Security</i>
	SIGNIFICANCE		Document argues that food security includes individuals’ access to food at household level as well as adequate food availability at national and global levels. Intra-HH resource allocation becomes important at policy level.
1984	EVENT	Joachim von Braun joins IFPRI/FCND to guide agricultural commercialization research program	End of global economic recession, return to global food surpluses
	SIGNIFICANCE	Case studies explore links between production, income, consumption and nutrition in contexts where technological change is bringing about rapid increases in productivity and commercialization of marketable surpluses.	Complacency about adequacy of global food supplies sets in.

² Interviews with INGO staff and other key informants suggest that a similar analysis of critical junctures in the evolution of policy and practice on gender within the INGO community after Beijing would reveal influential points of intersection with the diffusion process for the intra-HH program, but the terms of reference for this study did not cover this possibility, and time and budgetary resources did not permit in-depth investigation of it.

1985	NOTHING TO RECORD		
1986	EVENT		Five-year African food crisis ends
	SIGNIFICANCE		Food insecurity comes to be viewed as a problem of poverty, not a problem of food and agricultural policy.
1987	NOTHING TO RECORD		
1988	EVENT	Agricultural commercialization case studies completed	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Findings demonstrate the existence of an intra-household gender gap which has negative consequences for both agricultural productivity at household level and nutritional status at individual level.	
	EVENT	Agnes Quisumbing joins Yale Economic Growth Center as Visiting Post-Doctoral Fellow	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Quisumbing develops close friendships and collaborative relations with a group of economists who were challenging the Unitary Household Model (UHM)	
1989	EVENT		Fall of the Berlin Wall
	SIGNIFICANCE		Beginning of the end of the Cold War
1990	EVENT	Lawrence Haddad joins IFPRI/FCND from University of Warwick	World Summit on Children, New York
	SIGNIFICANCE	Haddad brings with him an interest in modeling intra-household resource allocation decisions as they relate to nutritional status of household members, and a set of connections with feminist economists.	First of a series of world conferences and summits approved by UN to prepare for 2000 Millennium Summit
1991	EVENT	Ravi Kanbur takes a position at World Bank	Dissolution of the Soviet Union
	SIGNIFICANCE	Kanbur was previously Chair of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Warwick, where Haddad taught, and they shared common interests in intra-HH modeling.	Ending of Cold War eliminates need for competitive spending on development and opens the door for global initiatives on human rights.
	EVENT	Quisumbing takes a position at World Bank	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Haddad meets Quisumbing at the Bank and is impressed with her work.	
1992	EVENT	Pinstrup-Andersen becomes DG of IFPRI	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Pinstrup-Andersen deliberately positions IFPRI to become a policy voice through his 2020 Vision Initiative.	
	EVENT	IFPRI/World Bank Conference on Intra Household Resource Allocation	International Conference on Nutrition (Rome); UN Conference on Environment and Development (Rio)
	SIGNIFICANCE	Conference organized by Haddad and Kanbur brings together key figures from different disciplines to discuss state-of-the-art on intra-household modeling.	ICN reaffirms and deepens policy position associating nutrition security with food security ; among other things, UNCED emphasizes sustainable land management
1993	EVENT		World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna)
	SIGNIFICANCE		For the first time since Cold War began, UN members consider both economic and social rights and civil and political rights together.
1994	EVENT	Haddad becomes Director, IFPRI/FCND	
	SIGNIFICANCE	From this position, Haddad is able to mobilize funding for follow-up research on impacts of intra-household resource allocation decisions. He publishes 10 articles with various co-authors between 1993 and 1995, and prepares a funding proposal for USAID.	
1994	EVENT	IFPRI publishes <i>Agricultural Commercialization, Economic Growth and Nutrition</i>, von Braun and Kennedy, editors.	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Book synthesizes findings of case studies, which collected gender-disaggregated data across countries, using standard format.	
1995	EVENT	USAID/Office of Women in Development (IWID) funds 3 million US\$ intra-HH program and Haddad recruits Agnes Quisumbing to lead it	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Quisumbing mobilizes a large network of collaborators and maximizes amount of research done with the funds.	
	EVENT	IFPRI assembles a 2020 Vision Brief and a Policy Report on <i>Women: the Key to Food Security</i> (Quisumbing, Brown, Feldstein, Haddad and Peña) for circulation at the Beijing Conference	4th World Conference on Women (Beijing); World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen)
	SIGNIFICANCE	Delegates comment informally on value of brief, which	Beijing Platform of Action commits signatories to pursue

		integrates agriculture and nutrition for first time.	gender equality as a policy goal
	EVENT	Five commercialization study authors (Alderman, Bouis, Haddad, Kennedy and von Braun) become contributors to intra-HH program	
	SIGNIFICANCE	These individuals provided continuity between the agricultural commercialization research and the intra-HH research program.	
1996	EVENT		World Food Summit (Rome); 2nd UN Conference on Human Settlement (Nairobi)
	SIGNIFICANCE		Rome Declaration and Plan of Action commits signatories to respect and protect Right to Food.
1997	EVENT	IFPRI publishes <i>Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods and Policy</i> (Haddad, Hoddinott and Alderman, editors), with funding from intra-HH program	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Book consolidates state-of-the arte knowledge on intra-household modeling from different disciplines.	
1998	NO RECORD		
1999	EVENT		World Bank and IMF introduce Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS)
	SIGNIFICANCE		PRS are a condition for a structural adjustment loan which requires a borrowing country to make investments supportive of the MDGs, then in process of finalization..
2000	EVENT	Intra-Household research program is formally completed and results are reported in an FCND Discussion Paper by Quisumbing and John Maluccio - <i>Intra-household allocation and gender relations: New empirical evidence from four developing countries</i>	Millennium Summit and commitment to Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
	SIGNIFICANCE	This paper summarizes the core message of the intra-HH program, and Quisumbing shifts her attention from gender to poverty.	MDGs embody poverty-reduction approach to development.
2001	NO RECORD		
2002	EVENT	von Braun becomes DG of IFPRI	
	SIGNIFICANCE	IFPRI leadership remains with someone familiar with intra-HH program origins and findings, and committed to continuing IFPRI's work on gender.	
2003	EVENT	Quisumbing and Maluccio paper published as peer-reviewed article by <i>Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics</i>	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Core message of the intra-HH program obtains academic stamp of approval.	
	EVENT	IFPRI publishes a book edited by Quisumbing – <i>Household Decisions, Gender and Development</i>.	
	SIGNIFICANCE	This collection, funded by Norway, brings together papers on various themes addressed by the intra-HH program.	
	EVENT	Quisumbing and Bonnie McClafferty prepare an internal report on <i>Food security in practice: Using gender research in development</i>	
	SIGNIFICANCE	This paper translates the findings of the intra-HH program into actionable guidance.	
2004	EVENT	Haddad leaves IFPRI to become Director of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Sussex and Marie Ruel becomes Director, FCND	
	SIGNIFICANCE	This changing of the guard in FCND led to a temporary pulling back from further work on intra-household resource allocation.	
	EVENT	IFPRI creates a Gender Task Force with Ruth Meinzen-Dick as chairperson and Quisumbing as Special Advisor	
	SIGNIFICANCE	This action is taken at the insistence of von Braun and the IFPRI Board, and represents institutional commitment to continuing IFPRI's work on gender.	
2005	EVENT		Paris Agreement on Aid Effectiveness signed by OECD/DAC members

	SIGNIFICANCE		This document codifies commitments of DAC donors to transparency and accountability.
2006	EVENT	IFPRI publishes the Quisumbing and McClafferty report and holds three regional dissemination events	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) launches Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), together with the Rockefeller Foundation
	SIGNIFICANCE	This is the first effort by IFPRI to bring the implications of intra-household resource allocation in small-scale agriculture to the attention of policy makers.	BMGF becomes an important source of funding and strategizing for agricultural development.
	EVENT		Catherine Bertini, former Executive Director of the World Food Program (WFP), goes to BMGF to advise on agricultural strategy
	SIGNIFICANCE		Bertini recommends inclusion of gender and use of IFPRI for further research on gender and agriculture.
2007	EVENT		Beginning of 2007-2008 global financial crisis and world food price crisis
	SIGNIFICANCE		These crises awaken concerns about the world's ability to feed itself by 2050.
	EVENT		World Bank prepares its World Development Report (WDR) 2008 on Agriculture and Development.
	SIGNIFICANCE		Two of the four authors of the WDR2008 are intra-HH program contributors, Alain de Janvry and Elizabeth Sadoulet.
	EVENT	IFPRI staff contribute to Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook.	World Bank, FAO and IFAD prepare a Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook, also published in 2008.
	SIGNIFICANCE	Regina Birner represents IFPRI on Coordinating Group; which provides platform for external interactions. Lynn Brown, former IFPRI staff and an intra-HH program contributor leads preparation of Module One; Regina leads preparation of Module Two.	The sourcebook is meant to be a companion to WDR2008. It covers many topics, some of which reflect intra-HH program messages. Although it is too dense to be of much practical value in the field, its preparation facilitates knowledge-sharing among technical experts.
2008	EVENT		Home mortgage market collapses in the US and global recession begins
	SIGNIFICANCE		Budget cuts for development cooperation cause donors to prioritize trade and private sector investment.
2009	EVENT	Shenggen Fan becomes DG of IFPRI.	G8 L'Aquila Declaration and L'Aquila Food Security Initiative
	SIGNIFICANCE	Under Fan's leadership, IFPRI attracts increasing number of contracts for evaluative research.	Despite recession, G8 members call for renewed investment in developing country agriculture.
	EVENT	BMGF funds Phase 1 of Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project (GAAP) at IFPRI	
	SIGNIFICANCE	Project is led by Quisumbing and involves a series of case studies implemented in collaboration with INGOs.	
2010	EVENT		US government launches the Feed the Future Initiative
	SIGNIFICANCE		The US commitment to agriculture helps revive global interest, especially in value chain development and agriculture-nutrition linkages.
	EVENT		Founding of UN Women as an efficiency measure, through merger of 4 prior UN agencies or mechanisms
	SIGNIFICANCE		UN Women becomes a point of reference for the development community on matters relating to gender.
	EVENT	IFPRI researchers and collaborators associated with the intra-HH program become core contributors to the FAO 2010-11 SOFA	FAO begins work on the State of Food and Agriculture, (SOFA) 2010-11, on the topic of Women in Agriculture: Closing the gender gap for development
	SIGNIFICANCE	IFPRI contributors to SOFA use this opportunity to push messages of the intra-HH program into the public domain.	Marcela Villareal, then Director, Gender, Equity and Rural Employment Division at FAO, urges selection of 'gender and agriculture' as a SOFA theme and overcomes initial skepticism of economist colleagues about the possibility to do meaningful analysis on the topic.
2011	EVENT	USAID funds development of the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) by IFPRI as an impact measurement tool for Feed the Future	FAO publishes SOFA 2010-11
	SIGNIFICANCE	The availability of funding for continuing work by IFPRI on measurement and assessment of women's empowerment within the household keeps the core message of the intra-HH program alive.	The data and analysis assembled for SOFA 2010-11 capture global attention and open the eyes of many to the importance of women for agriculture, and constraints imposed by the intra-household gender gap.

2014	EVENT	FAO and IFPRI publish <i>Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap</i>.	
	SIGNIFICANCE	This book, edited by Quisumbing, Meinzen-Dick, Raney, Croppenstedt, Behrman and Peterman, contains many of the background papers prepared for SOFA 2010-11, and identifies priorities for future research.	
	EVENT	BMGF funds Phase 2 of GAAP project at IFPRI	
	SIGNIFICANCE	GAAP Phase 2 aims to adapt WEAL for practical use as a measurement and assessment tool at field level. If this goal is achieved, it would represent widespread impact of the intra-HH program.	
2015	EVENT		Adoption of Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
	SIGNIFICANCE		The SDGs refocus global attention on rural as well as urban development.

ANALYSIS OF DIFFUSION PROCESSES

The metric used by this study to measure impact is behavior change by DAC donors at the policy level and by INGOs in the field. The intra-HH program produced more than one important message, and each message has its own diffusion process. This section reviews only the diffusion processes for the program’s core message. They include the transmission of the message through milestone publications, informal networks and follow-up research. In general, we conclude that, even when publications are involved, the diffusion of ideas takes place through the people associated with the publications, not the documents themselves.

Transmission of Core Message through Publications

Publication sequence. The following chronological list of milestone publications shows a transmission sequence that began with publications by IFPRI itself, passed through the World Bank, and then to the Rome-based food agencies. The significance of each of these publications in the context of the evolution of the external economic and political environment is discussed below.

1994: *Agricultural Commercialization, Economic Growth and Nutrition*, Joachim von Braun and Eileen Kennedy, eds. Washington, D.C.: IFPRI

1995: Two IFPRI publications prepared by Agnes Quisumbing, Lynn Brown, Hilary Sims Feldstein, Lawrence Haddad and Christine Peña: *Generating food security in the year 2020: Women as producers, gatekeepers, and shock absorbers* (2020 Vision Brief) and *Women: the Key to Food Security* (IFPRI Policy Paper), for circulation at Beijing

1995-2004: Thirty-eight peer-reviewed articles published by intra-HH program contributors

1997: *Intra-Household Modeling: Methods, Models and Policy*, Lawrence Haddad, John Hoddinott and Harold Alderman, eds. Washington, D.C.: IFPRI

2000: *Intra-household allocation and gender relations: New empirical evidence from four developing countries*. Agnes Quisumbing and John Maluccio. Washington, D.C.: IFPRI, FCND Discussion Paper 84

2003: Resources at marriage and intra-household allocation: Evidence from Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Indonesia, and South Africa. Agnes Quisumbing and John Maluccio. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 65 (3): 283-328

2003: *Household Decisions, Gender and Development: A synthesis of recent research*. Agnes Quisumbing, ed. Washington, D.C.: IFPRI

2006: *Food Security in Practice: Using gender research for development*. Agnes Quisumbing and Bonnie McClafferty. Washington, D.C.: IFPRI

2008: *Agriculture and Development*, World Development Report (WDR) 2008. Washington, D.C.: World Bank

2008: *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, FAO and IFAD

2011: *Women in Agriculture: Closing the gender gap for development*. Rome: FAO State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA) 2010-11

Context and transmission process. During the 1980s, the decisions of the World Bank and the IMF to impose structural adjustment conditions on their lending programs for developing countries effectively ended the era of heavy subsidization for the agricultural sector as an engine of growth and means of ensuring a cheap food supply to urban populations. This led IFPRI to explore alternative policy options for food security. Based on Sen's work on entitlements, the view that food insecurity was a problem of poverty, not food supply, prevailed during the following decade. Also, recognition that food security needs to be assured at the individual as well as the household level gave nutritionists the opportunity to make and win the case for redefining food security in terms of nutritional adequacy of dietary intake of individuals.

The agricultural commercialization studies aimed to show that investing in commercialization of agriculture could have positive impacts on nutrition as well as on economic growth. These studies set the stage for the intra-HH program. Although IFPRI did not publish the case study results until 1994, when the book on *Agricultural Commercialization, Economic Growth and Nutrition* (von Braun and Kennedy, eds.) came out, the main findings were already known by the end of the 1980s. All the country surveys collected gender-disaggregated data and looked at intra-HH issues, using a standard approach, and the program became one of the first to collect comparable cross-country survey data for individual household members. The studies produced convincing evidence of the existence of a gender gap in small-farming households, and this stimulated interest in opening up the 'black box' of the household. Five case-study authors later became contributors to the intra-HH program (Harold Alderman, Howarth Bouis, Lawrence Haddad, Eileen Kennedy, and Joachim von Braun).

Haddad developed an interest in intra-household modeling, motivated partly by his agricultural commercialization work for IFPRI, partly by his prior exposure to the feminist thinking of Nancy Folgre and Beatrice Rogers in Massachusetts, and partly by the modeling work of Ravi Kanbur, his department chair at the University of Warwick from 1987-1990. He brought that interest to IFPRI and teamed up with Kanbur, now at the World Bank, to bring together a group of experts from various disciplines to review the state of the art on intra-household modeling and resource allocation at a workshop held at the World Bank in February 1992. Haddad's interest was to understand how intra-household resource allocation decisions affects nutritional status of individual household members, but the state-of-the-art review looked at intra-household modeling from a broader perspective. Results were published by IFPRI in an edited collection in 1997, *Intrahousehold Resource Allocation in Developing Countries: Models, Methods and Policy* (Haddad, Hoddinott and Alderman, eds.), with funding from the intra-HH program.

In the meantime, Haddad became Director of the Food Consumption and Nutrition Division (FCND) at IFPRI in 1994, mobilized funding from USAID/WID for a US\$3 million follow-up program of case studies, and recruited Agnes Quisumbing from the World Bank to lead it. She brought in a large number of collaborators through her previous connections at the Yale Economic Growth Center and by other means, and encouraged case study research and production of FCND discussion papers and peer-reviewed articles on a wide variety of topics with some relevance to the core theme of household decision-making dynamics and resource allocation. Results relating to this theme were published by Quisumbing and John Maluccio in an FCND Discussion Paper in 2000 and a peer-reviewed article in the *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* in 2003. In the same year, IFPRI also published a book synthesizing the work of a large number of intra-HH program collaborators on a variety of themes. – *Household Decisions, Gender and Development: A synthesis of recent research* (Quisumbing, ed.) – with funding from Norway.

The edited collections that synthesized the results of the precursor, preparatory and implementation phases of the intra-HH program served the purpose of bringing together in one place the results from studies authored by various contributors, but the more important academic outlets for these results were the peer-reviewed journals which published contributors' articles. Altogether, Haddad published 10 peer-reviewed articles with various collaborating authors between 1993 and 1995, and 32 other peer-reviewed articles were published by intra-HH program collaborators during the period from 1995-2004. IFPRI also published a guideline for policy-makers – *Food Security in Practice: Using gender research in development* (Quisumbing and McClafferty, 2006), and convened three regional workshops to disseminate it.

The impact of the IFPRI research did not begin to be widely felt, however, until the findings passed from academia to the more practice-oriented publications of the World Bank and the Rome-based food agencies (Quisumbing, personal communication, 2016). Moreover, widespread diffusion of the core message of the intra-HH program was aided considerably by the refocusing of global attention on the agriculture sector that occurred following the World Food Price Crisis of 2007-08. In the G8 *L'Aquila Declaration* and *L'Aquila Food Security Initiative (AFSI)*, July 2009, the members of the G8 acknowledged that investment in agricultural production had fallen short, and pledged to raise \$22 billion over three years for investment in agriculture through country-led plans and processes. This led to the establishment of the Global Agriculture and Food Security Program (GAFSP) Trust Fund, and the enhancement of OECD's Creditor Reporting System (CRS), so that progress toward achieving the AFSI pledge could be tracked. The renewed global interest in agriculture at this time created a receptive environment for SOFA 2010-11, which argued that reducing gender inequities, including at household level, would have important payoffs in terms of increasing agricultural production.

Ending of the Cold War in 1991 removed the incentive to invest in developing countries to counter Soviet influence and paved the way for bringing human rights to the forefront of the development agenda. Globalization captured the public imagination as a forward-looking vision for the planetary future, and a series of planned and ad hoc world conferences and summits laid the groundwork for the convening of a Millennium Summit in 2000 and the commitment of world leaders to eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with intermediate targets to be achieved by 2015.

The intra-HH program was implemented during the period between the convening of the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, and the convening of the Millennium Summit in New

York in September 2000. IFPRI's influence on the Beijing outcome was marginal, but the briefing papers that had been prepared attracted interest because they showed how using the gender lens could integrate considerations relating to household productivity and income and individual well-being. Five years later the focus of global attention had shifted, and secondary intra-HH program themes such as efficacy of conditional cash transfers, land rights for women, importance of women's status for child nutrition, and value of mixed methods for impact evaluation were receiving most of the attention.

Under the leadership of Joachim von Braun IFPRI continued to support work on gender through an internal Gender Task Force created in 2004, following termination of the intra-HH program. More importantly, however, collegial relationships between IFPRI researchers associated with the intra-HH program and various staff members at the World Bank created a channel for diffusing the program's core message to a wider audience. As a contribution to achievement of MDG One, 'Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger,' the Bank decided to focus its 2008 World Development Report (WDR) on the theme of agriculture and development, and brought in Alain de Janvry and Elizabeth Sadoulet – both contributors to the intra-HH program – as two of the Report's four authors. The planning for the 2008 WDR began before the World Food Price Crisis hit, but its timing was opportune, as it supported the subsequent renewal of donor interest in agriculture sector investments.

The Bank also joined forces with FAO and IFAD to produce a companion document providing guidance on how to incorporate gender in agricultural development work. The *Sourcebook on Gender and Agriculture* covers a large number of topics and many individuals contributed. Preparation of Module One was coordinated by Lynn Brown, an intra-HH program contributor before she joined the World Bank. Preparation of Module Two was coordinated by Regina Birner, an IFPRI staff member since 2003. Regina also served as the IFPRI representative on the Coordinating Committee for the Sourcebook, and mobilized contributions from other IFPRI staff as the need arose. The *Sourcebook* was mentioned as a useful compendium by a few key informants for this study, although it was generally considered to be too dense to be of much practical use in the field. Nonetheless, the preparation of it provided a valuable opportunity for sharing knowledge among the contributors, and a valuable external channel for diffusion of the core message of the intra-HH program.

Marcela Villareal, currently Director of FAO's Office for Partnerships, Advocacy and Capacity Development but then in charge of the organization's work on gender, signed off on the *Sourcebook* on behalf of FAO. Meanwhile, in Rome she was advocating internally for selection of a topic related to gender and agriculture for one of the next issues of FAO's annual flagship publication on the State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA). Her economist colleagues resisted initially, arguing that there was hardly any data, so no proper analysis could be done. She insisted, so they looked into it further and concluded that in fact more data existed than they first thought, and that something interesting could be done. The advice of external experts was sought, and Agnes Quisumbing, Ruth Meinzen-Dick and Cheryl Doss (then at Yale) were brought in as close collaborators and advisors to the in-house team, and a number of intra-HH program contributors were invited to prepare background papers. According to Villareal (Recorded Interview, October 20, 2016), SOFA 2010-11 was an eye-opener for many member countries of FAO when it was released, and it brought the core message of the intra-HH program to the international development community in a way that had lasting impact.

The list of milestone publications terminates with FAO's 2010-11 SOFA because the SOFA diffused the message very widely and the subsequent work was more about applying the core message in the field than about the diffusion of the message itself. The SOFA formulation that captured most attention was the following:

Solid empirical evidence shows that if women farmers used the same level of resources as men on the land they farm, they would achieve the same yield levels. The yield gap between men and women averages around 20–30 percent, and most research finds that the gap is due to differences in resource use.

SOFA presented this as a problem of differential access to resources, brought about by socially-determined differences in gender roles, and argued that policy interventions could help close the gender gap. Many later publications take the form of guidance documents and toolkits. Various think tanks and INGOs, along with FAO and IFAD, have been involved in their production. Review of this class of documents was not included in the original study design, but as the work proceeded, the study team became aware of its importance and reviewed some of the documents opportunistically. As noted in the discussion of guidance documents as a source of influence, a complete understanding of the uptake processes of INGOs would require a more systematic review of this literature, and analysis of the informal networks of individuals who have contributed to it.

Informal Networks

Haddad, Hoddinott, and Alderman (1997) concluded that "if household members in fact have different preferences, resources, and responsibilities, then designing policies while relying on a model of the household that assumes that individuals share the same preferences and pool their resources—the unitary model—may lead to policy failures" (Quisumbing 2003, p. 1). The core research of the intra-HH program focused on developing credible scientific evidence to demonstrate that the unitary model of household decision-making behavior should be rejected, but that household decision-making behavior could still be Pareto-efficient under the alternative cooperative model.

One set of studies funded entirely by the USAID/WID grant used a common survey design and comparable data to test the basic hypothesis that, if men's and women's preferences are different and there is bargaining, household decisions will vary according to the relative strengths of individuals' bargaining power. Another set of studies tested the same hypotheses by adding modules to already planned surveys. In addition to testing the basic hypothesis, many of these studies also looked at variances in welfare outcomes depending on which household member controlled which assets. A third set of studies considered gendered impacts of various social and economic conditions other than intra-household decision-making processes. A fourth set of studies considered methodological issues such as how to define and measure bargaining power, and how to design and implement mixed-method household surveys using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Finally, a fifth set of studies evaluated the impacts of various policies and targeted transfers aimed at improving indicators of household welfare by increasing women's access to resources and bargaining power. For purposes of this review, the content coverage of the program publications is classified according to the following nine themes:

- Theme One: Gender, agriculture and food security
- Theme Two: Human and social capital

- Theme Three: Labor allocation, migration and remittances
- Theme Four: Land rights and access to natural resources
- Theme Five: Marital assets, bargaining power and resource allocation
- Theme Six: Macro-economy
- Theme Seven: Nutrition and health
- Theme Eight: Policy and program impacts
- Theme Nine: Research and evaluation methods

Altogether more than 80 individuals contributed to the intra-HH program as authors or co-authors of FCND Discussion Papers, case study reports, peer-reviewed articles or book chapters, not counting local collaborators. Another 12 individuals served on an External Advisory Committee for the intra-HH program. Even though most academic contributors worked on only one or few specific themes and topics (Annex Table 3) and may not have read all the papers and articles that were produced, it seems likely that they talked to one another and shared the latest news on the topics the research was exploring. This process created a critical mass within academia, the World Bank and the Rome-based food agencies which accepted the propositions that the unitary household model did not accurately reflect intra-household decision-making behavior, and that a gender gap existed in small farming households that held back productivity and impacted negatively on the welfare of household members, especially women, girls and young children. It is certain that by the time FAO released its highly influential 2010-11 flagship publication, *State of Food and Agriculture on the topic of Women in Agriculture: Closing the gender gap for development*, these propositions were accepted as received wisdom in academic circles.

Of the 80 contributors for which profile information was obtained, 25 were IFPRI staff or guest researchers during program implementation, and another 10 were affiliated with IFPRI before or after the program period. Many of the contributors who belonged to IFPRI staff during the program period had other institutional affiliations and connections prior to joining IFPRI and again after leaving IFPRI. Other contributors also had various affiliations with these and other institutions during the period under review (1979-2015). This resulted in the formation of academic clusters and networks within which information about progress of the research could be exchanged and implications of the findings could be debated. Institutional affiliations of program contributors before, during and after program implementation are shown in Annex Table 4. These clusters can be configured in various ways – by theme, by institutional affiliation, by academic discipline. An analysis of their significance for the diffusion of the core message of the intra-HH program will be presented in Working Paper Three. This report merely presents the data that demonstrates their existence and documents the movements of intra-HH program contributors from one cluster to another.

It appears likely that another set of practitioner clusters and networks formed around IFPRI's work on the GAAP project (see below), and that these practitioner clusters established links between contributors to the intra-HH program and technical experts in INGO headquarters which resulted in widespread awareness of the core message of the intra-HH program within the INGO community.

Follow-up Research

An important finding of the studies conducted by the intra-HH program was that, while men typically bring more assets to marriage than women, the role that men's and women's assets play in household decision-making varies substantially across countries and specific cultural contexts. This is

because different types of assets in the hands of men relative to women have different implications for bargaining power, according to the status or prestige attached to a particular asset in a particular cultural context. Another equally important finding was that variations in site-specific characteristics, ethnicity, religious differences and cultural norms across communities and ethnic groups may have more influence than variations in the relative asset positions of men and women in explaining gendered differences in intra-household bargaining power within those groups (Quisumbing 2003). This means that in order for a field program or project to take account of intra-household decision-making dynamics, a gender assessment must be undertaken in the program or project area before implementation begins.

Based in part on recommendations of Catherine Bertini, former Executive Director of the World Food Program, (WFP), the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) provided funding to IFPRI in 2009 for a five-year project to test approaches for assessing the role of gender and intra-household control of assets in agriculture (Quisumbing, personal communication, 2016). The objective was to develop an assessment method that might be applied in the field to help guide the design and implementation of agriculture sector-related programs and projects. The Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project (GAAP) produced eight case studies, each conducted with the collaboration of an INGO. The findings from Phase 1 (2009-2014) generated considerable interest and had an important influence on the uptake of the core message of the intra-HH program by INGOs.

The GAAP project is part of a trend that emerged following the global commitment to the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs) in 2000. The need to monitor progress towards the MDGs generated a significant increase in interest and use of methods and tools for measuring outcomes and impacts of agriculture and nutrition-related interventions. Technological improvements in handling large databases made big multi-country surveys such as Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) and Living Standards Measurement Studies (LSMS) possible, and work at the RAND Corporation led by intra-HH program contributors Duncan Thomas and Elizabeth Frankenberg resulted in the development of a gender module for the LSMS that could capture characteristics of the gender gap at household level.

In 2010, the United States government launched its Feed the Future Initiative as a means to meet its commitment to agriculture embodied in the G8 *L'Aquila Food Security Initiative*, and USAID commissioned IFPRI to develop a Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) for use as a tool to reflect women's empowerment that might result from US assistance to agriculture under the Initiative. WEAI was piloted in 2011 and launched in 2012.

Although the WEAI was recognized as needed and important, it was intended mainly for use as a national reporting tool, and lacked the contextualization that is so necessary for formulation and monitoring of policies and programs. To adapt the WEAI for program and project use, CARE International reworked the index to meet its own internal needs. IFPRI also developed an abbreviated WEAI (A-WEAI) based on feedback from use of the original index, and piloted the new version in Bangladesh and Uganda. An instructional guide on the A-WEAI was published in October 2015. It includes a section on how A-WEAI can be used for diagnostics, based on the results from the Bangladesh and Uganda pilots (IFPRI, 2015). A second phase of the GAAP project (2014-2019), also funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, is supporting quantitative and qualitative studies by 15 agricultural development projects, with the aim of developing a project-level WEAI (pro-WEAI) tailored to diagnose

disempowerment through indicators relevant to specific, shorter-term projects to improve project design, monitoring, and evaluation (IFPRI Online).

IFPRI's follow-up research work on GAAP and WEAI has focused on measurement and assessment for three reasons. First, the intra-HH program found that, although existence of a gender gap in small-scale agricultural households was confirmed, characterization of the nature of the gender gap was location-specific and could not be generalized. This meant that a gender gap assessment would need to be done as part of any program or project design process, and tools would be required for this. Second, donor focus on transparency and accountability in the use of development cooperation funds following adoption of the Paris Agreement on Aid Effectiveness in 2005 stimulated interest of researchers in developing new and improved measurement and assessment tools. Third, the priority interest of the main donor in use of survey data to guide programming meant that funding was available to pursue this line of inquiry.

Views of Interviewees

The underlying premise for the follow-up research is that a good diagnosis of the characteristics of the gender gap in agriculture in a specific context will be enough to stimulate the interest and concern of persons in a position to act, and prompt them to do so. At the policy level, IFPRI argues that the diagnostics produced by the pilot of A-WEAI in Bangladesh have already brought about programming changes because the results demonstrated the negative effects of women's disempowerment on achievement of policy goals (Quisumbing, Personal communication). At the local level, numerous persons interviewed for this study commented on the sometimes dramatic positive effect of using techniques aimed at increasing awareness of both women and men of the positive benefits of more equal sharing of power within the household. They did not mention gender assessments as a significant influence on field practice, however.

The general views of those who commented on this topic were the following:

1. In response to the research findings of intra-household gender inequities, donors experimented with targeting women. Field experience showed that targeting women does not work because either the men take control of the resources obtained by the women, or they punish the women if they feel they are losing power and authority in the household.
2. In order to meet their Beijing commitments, donors introduced gender sensitization and gender mainstreaming as a cross-cutting objective to be included in all field programs and projects. This approach has also proved to be ineffective. Donors like it because it allows them to give lip service to gender without having to fund any specific actions. It offers no new programming content, however, often relying on the outdated metric of gender parity, which simply means ensuring that equal numbers of women and men benefit from an intervention.
3. A third approach which has been tried successfully by a number of the INGOs represented in this study involves engaging men and women together in constructive dialogue at community-level. Through community discussions about the benefits both women and men can obtain by making changes in the division of labor and control of resources within the household, men begin to see and experience how women's empowerment can be of direct

benefit to themselves. As their attitudes and behaviors begin to change, so do the intra-household decision-making dynamics.

4. Targeting both men and women in households with agricultural extension messages and resource transfers is an idea that has recently come into vogue in some quarters. As with targeting of women only, the study team would not consider this approach to be a reflection of the results of the original intra-household research unless intra-household gender dynamics and gender gaps are explicitly addressed. In other words, for purposes of this assessment, actions in the field only reflect the core message of the IFPRI research if they are intended to foster changes in intra-household decision-making behaviors that result in greater gender equity within the household. Evidence from the interviews conducted for this study strongly suggests that men will only support the empowerment of women if they have personal experience of the benefits of more equitable decision-making processes within the household. Without this, they are likely to block the impact of trainings and resources provided to women, as soon as they begin to threaten the existing power balance within the household.

Interviewees' perceptions were based on direct observation of what was working in the field. Many commented that as far as formal surveys and use of survey results are concerned, these would be the responsibility of headquarters staff, with surveys conducted by outside contractors and results analysed at HQ. Ideally, results of HQ-driven assessments would then inform program and project design, but interviewees who commented on this point indicated right now this is frequently not the case, due to time and budget constraints.³ It remains to be seen whether a tool such as pro-WEAI can be simple enough and generate enough field-level buy-in to result in its widespread application for project design and implementation.

Compared to the situation when the intra-HH program results first came on stream, changes in the content of food and agricultural policy, privatization of commodity value chains, and the increasing role of NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) in the sector have broadened the number of audiences that need to be reached. The evolution of the diffusion processes for the intra-HH program reflect these changes, with IFPRI now reaching out to a much more diverse set of potential users of policy research than when the findings and recommendations were first disseminated to national policy-makers in 2006. A cautionary note was sounded by a number of interviewees about the danger of IFPRI's reputation losing some of its luster because of the need to chase project funding, but IFPRI's outreach activities were generally appreciated and IFPRI is still looked to by many in the INGO community as a valuable 'go-to' source for news about latest research findings on food and agricultural policies and development.

³ This point was also emphasized by many INGO interviewees in the earlier study, *Survey and Interviews to Inform a Theory of Change on Use of A4NH Research by INGOs*, prepared by TANGO for the CGIAR Research Program on Agriculture for Nutrition and Health (A4NH) in 2014.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Explanatory Factors for Observed Impacts of the Intra-HH Program

The following are the main factors identified thus far that explain the observed impact of the core message of IFPRI's intra-HH program on the policies and field practice of DAC donors and INGOs.

1. Commitment of IFPRI's leadership

The policy advisory outreach promoted by John Mellor and Per Pinstруп-Andersen during their tenures as Director General, 1979-89 and 1990-2002 respectively, and the commitment of Joachim von Braun to mainstreaming the results of the intra-HH research program during his tenure as Director General, 2002-2009, provided a favorable environment for widespread diffusion of both core and secondary messages.

2. Strong personalities and forward-looking management decisions of the intra-HH program coordination team

Lawrence Haddad, then Director of IFPRI's Food Consumption and Nutrition Division (FCND), and Agnes Quisumbing, Intra-HH Program Coordinator, both worked actively to form and support large collaborative networks during and after program implementation. Researchers who collaborated with the intra-HH program and diffusion of its messages were afforded various opportunities for knowledge-sharing across disciplines and national boundaries, and this made it possible for communities of thought (thought clusters) to form around new ideas that were emerging from the research.

3. IFPRI's role and reputation as a policy think tank and node for connecting researchers with common interests

IFPRI's location in Washington, D.C., was an important factor contributing to its initial influence, and it has retained its reputation to this day. In 2016, IFPRI was ranked by its peers as number 46 out of 1835 think tanks in the US and as number 15 among international development think tanks (McGann, 2017). This has permitted IFPRI to serve as a node where researchers from different institutions could connect with each other and create communities of thought with sufficient critical mass to have widespread impact.

4. Outreach to INGOs through the GAAP Project

The diffusion process for the intra-HH program took place in two stages, first through informal networking and collaboration in the preparation of World Bank, IFAD and FAO publications through 2011, and second through direct collaboration with INGOs for implementation of the BMGF-funded GAAP project. Had there been no follow-up research and no direct engagement with INGOs, the impact at field level would almost certainly have been much more limited.

5. Adequacy of funding

The generosity of the initial USAID/WID grant facilitated the engagement of collaborators and the coverage of a large number of themes by the intra-HH program. When the USAID funding ran out, the readiness of the government of Norway to cover costs of publishing the findings made possible the early efforts to disseminate them to policy-makers. The subsequent grants by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation made possible the follow-up research, which created a mechanism for widespread dissemination of the original research findings among INGOs.

6. Influence and staying power of the core contributors to the intra-HH program

Of the three core contributors (Lawrence Haddad, Agnes Quisumbing and Ruth Meinzen-Dick) two are still at IFPRI (Agnes and Ruth). Both still champion the findings of the intra-HH program from their respective leadership positions. Agnes in particular has gained a global reputation for her work on gender, which began with the intra-HH research. In her position as co-lead for the GAAP2 project, she is still an important promoter of the key concepts. Ruth began working on gender and land rights when she joined IFPRI in 1989, and has been Coordinator of the System-wide CGIAR Program on Collective Action and Property Rights (CAPRI) since 1998. Ruth and Agnes together provided the leadership for IFPRI's Gender Task Force when it was created in 2004, and they still lead it today. Although Lawrence left IFPRI to become Director of IDS Sussex in 2004, he maintained his interest in the intra-HH research, particularly as it applied to his interest in the effect of women's status of child nutrition. The name recognition and global influence that all three of these individuals enjoy today is an important, though non-quantifiable, factor which helps to explain the impact of the research.

7. Importance of serendipity

Serendipitous factors that contributed to the observed impact of the intra-HH program include:

- Personalities and decisions of the intra-HH program leadership discussed above.
- The post-Cold War vision of a peaceful, globalizing world committed to economic and social progress and universal human rights.
- The prominence given to gender equality as a human rights issue following the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.
- The inclusion of 'promoting gender equality and empowering women' as a Millennium Development Goal in 2000 (MDG3).
- The 2006 decision of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to invest in agricultural development and the insistence of advisor Catherine Bertini that BMGF include gender in its agricultural development strategy and use IFPRI for this work.
- The decision of the World Bank to focus its 2008 World Development Report on the theme of Agriculture and Development and join forces with FAO and IFAD to prepare a *Sourcebook on Gender and Agriculture*.
- The World Food Price Crisis of 2007-2008 and the G8 *L'Aquila Declaration* and *L'Aquila Food Security Initiative* of 2009, which called for renewed investment in the agriculture sector.
- FAO's decision, at the insistence of Marcela Villareal, to dedicate its 2010-11 flagship publication on the State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA) to the theme of *Women in Agriculture: Closing the gender gap for development*.
- Availability of adequate funding for both initial and follow-up research.

Elements for Developing a Generalized Non-linear Model for Assessing Impacts of Policy Research

The original study proposal called for validation of a hypothesized linear model of impact pathways leading from knowledge generated by research to action by INGOs in the field, and the research design was based on the assumption that donors' gender policies and requirements would be the dominant influence on the field practice of INGOs. Neither the linear model nor the assumption of

dominant donor influence held up, however. In fact, donor policy does not have much influence on the field practice of INGOs. To the extent that it does, this is more likely to be constraining than helpful. If anything, the pathway of influence runs in the other direction – from the field to civil society to policy. Changes in the global environment for development cooperation since 2000 and use of separate funding channels for INGOs outside bilateral cooperation programs are two important reasons for this.

Moreover, whereas a linear, sequential diffusion and uptake process had been hypothesized, through which findings were first published and diffused to donors and then picked up by INGOs, the evidence gathered to date also does not support this hypothesis.⁴ Instead, it points to a non-linear process characterized by research, diffusion and uptake processes all taking place more or less simultaneously, with fluid links between researchers, development practitioners in international institutions, and technical experts in donor and INGO HQ. Field level staff are not important actors in these processes. They receive messages from HQ through guidance documents and technical experts, and integrate these with the country context and their field experience, to the extent that donor requirements and operational considerations allow them to do so.

The study team’s conclusion with respect to Research Question 5, “Can an understanding of the diffusion and uptake processes for IFPRI’s intra-household research program provide the basis for developing a more generalized model for use in assessing the impact of policy research?” is still tentative. The preceding discussion indicates that some factors that contributed to the widespread impact of the intra-HH program are present or could be replicated, at least for much, if not all of IFPRI’s policy research. These include IFPRI’s reputation as a global policy think tank, creation of and support for networks of researchers across a broad spectrum of institutions and geographical locations, and creation and support for communities of practice that foster dialogue and collaboration between researchers and INGOs in evaluative or action research projects.

Two unique features of these processes may not be generalizable, namely, the formation of a very large body of contributing researchers and the non-linear nature of their interactions. More specifically, it seems likely that the assessment approach used for the intra-HH program may only prove applicable to large collaborative policy research programs, such as a number of those implemented across the entire CGIAR system.

Some preliminary ideas about how a non-linear model might be developed are presented here. A more complete proposal is under development for inclusion in Working Paper Three, currently scheduled for completion in September 2017.

1. Within research communities, clusters form around a person who has published and received recognition for the results of milestone research (Pingali, 2001).
2. Members of these clusters carry out the validation research.
3. The initial impact of the milestone research occurs when a critical mass of researchers accepts the results.
4. Widespread diffusion takes place through personal interactions, both planned and unplanned. People are connected in the moment, not by a line.

⁴ John Young at the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) has reached a similar conclusion. He notes that “Policy processes are very rarely linear and logical. Simply presenting research results to policymakers and expecting them to put the evidence into practice is very unlikely to work” (Young, 2016).

5. Publication in peer-reviewed outlets gives credibility to the results, but the articles are not widely read.
6. Messengers transmit results orally or through social media. Conferences, workshops, seminars or meetings are important channels for diffusion.
7. Formal and informal discussion promotes group thinking and this process may incorporate research results without formally identifying them as such.
8. The presence or absence of such processes can be evaluated using qualitative methods. These methods can generate data for yes/no metrics, e.g., awareness of research findings; rankings, e.g., utility, degree of impact; and explanatory factors, e.g., lists, factor scores.
9. Outcome mapping (Earl, Carden and Smutylo, 2001), an impact evaluation tool developed at IDRC the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), offers useful concepts for developing an approach for evaluating costs and benefits of policy research, using qualitative methods.

SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The main findings and conclusions drawn from this study are summarized below.

Reflection of Core Message in Gender Policies of DAC Donors and Sources of Influence

1. The core message of the intra-HH program is reflected in 11 of the 20 gender policy documents reviewed, in 8 of the 13 headquarters interviews, and in 5 of the 11 field interviews. Altogether, the core message of the IFPRI research was reflected in some way for 16 of the 20 DAC donors for which information was obtained.
2. The main sources of influence on donors' approaches to gender included OECD/DAC, civil society, UN agencies and international financial institutions, and international conventions and commitments.
3. There is a general commitment to gender equality among donors, and there is a general awareness of the need to address gender inequities at the household level in order to achieve this goal, even if this is not always reflected in policy documents which, by their very nature, usually address concerns at a higher level.

Reflection of Core Message in Field Practice of INGOs, and Sources of Influence

4. The core message of the intra-HH program is reflected at the design stage in a quarter of the interviews, at the implementation stage in nearly half the interviews, and at the M&E stage in three-quarters of the interviews.
5. The sources of influence on INGO field practice most frequently mentioned by INGO interviewees were guidance documents (14/19), country context (11/19), field experience (11/19) and influential persons/champions (9/19).
6. Guidance documents may be provided to the field by the INGO headquarters, or developed locally. Guidance that comes from HQ may be influenced by the work of think tanks, other INGO methods and tools, and influential people. Such guidance has the most impact on monitoring and evaluation. Time and budget constraints often prevent INGOs from taking latest best practice guidance and M&E results into account during the design stage for future projects.

Attribution of Impact to IFPRI

7. Impact could be attributed quite confidently to IFPRI in 7 out of 19 INGOs interviewed, and in 3 of 20 donor policies analyzed. Another 8 INGO interviews and all other donor policies reviewed indicated the possibility of indirect impact, but in the time available, it was not possible to trace these pathways backward to see whether they led to IFPRI.

Nature of Diffusion and Uptake Processes

8. The research design for this study was based on the assumption that donors' gender policies and requirements would be the dominant influence on the field practice of INGOs that they funded. This assumption did not hold up, however.
9. Donor policy does not have much influence on the field practice of INGOs. To the extent that it does, this is more likely to be constraining than helpful. If anything, the pathway of influence runs in the other direction – from the field to civil society to policy. Changes in the global environment for development cooperation since 2000 and use of separate funding channels for INGOs outside bilateral cooperation programs are two important reasons for this.
10. Ideas that have impact are transmitted through people. Communities of thought (thought clusters) form around new ideas that emerge from milestone research or field experience.
11. Having an institutional home with a solid reputation which can serve as a node where people from these different thought clusters can connect is an essential condition for widespread impact.
12. Serendipity plays an important role in determining whether or not a specific set of research findings will have widespread impact.

Elements for Developing a Non-Linear Model for Assessing Impacts of Policy Research

13. A linear, sequential diffusion and uptake process had been hypothesized, according to which findings were first published and diffused to donors and then picked up by INGOs. The evidence gathered to date supports a different hypothesis, according to which research, diffusion and uptake processes all take place more or less simultaneously and fluid non-linear links connect researchers, development practitioners in international institutions, and technical experts in donor and INGO headquarters with each other.
14. The presence or absence of such processes can be characterized and assessed using qualitative methods, and the results can be used for metrics such as awareness of research findings, utility and degree of impact, and rankings of explanatory factors.
15. Outcome mapping, an impact evaluation tool developed at IDRC, offers useful concepts for developing an approach for evaluating costs and benefits of policy research using qualitative methods.
16. Large collaborative research programs are particularly well-suited for testing such an approach, because they could be expected to create the thought clusters through which research messages are diffused, according to the proposed model.

LIST OF ANNEX TABLES

Annex Table 1. Impact of IFPRI Research on DAC Donor Policies and Practice

Annex Table 2. Impact of IFPRI Research on INGO Policies and Practice

Annex Table 3. Themes Addressed by Contributors to the Intra-HH Program

Annex Table 4. Institutional Affiliations of Contributors to the Intra-HH Program

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