

## GENDER AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COOPERATION PROGRAMS

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Gender is not a specific topic among other cooperation themes, but it must be transversal to all of them. This is the correct theoretical approach, but in the real situation, in rural areas especially, gender projects are still confused with women projects and nowadays in the rural cooperation projects we witness a lot of women oriented activities, which share little with gender. It seems to be brought back to the seventies WID ages and the consequence is the feeble sustainability of these projects during the time, especially when they come to an end. The problem is more manifest whereas these projects should implicate men and women in rural villages, often recluses and with poor communication lines and means.

The proposal of this panel was to explore this situation through the analysis of different contributions coming from ONGs, universities, local municipalities, research centres.

The presented papers showed the well known critical points that limit women's participation to improve concrete gender actions in the field, from lack of policies to land grabbing, from weak mainstreaming to unreliable gender data to highlight the real context where improve projects actions, from the gap between research studies and the daily life of rural people (especially women) to poor assets management and resources control. Last, but not less important, the multiple factors of discrimination (clan, religious, social) at the base of internal conflicts and wars, which mainly strike women.

The first speech concerned the presentation of the IAO gender project, a multidisciplinary one funded by the IDC (Italian Development Cooperation - Direzione Generale alla Cooperazione allo Sviluppo del Ministero) under the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and managed by the IAO and based in Florence.

The IAO/Gender working group developed a multi-disciplinary research system which was carried out at three levels:

- analysis of the available literature to highlight the development project priorities: land and resources tenure, relationship between farm production and market, rural associations, food security, rural information availability, all of them seen from a gender point of view;
- study of a methodology to conduct field analysis, through experts involvements and focus groups;
- field surveys, to analyze gender project effects, in priority countries for the Italian Development Cooperation: Senegal, Burkina Faso and Mozambique.

Among many lessons learned through this project [1], only some notices are here reported. Concerning the research, the aim that it creates a dialogue and it is a creation of alliances for field purposes: studies on land representations, geographic surveys, socio-anthropological analysis, economic and statistic considerations, are all important if field actions follow. Afterward, the need to develop a system of monitoring, shared with all stakeholders participating in the life and governance of the land, in order to guarantee voice to both women and men and to support gender empowerment and mainstreaming. But the most important issue is to create a different development model with different lifestyles from those prevailing now, where it is impossible to include women's capacities and chances without changing power relationships [2].

The Lanzano et al. paper highlighted the problem of the implementation of the gender approach in some rural development projects in Senegal, specifically in the Louga Region (Northern Senegal), one of the eleven areas at high environmental and social risk (ZARESE, Zone à Risque Environnemental et Social Elevé) of the ITALIA-CILSS program. As observed by the Authors, many of these projects, focused on income generating activities through food processing, aimed to make home-based informal activities more structured and, therefore, more profitable. They nevertheless observed that these formalized interventions, based on a modernism approach, have paradoxical consequences: women involved in these projects have expectations of modernity and efficiency, not in line with the poor local market and the low final products demand. Another critical point is the technology, always requested also when training lacks or it is not well suited. More 'women only' projects than gender ones have been observed by the Authors, who did not found in them the relational dimension of gender, but the crystallization of women's roles in value chains.

Mariam Yassin Hagi Yussuf and Davide Rigallo presented the ONG IIDA (a non-profit organization that was founded in 1991 in Mogadishu by a group of Somalia women to promote women's political, economic and social rights). Since 1991 this ONG has been promoting food security, education, health, conflicts management, demobilization and disarmament, local Government building, as well as gender projects. Concerning the difference between 'rural' and 'urban' areas, it is interesting to notice that, because of the long term conflicts during the Civil War,

it was increasingly blurred, to the point that it no longer constitutes a cut-off criteria on the social plan for the definition of specific methods of intervention. Two are the focal points of IIDA: the fact that traditional channels of influence (men and women shared) should be explored as a priority and a gender audit of the Somali Constitution.

The 'Ne Yi Beego Burkina', a project of the COCOPA network of the decentralized cooperation of the Piemonte Region was then presented. Among many other things, this project promoted some actions of education and health especially among young women: empowerment women measures were realized too.

Costanza Tognini explained a work concerning the gender mainstreaming strategies implemented by International Organizations in health and education programs. A case study of the UNICEF Indonesia's Gender Policy in three provinces was presented, through the realization of a gender mainstreaming index. Because the gender mainstreaming measurement is obtained by real data, as all other indexes, the main problem encountered in this work was the data reliability (as underlined by the Author: '... the data available lacked scientific value and was collected using arbitrarily assigned sampling methods ...'). This fact is quite worrying, because the index is a number, resulting from previous numbers and if these last are not reliable, the result is not trustworthy. Nevertheless, the conclusions revealed that among some stakeholders there was a minimal understanding of the terms gender equality and gender mainstreaming, while, especially in the local government departments, other people were unaware of the existence of a gender mainstreaming strategy, although the desire to know more was frequently expressed. The result was a lack of gender awareness training and implementation of the government gender mainstreaming policy in the education and health departments.

In a different area, but in a similar way, the same lack of gender questions in a governmental department was observed by Alice Centrone, who presented a work concerning the difficulty to implement gender indicators to support rural projects in three Regions of Senegal. This study intended to suggest gender indicators to implement a development project aimed to improve the subsistence level and the quality of life of the population across a rural area of sub-Saharan Africa. Another goal of the paper was to reflect on the effectiveness of these indicators as well as on their contribution (or not) to a more equitable implementation of such development projects. On the basis of the available data, three indicators for each region were elaborated: a Nutritional Index, an adjusted Gender Inequality Index and an Index of Economically Qualified Presence of Women and Men in Agriculture. Hereafter the numerical results (which encourage to continue to realize specific regional index to picture local situations instead of using national indicators), it was noted how in Senegal accurate data disaggregated by gender in agricultural contexts or do not exist, or are not available, or are available primarily through direct qualitative surveys (which is difficult to access, especially if conducted by other institutions or international organizations). Another focal point was the necessity to implement a deep sharing of the research outputs with all the stakeholders implicated by the development projects, whether direct and indirect beneficiaries, active subjects of the preliminary field investigations as well as the internal staff of public bodies. This is very important, especially in view to 'bridge' the research with the field actions.

In this panel many suggestions to enhance the gender perspective in the rural cooperation programs were proposed: an action list was not delivered, because lack of time, but the most important point, as Bianca Pomeranzi states, is that: '... women's participation in rural development interventions is absolutely necessary in order to meet the goals of food security and environmental sustainability ... development interventions at all levels (from macroeconomic policies to country programs...) must be able to offer a correct analysis of the results reached by the processes which have been implemented' [2].

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## INTERNATIONAL AID AND GENDERED ROLES IN AGRICULTURAL VALUE CHAINS: SOME REFLECTIONS FROM A RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IN NORTHERN SENEGAL

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### ABSTRACT

Overcoming the gender gap in agriculture is nowadays one of the focal points of major international institutions, governments and development agencies. In this paper, we discuss some effects of international aid in rural contexts on gender dynamics and women's empowerment. Through the analysis of some small-scale projects in Northern Senegal – implemented within a wide rural development aid program in West Africa - we develop some reflections on the observed women-oriented projects: we stress the risk that women end up being “locked” into pre-defined roles, namely in small-scale food processing activities, by a standardized logic of aid projects. We develop an analysis of the practices that may lead to this outcome and of the characteristics of such “women roles” in value chains. We discuss this observation in the light of the gendered division of tasks in primary products value chains and of the literature on the integration of “gender” in development thinking. By means of this analysis, we draw some reflections on the discrepancy between explicit empowerment goals and unintended outcomes of aid.

### INTRODUCTION

This paper originates from an interdisciplinary qualitative fieldwork – at the crossroad of social anthropology, human geography and economics - on an aid program in rural development in Senegal and in some of the small-scale projects that have been funded within its framework. Without being an evaluation and neither a monitoring of the development program, it tries to observe some of its practices and outcomes and to discuss them in a gender perspective.

We focus on the donor's intervention practices on what concerns the way gender is integrated into the project, with a greater attention to the smallest level of the project, that is the small-scale realizations. We identify a standardized procedure of design and implementation of those projects directed to women, that we try to situate in the wider debate on the integration of gender dynamics into development aid programs. This observation leads us to identify in food-processing the major field of women's projects; we thus analyze some characteristics of this recurrent practice (and some relevant exceptions), such as market power and control over resources of women that enter into the promoted food-processing activities, or the effect of putting a huge emphasis on formalization of home-based activities and on technological modernization. Our claim is that the risk of creating a “ghetto” for rural women has to be taken into account.

We don't aim here to give an exhaustive picture of the specific development program we observe: we “use” it as a tool to extract reflections that may provide insights for a wider range of projects, where a gender component has been integrated by means of income-generating activities specifically oriented to women.

### RURAL DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS IN THE LOUGA REGION, SENEGAL.

In 1999, the Italian Government decided to reconvert a substantial part of his credit revolving fund into multi-sectorial grant interventions for poverty reduction. These grants were destined to some of the poorest geographical areas in the world by using framework programs to guarantee coordination and coherence between the different types of intervention promoted by Italian Cooperation system (multilateral and bilateral aid, decentralized cooperation and NGOs).

Owing to his conditions of extreme poverty and environmental degradation, the Sahel region was selected for this kind of program through a pilot scheme – the Italia-CILSS Fund to Combat Desertification for Poverty Reduction in the Sahel - mainly focusing on four countries: Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal.

The general objective of Italia-CILSS was to tackle the poverty and desertification spiral through improving rural people's socio-economic conditions and natural resources management, in the framework of the ongoing decentralization process, by acting at three different levels at the same time, sub-regional, national and local. At a local

level, eleven areas at high environmental and social risk – labelled “ZARESE<sup>1</sup>” – were selected and many micro-projects were cofounded at a village level. These small investments were promoted by local Governments and Farmers’, Community and grass-root organizations, within which both women only groups and mixed ones. Italia-CILSS Fund strategy was therefore clearly based on a local development approach in order to encourage local communities’ initiative and control over project design and implementation process.

It seems useful to identify two distinct phases of the program. A first one, from 2005 to 2008, in which interventions were made at the village scale, where micro-projects were designed following the priorities of Participatory Poverty Assessment and Local Development Plans. An extension phase, from 2009 to July 2011, marked by a “territorial” approach for defining a Natural Resources Management Program for each ZARESE with interventions at inter-village level. During this reframing period, the necessity of integrating a gender approach in the strategic framework raised up. It has been observed that implicit concern could not be enough to guarantee full participation of women in designing micro-projects and in enjoining their effects. Moreover, it is claimed that women livelihoods and economic activities are particularly exposed to depletion of natural resources. There has been therefore the attempt to introduce the gender dimension in the second phase of Italia-CILSS. We don’t aim here to evaluate the introduction of a “gender approach” at the macro-level of the program. At the small-scale level (that is our focus in this work), we observe that both the projects proposed by women associations and the Advisory Support Team’s approach didn’t modify substantially their practices during the second phase of the Program.

Our study area – the ZARESE of Louga – is situated in the Louga Region in northern Senegal. It formally matches the administrative limits of the Louga Department (5.649 km<sup>2</sup> and 299.075 habitants<sup>2</sup>), but actually operates in just three of his fifteen *Communautés Rurales* (CR) – Léona, Mbédiennne and Gandé – for a total area of 2.603 km<sup>2</sup> and for a total population of 40.829 units. These three CR are not contiguous and they overlap three distinct agro-ecological areas: the Pastoral Rangeland area covering about 90% of the Gandé CR; the *Niayes* area whose extension is about 40% of the Léona CR; and the Groundnut basin that includes the remaining 60% of Léona and the whole CR of Mbédiennne.

## PROJECTS FOR WOMEN: PROCESSING FISH, VEGETABLES, MILK AND GRAIN.

In the Louga ZARESE, the associations involved in promoting micro-projects have been: grassroots’ organization (*Comité de Santé, Associations Parentes d’Elèves*); village level associations, including *Groupements de Promotion Feminin* (GPF-women organizations); peasants’ organizations (*Groupement d’Interêt Economique* or local unions of regional or national organizations).

On what concerns the Mbédiennne CR, in the two phases 23 micro-projects (first phase) have been funded and 19 villages (second phase) have been involved. Of these, only 8 have been promoted by women’s *groupements*: 5 grain processing units, a collective plot devoted to horticulture and a warehouse for grain storage. In the CR of Léona, 27 micro-projects have been financed and 23 villages involved: 11 of these projects explicitly concerned women’s groups. Again we find 5 grain processing units, a warehouse, a collective plot, a unit for vegetable processing and one for fish processing activities, and a unit of compost production from fish scraps. On what concerns the Gandé CR, out of 15 projects of the first phase, only one (a grain processing unit) is promoted by a women’s group, while in the second phase they are two out of 8 projects (that involved several villages): a training for the introduction of improved ovens for cooking and a processing unit for dairy products.

As we can see from this survey, the majority of micro-projects proposed by GPF promote small-scale food processing activities for women’s group (namely grain, milk, fish and vegetables). Only four out of these are primary production projects (collective horticultural plot...), among which two were currently not operational at the time of our fieldwork.

On the other hand there are several primary production projects promoted by peasants’ groups that include man and woman, but from our observation they show a remarkably lower participation of women with respect to men<sup>3</sup>. In what follows we present four cases of women food processing activities that constitute our case studies.

### Dry fish in Niayam Plage

In the coastal area of the rural community of Léona, funds from the Italy-CILSS program have supported the role of women in purchasing and processing part of the fish caught in the local lively chain of *pêche artisanale* (small-scale fishing through motorized *pirogues*). The development of fisheries in the area is – according to some sources [1] – relatively recent, and it is mainly due to seasonal migration of fishermen and their households from Guet Ndar, an area in the Northern city of Saint-Louis whose population is specialized in fishing activities [2]. On a beach located 7 km

<sup>1</sup> The term ZARESE (Zone à Risque Environnemental et Social Elevé) was originally coined by the Italian General Directorate for Development Cooperation working groups and after more largely employed to individuate target-areas for interventions against poverty and desertification. In Italia-CILSS Fund the ZARESE matched the administrative level called *Département, Province* or *Circle* (according to the Country), embracing several local Governments (*Communes* or *Communautés Rurales*) with a variable amount of villages and nomadic hamlets.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Senegalese Statistical Department assessment in 2005.

<sup>3</sup> For example, within a project of phosphate fertilizers and compost ditches experimentation only one woman out of ten producers has been involved.

away from the commercial center of Potou, the *Guet-Ndarien* fishermen have established a semi-permanent settlement nowadays known as Niayam Plage. Women from the neighboring village of Niayam, whose population is predominantly Wolof and Fula and was not traditionally active in fishing, have become increasingly involved in fish processing and especially in the treatment and commercialization of *gejj* or dried fish: they have received training, or taken example, from women of Niayam Plage, who dominate the local market.

In this context, women groups in Niayam, who gather a total amount of approximately 200 women active in fish processing, have received support for funding a storage building for the tools used in their work; they have also been supported for the purchase of a *pirogue* in order to guarantee a sufficient supply of fish for their processing activities. In fact, women from the fishermen settlement of Niayam Plage take advantage of their kinship relations to obtain satisfying quantities of fish from their husbands or male relatives who own a *pirogue*, while still paying for it; conversely, women from Niayam can experience obstacles in obtaining fish of acceptable quality, especially in periods of scarcity when fishermen give priority to the most profitable fresh fish markets. The purchase of a *pirogue* was meant to help overcome some of these obstacles: while entrusting it to trained *Guet-Ndarien* fishermen, the women group would retain the property of the canoe, thus securing the majority of the product resulting from fishing expeditions.

The operation resembles another intervention by the Millennium Villages Project, which funded the purchase of three canoes in the same area; our example, though, is the only one where the control of the *pirogue* was specifically attributed to a women group – and, as a consequence, used mainly to improve the processing phase of the chain. We don't have enough data to prove whether the intervention of the Italy-CILSS fund has managed to reinforce the position of the women from Niayam. Overall, the dried fish market seems to be still dominated by *Guet-Ndarien* women sellers, and the proportion of means – one *pirogue* for the women group of Niayam out of a few hundreds circulating in the area – will probably achieve only limited though symbolic results.

### Juices and vegetables in Potou

Potou is a growing commercial pole of the rural community of Léona, at the heart of the Niayes, where horticulture plays a crucial role in local economy<sup>4</sup>. A processing unit for horticultural products has been built in the compound of the local Maison Familiale<sup>5</sup>, under the supervision of an extension worker, responsible for the organization in the area. The Italy-CILSS program has funded the construction of a small building, the purchase of tools and machines necessary for processing and conserving the products (such as pots, buckets, kitchenware, refrigerators) and the organization of training sessions on food processing and hygiene (co-organized with the ITA – *Institut de Technologie Alimentaire*). Since the unit was meant as a reference workplace for the area, representatives from 26 villages in the whole rural community were encouraged to participate to the training sessions: 9 of these villages were even located far from the Niayes, in the inner territory of the *Djeri*, where in fact the culture of cereals largely prevails over horticulture. In each village, 2 women were selected to take part to the training, and a final selection was subsequently operated to constitute the work team, composed of three 5-women small groups who would alternate in working at the processing unit.

Completed by early 2011, the unit started in March a test production, which was suspended a few months later for the rainy season. At the time of our last fieldwork, activities were expected to start again soon, but some problems that emerged during the test phase had not yet found a solution. From March to June, the unit had produced fruit juices, mainly the so-called *jus locaux* such as ginger, *bissap* (hibiscus) and *ditax*; fruit jams made with papaya or *buy* (baobab fruit); and some vegetable jams made with sweet potatoes and eggplants. Though initially inspired by the idea of valorizing the rich production of the Niayes area, of offering new forms of product conservation and of diversifying the market, apparently the unit had oriented its activities in favor of the most successful products, based for example on the processing of *bissap* and baobab fruit; as a consequence, a significant part of fresh fruits – later to be processed – was in fact purchased outside the Niayes. Even so, problems in the commercialization of final products were repeatedly reported.

### Dairy products in Gandé

The rural community of Gandé, is located at the Western margins of the Ferlo, a large dry area in Northern-Central Senegal mainly inhabited by Fulani herders. While several studies have exposed the transformations undergone by livelihoods in the area as in all African pastoral societies, especially concerning sedentarization and changes in mobility patterns [5] [6], or commercialization of exchanges and preferences [7], bovine herding remains central for the articulation of social and kinship relations. The gendered division of labor, though subject to change especially under the pressure of markets<sup>6</sup>, attributes women the essential of dairying activities and the informal trade of dairy products.

In Gandé, following the example of many micro-dairies (*microlaiteries*) promoted by development projects in West Africa since the 1990s [9], the Italy-CILSS fund has supported the creation of a processing unit for the production of *lait caillé* (also referred to as *soow* in Wolof) or curdled milk, that most Fulani women usually process at home and sell to neighbors and in the street. The project has included the construction of the unit main building (currently one of the

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed description of the production patterns of horticulture in the Niayes, see [3] or [4].

<sup>5</sup> The local unit of a National-level association network.

<sup>6</sup> For an early analysis on modernization of dairying and its consequences on Fulani women in Nigeria, see [8].

very few buildings in bricks that can be found in the town of Gandé), the funding of materials and machines for the processing work, and the organization of training sessions on milk processing and hygiene. A team of 16 women has been constituted for the work at the processing unit, while a few men have been selected for collecting milk quotas in the different villages and selling it during the weekly markets of the area. Nevertheless, several problems have delayed the conclusion of the project: the building process was ended by early 2011, but at the time of our last fieldwork the unit had not yet started working, mainly because of lack of power supply.

### Grain processing units in Bari Diam Cissé and Thiar Ndiaye

Groundnut and millet processing activities are widely practiced by women and children in the region (and in most West African rural areas), that is the reason why several projects providing mills and oil presses have been implemented. Here we focus on two out these to exemplify different management strategies and effects, that are partly linked to the socio-economic environment and the degree of autonomy of the promoting GPF.

In Bari Diam Cissé (Mbédiène CR), the GPF *Book Diom* is composed by 60 women that were used to process groundnut and millet manually or moving to another village 5 km far. Flour and oil are both produced for family consumption and for commercialization and micro-project had a significant impact on the amount of production that can be sold. A managing Committee keeps the accounts of the processing unit and calculates sale proceeds every month. Their amount varies depending on season: during *hiver* (dry season) from December to May, when there are considerable groundnut and millet assets, profits can reach 150.000 FCfa par month; while during *hivernage* (rainy season), when raw materials are scarce and agricultural field work is the main people's occupation, profits are around 50.000 Fcfa. Up to now, profits have been divided in three equal parts: one to the unit working capital, one to the GPF as amortization fund, and one to the miller (a man). At the moment of our fieldwork, it was the local *marabout*<sup>7</sup> to take care of the GPF funds. This money is not only used for unit amortization costs, but also for other village needs (such as funerals, medicines, diseases...) and for co-funding other community development projects. Women however did not show a great degree of involvement in money management: profit allocation and decisions about projects financing are kept by the village association Secretary (a man).

In Thiar Ndiaye (*Djeri* zone of Léona CR), the introduction of a grain processing unit had a lower direct impacts on the 116 women's individual revenues and displacement, since private processing machineries were already present in the village. Moreover, interviewed women have declared that only groundnut oil is devoted to commercialization on weekly markets of Potou and Léona. As in Bari Diam Cissé, sale proceeds are calculated every month and divided in three parts, but, here, millers are two women and GPF funds belong to GPF members only. Profits have also been invested in an awning and utensils for ceremonies (rush matting, stockpot, chairs...) that are rented to people outside the *groupement*, also in the surrounding villages. Women have obtained a loan from a microfinance institution to buy a more powerful engine for the processing unit, while the old one can be used in their collective horticultural plot. Grain processing unit therefore had direct effects on GPF collective savings and had consequently upgraded their access to credit and investment capacity for both individual activities (small ruminants breeding) and collective ones (utensils for ceremonies, horticultural plot).

## THE STANDARDIZATION OF "GENDER APPROACHES"

In the previous section we have shown that most aid interventions targeted to women aim to develop income-generating activities based on processing of primary products. This is a regularity identified, beside our case study, in many other programs and in other contexts of West Africa. In this and following sections, we try to disentangle different components and possible consequences of this observed regularity. On the reasons why primary products processing is considered a "female" activity, we can put forward some factors: as suggested by Dolan [10], these may be more compatible with the other tasks women perform. These are care activities, that are carried by women, even if at different extent depending on the social context and the position women occupy within the household (whether unmarried, monogamous, or first or last wife in a polygamous family,...). Most of interviewed women who work in the food processing units told us that they started to carry out the processing activity at home, devoting to it a variable portion of time, depending on other occupations. The logic of the project has been to intervene in the organization of "female" home-based artisanal activities. This raises the question on how to deal with the need to adjust interventions to the context-specific gendered division of labor, and the risk of crystallizing a certain image of "female" and "male" activities. This crystallization is identified as dangerous for women empowerment in global value chains, since it is exploited by powerful actors in the chain in order to reduce costs and have more informal and "docile" workforce (see [11] on the role of women in agricultural contracts). As Dolan [10] argues, the gendered roles in value chains may be driven also by stereotypes on women qualities in work and women preferences; this is also highlighted by Dedeoğlu [12] with specific attention to informal market, that, as she claims, more than formal ones, embed such stereotypes. We will not be able to fully answer to this question, but we are going deeper into the analysis of the implications of such a choice and the methodology through which it is implemented.

<sup>7</sup> Religious authority.

Most of these projects tend to replicate, although in different sectors and contexts, similar patterns and intervention methods: they provide tools and working materials, such as buckets, cutlery, tables or shelves; they organize trainings, that are usually oriented to promote the creation of women's associations (*groupements*) or a greater formalization of the existing ones, and/or improve the productive process, namely on what concerns the hygienic conditions of the processing activity; sometimes they build up a permanent structure as technologically-improved processing unit (they may include refrigerators, electric mills, etc.).

This replication of the same methodology of intervention may consolidate some approaches both among "developers" and among "developed". The formers are likely to include food processing projects directed to women as "packages" within an overall strategy that pays little attention to gender relations as a broader and cross-cutting concern, thus operating in a manner still closer to the WID approach, with little integration of its criticisms. On the other hand, from the point of view of the beneficiaries, the integration of a "gender approach" usually translates into the implementation of *ad hoc* projects for women that replicate pre-defined models.

A sign of this replication of practices regardless the context is that, in any of the visited processing units, a business plan has not been prepared before the start-up of the activity, nor a market analysis has been carried out. Aims of food processing activities are to diversify production in order to reach a greater demand or to provide conservation systems for perishable products. From the observation of the described cases, nevertheless, we can see that often these interventions aren't grounded on local market characteristics, on existing trading networks, on market prices and their variations, on seasonality of products, or on the actual mobility opportunities of traders or of women employed in the activities. Of the problems we have observed in the activities that are the core of the projects, some depend on project implementation delays or inconveniences. More relevant to us are production and market related problems, such as difficulties in commercialization of final products, due to demand lower than expected, or to high production costs that implied non-competitive prices of final products. In other cases, problems were related to difficulties in finding raw primary products to be processed or to high prices of these commodities. In the fish processing case, the difficulty in buying fresh fish is related both to product seasonality and to the lack of "relational capital" of Wolof and Fulani women who are the beneficiaries of the project. In other cases, there are not enough means to expand the trading network. Juice and processed vegetables producers suffered high costs when decided to produce *bissap*, since this has higher local demand: in order to meet this demand, they have to buy raw material far away at higher costs, thus moreover reducing the positive impact of processing towards local production.

This lack of consideration for actual market condition and economic effectiveness in projects that nonetheless aim to develop market-oriented activities, goes together with the need, specific of aid agencies, that the project (the processing unit) is operational, even if the women working within the units have to buy raw material far away from local producers, thus "distorting" the economic aim of processing process, that is to sell out excess of local production and to favor local producers. The outcome risk to be surprisingly similar to the one produced within global value chains: autonomous revenues are generated for women, but they are small and volatile. The risk is that women end up being locked in "small income" occupations or poorly profitable activities, whose promotion is justified by the fact that they are "for women".

We find a similar observation in the work by Fatou Sow [13], who analyzed the promotion of income-generating activities for women in the petty trading sector and concluded that "there is a contradiction between these generous ideas and their actual practice, that does not support women's effort and continues to consider their jobs as ancillary activities"<sup>8</sup> [13: 53].

## GHETTOIZING RURAL WOMEN THROUGH INCOME -GENERATING ACTIVITIES?

So far, we have identified this standardization of women-oriented aid projects and the risks that these contribute in "locking" women into specific tasks in local primary products value chain. The following question is whether these are disadvantaged or marginal positions. A first element to be considered is market power. In the cases that we have seen, women working in processing activities are in quite large number, both on the demand side, when buying raw products, and on the supply side, when selling final product. This implies a tight competition that makes them face short-side power from the other part of the transaction. The fact that most of women perform the same activity on a home-based artisanal basis - and that they are very likely to continue to do so even when they take part in standardized work at the modern processing units- has the consequence to increase demand of raw commodities and supply of final products. A partial response to this problem is the organization of workers in *groupements*, but what we have seen is that rarely women's group priority is collective trading.

In the case of food and vegetables processing in Potou, trading is organized on a group-basis, but the *groupement* faces low market power, since the demand for processed products is limited by the size of the local market and incurs in the high costs illustrated in the previous section.

Two other elements that have to be taken in consideration in analyzing the power of the position women have in the considered value chains are skill specialization of tasks and skill "fungibility", that is to say the scope for applying those skills outside that specific position. On what concerns the first issue, it is often noticed that women occupy low-

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<sup>8</sup> Authors' translation from French.

skilled position in agricultural and handcraft value chains, as it is argued by the literature on gendered roles in global value chains, that are sometimes defined as the lowest levels of “global assembly lines” [12: 2]. Dolan [10] finds this segregation into low-skilled jobs in packhouses of Kenyan export-oriented horticulture, both from the point of view of tasks that are routinized, and of the position within the chain, that is into flexible or “casual” jobs: “their opportunities of skill development are circumscribed by their concentration in flexible work, in which companies are less likely to invest” [10: 117]. Even if both the contractual framework and the market characteristics of the cases we observe are very different from the one presented by Dolan, we can identify some common features. On one hand, the flexibility and seasonality of the task performed, and, on the other hand, the fact that it demands skills that are quite widespread among local women (or at least within an ethnic or regional group, such as Guet-Ndariens women in the case of fish processing and Fulani women in the case of dairy products). These projects aim to reduce the flexibility of women manpower, but they manage just partially to reach this aim, as a consequence of the limited scope of the economic performance of the activities.

On what concerns skill use outside the sector, our observation suggests that such small scale processing activities do not provide women with “fungible” knowledge to be potentially employed in alternative ways on the labor market. This is probably more a limitation of the rural Senegalese labor market, rather than a limitation of the implemented projects: as claimed by Oussouby Touré and Sidy Mohamed Seck [4], weaknesses of the rural non-agricultural labor market is a major bottleneck in employment creation, also on what concerns processing activities.

If compared with the projects directed to men associations, these small-scale transformation activities allow for less access to key productive resources (namely land, physical capital and credit). This aspect is noteworthy, since access to these resources is widely considered a crucial aspect of women’s empowerment both by scholars involved in gender-related approaches to development and by activists.

As stated by Cathy Rozel Farnworth [14] in her report to a recent international organizations’ meeting, a gender analysis of a value chain shall imply, among other elements, an analysis of differentials in access and control over key productive assets between women and men. We don’t have sufficient data to proceed to such an analysis systematically, but, from our case studies, we get some hints that suggest that projects directed to women don’t provide new access to productive inputs.

A partial exception is represented by the project on fish processing: as we have illustrated in section 3, the purchase of a pirogue for the women’s *groupement* represents an innovation in projects’ procedure, since it allows for physical capital ownership, thus favoring women’s access to factors of production and to raw products. The main difficulty faced by Wolof and Fulani women is, as many of our respondents said, the purchase of fresh fish, since they face a disadvantage with respect to Guet-Ndariens women: the latter buy fresh fish from men within their household and, at time of shortages, the former may face major difficulties in purchasing the raw product to be processed. The ownership of a pirogue by the *groupement* seems to be a key factor to get a stable level of fresh fish. This is an important example of access to raw products, that, as we have seen, in other cases turned out to be a major problem for the women-led transformation units.

The claim that “female” roles in value chains, whose pattern is followed by the analyzed project, are weak from the point of view of market power, of skill development and access to resources does not mean that these are not important elements for the sustainability of the whole value chain. This has been indeed the role of women-led fish processing in sustaining the Senegalese artisanal fishing sector: following Jean-Pierre Chauveau [1], since the 1950s small-scale fishing in Senegal was organized such that it relied on few selling channels, among which the processing activity made by fishermen’s wives.

#### **“MODERNIZATION” OF INFORMAL ACTIVITIES: A TOOL FOR EMPOWERMENT?**

The analyzed projects aim at making home-based informal activities more structured and, at least in principle, more profitable. This development practice goes interestingly together with a strategy often adopted by Senegalese household of “commercialisation du travail domestique” [15: 207], that is the marketing of home-based activities that were previously non traded: the authors identify this strategy as being adopted as a consequence of the decline of household incomes since the 1990s. Although the projects intervene on already existing activities, they produce important changes in the organization of labor, namely in those cases where permanent structures are built, such as in the vegetable processing and in the dairy cases.

A first visible change is the formalization of the existing activity. Projects are directed to women’s *groupements*, thus trigger the creation of structured groups or the formalization of the existing ones. This happens also in that majority of cases where production keeps being individual. The organization of work seems partly to transform an informal activity into wage work, since teams are created who follow work shifts (at least during the processing season). Work teams are composed by women who passed a selection or have been chosen in the village assemblies, “because they are more motivated”, we are told. In other cases, projects require an *équipe* of women to work on a voluntary basis to guarantee the sustainability of the managing committee of the processing unit, to decide of the allocation of profits, etc.

From our observation we argue that this increase in formalization does not lead, nevertheless, to stabilize employment: production keeps being seasonal and is not smoothed in time, hours worked are limited, the economic performance and the profit margin are small, such that the processing option does not become actually a non-farm labor



market opportunity for women. Lower access to formal labor market income for women in rural areas -and access to more precarious and lower paid jobs- are well documented [16] [17] [18] [19]: Whitehead and Kabeer [16] argue for a “lower reservation wage” for women than for men, that is the lower wage they are ready to accept, because of the lower income potential of their own production or the urgent need they may face. Whether this is due to women’s preferences for flexible-but-underpaid work in order to meet also the reproductive tasks, or it is due to the constraints given by the commodification of their labor is a debated issue (see Razavi [18: 216] who argues that women’s labor market engagement has a “distress character”). What we claim here is that these international aid interventions aimed at building up income-generating activities for women don’t manage to trigger the development of a labor market that is substantially more remunerative for women than the existing one.

It doesn’t seem that the “formalized” production fully replace the home-based one: this may be due to the limited extent of these interventions in terms of employment and of income generated. On the market usually we find both the products from the processing unit and the home-made products: the extent of their substitutability may vary, as underlined for the case of *lait caillé* in Corniaux at al. [9].

These formalization-oriented interventions sometimes produces, together with the organizational and “modernization” effort of processing activities, some paradoxical situations: it happens that, although facing thin markets or low demand for the produced commodities, expectations are created that recall myths of “modernity” and “efficiency”, not in line with the actual realizations. These are created by the inherent logic of the project and, most of all, by the training women attend within the project itself (and within other policy-interventions that follow the same practices). It is often the case that the building itself of a permanent structure is source of prestige, regardless the function that it serves. This is namely true in village contexts, where these may be quite visible since they are surrounded by constructions built using precarious and perishable materials: in these cases they are likely to become – in the imaginary – referential places, where “modern” processing can be learnt and performed. Indeed, the need for new technological endowments is often mentioned in interviews as being one of the major needs of workers, irrespective to the effective use that is done of the existing machineries.

Trainings, moreover, seem to be arenas of top-down transmission of practices and values formulated in a “developmentalist” and “hygienist” approach. They are often organized by the ITA (National Institute for Food Technology), following recurrent models that transmit a standardized approach to production processes and to organizational structures of collective action. Moreover, they seem to convey a “promise of modernity” that is difficult to keep in terms of material effects, but that it’s rich in consequences on the discourses and practices concerning women’s work.

## CONCLUSION

In this work we have tried to draw some reflections from the observation of a number of realizations of the Italy-CILSS program in Northern Senegal. We are not carrying on an overall evaluation of the program, but we discussed some of the practices and outcomes at the micro-project scale from a gender perspective, considering it as an example of a widespread set of tools to introduce gender into development programs. Our first remark is the standardization of projects directed to women: even if the approach is bottom-up and the projects are proposed by local level committees, the typology and tools of women-oriented micro-projects are almost always the same. If we look at the international debate on gender and development, it seems that this aid program situates itself within the WID approach, without integrating much its critiques. Cornwall at al. [20] criticize the idea of reducing gender to a “set of tools”, that depoliticize it; in our claim, this doesn’t necessarily happen only when top-down approaches are adopted, but may occur in bottom-up settings too, as far as standardization of aid practices shapes (e.g. through trainings) the approach both in the “developers” and in the “developed”. Moreover, we find out a framework of “women-only” projects, where the relational dimension of gender is rarely taken into account. This is, still today, a debated issue on gender integration into aid interventions: moving “beyond a focus on women as a bounded group” is the need expressed by Christine Okali [21: 9].

A second observation is that these aid projects tend to crystallize women’s role in value chains. With the words of Cheryl Doss [22: 81]: “in an effort to be responsive to the needs of women, these organizations have tried to prioritize ‘women’s crops’ and ‘women’s tasks’. Both of these approaches compartmentalize women’s contributions in agriculture and thus limit the understanding of women’s work and women’s needs”. If we think that women have been “locked” into pre-defined roles by the standardization of food-processing projects, can we say also that these are marginalized roles? We have tried to discuss some possible weaknesses of the position of women within the value chain, even though we have limited tools and cannot carry out a rigorous value chain analysis. We can nevertheless argue that revenues produced by these activities are limited and volatile: as it seems the case in most analyzed situations of global value chains, the integration of women in these (even though so different) production processes doesn’t seem to provide tools to stabilize and substantially increase incomes.

Even though the observed projects aim to reduce the flexibility of women manpower, they manage just partially to reach this aim, since the scope of the economic performance of the activities seems to be (up to now) limited; they partly allow for the shift of unpaid activity to the sphere of paid jobs, but produced revenues are small and unstable and they seem to provide women with low market power. Besides the exception of the fishing sector, our claim is moreover

that such food-processing interventions don't provide women with greater access to productive resources. Moreover, even when a greater access to resources is gained, there is a risk that low profit margin makes the access to inputs unstable [23]; it may be that control over assets depends on how productive is the use that it is done of it, but in our observation, when women are targeted, little emphasis is put on economic performance.

A last point has to be made on the strong emphasis put by the project logic on production formalization. Looking at the literature, we don't have unambiguous evidence that tells us whether this is a tool for women's empowerment. Literature on global value chains stresses the negative consequences of "keeping women informal", on the one hand; on the other hand, literature on agrarian economies under liberalization stresses the negative effect on women of increased access to formal markets. It is difficult to us to have a conclusive evidence in our case, but we have highlighted some limitations of this "formalizing" approach (impossibility to fully replace home-based activity, limitations in providing new access to productive resources and limited market power).

If we compare local aid-driven value chains (the ones that we have observed) to global value chains driven by big retailers, we have the feeling that women labor is "squeezed" between under-formalization of women's work (in global value chains), that hides exploitation on the global labor market, and a form of "over-formalization" (our case), where little attention is paid to economic performance, to local demand, and therefore to workers' revenues.

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## THE EXPERIENCE OF IIDA: TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF FRONTLINE ENGAGEMENT OF EMPOWERMENT OF THE PEOPLE AND ESPECIALLY WOMEN IN SOMALIA

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### ABSTRACT

This paper aims to present the role played by Somali rights activists in the projects carried out by IIDA Women's Development from 1991 until today a particular attention was given to the impact of their actions on the process of social reconstruction and the management of cooperation projects in Somalia . These are initiatives that are part of a wider range of action that includes different policy areas (food security, education, health, the fight against FGM, conflict management, demobilization and disarmament, local Government building, etc.), in which IIDA, in its twenty-two years of activity, has been operating with the support of several UN agencies and international organizations.

For an adequate understanding of the planning put in place, in this paper we attempted to give a brief description of the Somali social context and its historical transformations, which highlights the multiple factors of discrimination (clan, religious, social) at the base of the internal conflict broke out in 1991, and lasted for more than twenty years. In this context, the distinction between "urban" and "rural contexts" was increasingly blurred, to the point that it no longer constitutes a cut-off criteria on the social plan for the definition of specific methods of intervention.

The introduction is followed by a selection of the projects implemented by IIDA Women's Development under the Gender Equality and Women Empowerment: these are some of the most significant actions that led IIDA women to acquire a high degree of social role recognition. This was achieved by multiplying the individual contexts of local communities the practices of conflict management and effective application of rights. The last two paragraphs present the most recent results and prospects of development in the struggle for the recognition of women's rights, in the light of the constitutional making process of Somalia and the growing importance of the civil society in the peace process.

In its twenty-two years of activity, IIDA's work has been possible to achieve thanks to the strong support of many international organizations that have allowed them to carry out humanitarian interventions and cooperation and, above all, to have a profound impact in the peace processes in Somalia.

The Coordination of municipalities for Peace of the province of Turin (Co.Co.Pa.) aims to support the work of IIDA in spreading the mission and results achieved so far by IIDA by making available their know how and support of projects in institution building, essential for the reorganization of the fabric of the Somali state.

### ABOUT IIDA WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION

IIDA is a non-profit organization that was founded in 1991 in Mogadishu by a group of Somalia women leaders to promote women's political, economic and social rights [1]. IIDA believes that people are the drivers of change and the custodians of their own destinies and therefore works to mobilize the community and encourage the beneficiaries of their development programs to take ownership of the projects. It is these beliefs that inspire IIDA to formulate women led programs that are geared towards making a lasting impression on the lives of Somali women both at home and in the diaspora. Today IIDA is, operationally, the largest grassroots movement in Somalia, and is represented in different regions of the country such as Lower and Middle Shabelle, Banadir, Galgaduud, Bay, Bakool and the Jubbas; and continues to work towards fostering sustainable development. IIDA has earned the respect of the Somali community and is able to resourcefully and successfully penetrate the grassroots, even in times when international organizations are unable to do so due to security concerns.

IIDA's mission is to promote peace and work towards non-violent means of conflict resolution, to foster and ensure the integration of Somali women in sectors of their society, to promote education for women and the youth in order to increase their awareness on critical issues that affects their lives and to increase their potential as individuals and groups and to enhance women's economic self-sustenance and improve on women's health [2].

IIDA is committed to:

- mobilizing the community in an effort to advance the goals of human rights; equality; development, peace and reconciliation for all women in Somalia;
- supporting poor and most vulnerable people and communities, especially women and children;
- working in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender equality in Somalia;
- respecting and valuing the full diversity of women's situations and conditions and recognizing that some women face barriers to their empowerment;
- protecting the rights of women and girl child as inalienable, integral and indivisible of human rights.

IIDA partnered with various organisations and donors to achieve networking and women's rights goals. The partners included: United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), BBC Media Action, International Organization on Migration (IOM); Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergent (COSPE), EU, The French Government, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Save the Children, The Norwegian Government, The Danish Government, UNPOS, ILO amongst others. Over the years, IIDA has set up networks that have lobbied for children and women's civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights in Somalia. These include Lower Shabelle Women's Association, Somali farmers Association, SHAYDO, Somali women health Association, Puntland Women s Health Association, Somaliland Women's Health Association, Somali Women Teachers Association, Puntland Women Teachers Association, Free Education for All (FEFA), Somali Women Entrepreneurs Association (SWEA), Shabelle Obstetricians Association, Lower Shabelle Youth Association, Galgaduud Youth Association and the Association of Poets and Writers (HORYAAL Band). Over time IIDA realised it needed a bigger organisation to front for women's rights and thus created Somali Women's Agenda (SWA). SWA worked very well and had many achievements in areas of women's rights. IIDA originated the idea of a 30% legislative or constitutional quota for women's representation in Governance.

## **BEHIND IIDA'S SUCCESS**

IIDA strategy is to involve the community from the beginning of their projects. This encourages both trust in the process and community buy-in and support for whatever actions are taken by IIDA. It is IIDA's believe that the Community participation and involvement also promotes leadership from within the community, giving voice to the voiceless.

In the last 22 years, IIDA has always envisioned the execution every few years of a number of assessments, mapping and research. This was done with the purpose of understanding the changes and to identify the resources that are already available to help meet the needs of the people. Further, the needs assessment:

- helps IIDA gain a deeper understanding of the target community in Somalia. Each community group has its own needs, culture and social structure - a unique web of relationships, history, strengths that defines it;
- helps uncover not only needs, but resources and the underlying culture and social structure that will assist IIDA understand how to address the community's needs and utilize its resources;
- encourages community members to consider the community's assets and how to use them, as well as the community's needs and how to address them. That consideration is (and should) be the first step in their learning how to use their own resources to solve problems and improve community life.

## **THE SOMALI CONTEXT: TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE AND DISCRIMINATING FACTORS**

To understand the importance of the results achieved by the women of IIDA, it is important to describe briefly the social context of Somalia with its multiple discrimination factors. The entire social organization of the Somali population is based on traditional criteria of identity, according to which the sense of belonging to groups of people is distinguished by strong clan affiliation (*clan* or *Qabil*).

The clan subdivision forms the backbone of anthropological and historical rule that regulate all human relationships within communities hierarchies of "purity", "nobility" and "antiquity of descent" [3]. In addition to the four major clans (Dir, Darood, Hawiye and Dighil-Mirifle), usually connoted by the term *Nasab* (nobles), the Somali population includes a myriad of minority groups, the origins of which are often difficult to identify, but whose condition is of absolute subordination compared to the former.

These are minority groups whose presence is probably due to the migration of units from the south (Bantu) and the Arabian Peninsula, settled over the centuries in the territory of today's Somalia. The term used to indicate them is *nasab dhiman*, i.e. "non-noble", and expresses their economic and social condition of inferiority compared to *nasab*, as well as their being subject to persistent discrimination [4].

The traditional organization of the Somali population has had to constantly contend/compete its self with two elements of instability: the nomadic lifestyle of the individual groups and the internal fragmentation of clans. If the first element binds tightly to the predominantly "pastoral" structure the Somali economy, which forces the groups to move from region to region to provide water to the flocks, the second factor is explained in family dynamics and relationships that, over the course of history, have seen clan units multiply into pyramids of sub-clans and smaller groups (*reer*),

which often took power, changing and complicating every time the general equilibrium [5].

The clan fragmentation has always been a factor of potential conflict, contrasting with the attempts to construct a national Somali identity since the independence of the 1961. It is a tangible example of the tragic parable of the regime of Mohamed Siad Barre (1969 - 1991), in which the instances of nationalist unity paraded in the name of the ideology (scientific socialism) that aimed to "anticlanic", "anti-colonial" and "anti-religious" have ended up spilling into the opposite, constituting the premises of the civil war that erupted in 1991.

During the civil war, another element of instability added to the overall picture: that of religion. If it is true that, historically, the Somali society, entirely Sunni Muslim, has always been characterized by a substantial balance between the religious dimension and civil life, in the last twenty years have gone affirming groups that appeal to schools more openly radical Islamism (*Wahhabism*), with extremist and terrorist continuation (e.g. the militia of *Al-Shabaab*). After the 2000 (but started in the nineties), particularly in Somalia, there has been a genuine attempt of "re-elaboration of identity" based on religion, the aim of which (partly realized) was the cultural hegemony, educational and political of radical Islamism over the traditional social structure.

The multiplication of Koranic schools, the adoption of *shar'ia* laws in areas of civil life previously outside its jurisdiction, the imposition of customs alien to the Somali tradition (e.g. the use of the *hijab* for women), the concept of subordination of women in economic and civil life, the character forced with which it was implemented everything: they are elements that express the increase of criticality of the framework and, above all, of the factors discriminatory inside.

## URBAN AND RURAL AREAS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

From the territorial point of view, the "rural areas" of Somalia see a higher incidence of certain phenomena compared to the urban areas. Among them, we highlight the dramatic drought conditions in many inland areas, heightened by food insecurity and the consequences of deforestation.

From an anthropological and sociological perspective, however, in Somalia is difficult to make a clear distinction between "urban" and "rural areas" contexts. Although it is undeniable that the existence of urban centers that during the twentieth century (especially after the Somali independence), have seen the development of a manufacturing economy and organization of type already metropolitan (approximately 36% of the area of the country), the nomadic nature of the population and the essential role of pastoralism have always being characterized in areas predominantly "rural".

In fact, the development of some cities (Mogadishu, Brava, Merka and Kismayo in the south, north Hargeysa and Berbera in Somaliland; Bossaso in Puntland) has had the effect of shaping over the years in many ways otherwise different populations, with medium-high level of education, skills and relations with foreign countries. However, the outbreak of the civil war and the interruption of the process of development have caused a real dispersion of these populations, often victims of the fighting and forced to "evacuate" to the inner regions.

At the same time, the transformation of cities during the war have seen the traumatic irruption of masses of people from the hinterland and armed groups involved in the looting of neighbourhoods and the guerrillas. This dual aspect of the phenomenon has further weakened the distinction between urban and rural areas, to the point that the characters of many groups currently residing in cities are relatable to those of populations traditionally "rural": illiteracy, lack of skills, tendency to life nomadic.

From a methodological point of view, this condition makes it difficult to talk about different approaches to rural and urban areas for cooperation interventions/projects. The social contexts in which it operates (city, IDPs camps, inner regions) are often a mixture of these realities, with combinations also dramatically conflicting.

Therefore, the "rural development" in its broadest sense, represents the objective to engage and relate easily even to groups of people emerged from the city, forced to displacements and also repeated ones that settled in locations distant from their origins. The collapse of the state structure that followed by the civil war, with the disappearance of schools, hospitals and public services, has further accentuated the rate of illiteracy and human dispersion, decreasing the results of earlier processes of urbanization.

## WISE WOMEN CONCEPT

The formation itinerary undertaken by IIDA Women's Development is based on awareness of the central role that women have always had within the Somali community. In village life, such as the organization of the clan system, the Somali woman has in fact traditionally played an active function/role around which they built their economies of the various groups, as well as their internal relationships. During the civil war, women were the only people to keep up some form of "civil economy" alternative to the "military", supporting production and trade otherwise lost with the dissolution of the Somali state.

In there exploration of an alternative quest for peace and human security in SC Somalia IIDA came up with the concept of the Wise Women. IIDA believe that traditional channels of influence should be explored as a priority. For this reason, IIDA when needs arise is since years mobilizing and has been engaging the wise women of Somalia (i.e. daughters, sisters and wives of the Ugas, Bogor, Garadhs, Suldans; the respected women in Somalia who we believe

maintain a very high level of influence among the Somali society and who can transcend the clan barriers as peace brokers. The women today can bring change in Somalia if given the opportunity and if to explore together some of the domestic solutions that women have.

With this in mind, they realised that at a time when women are the remaining custodians of peace it has been necessary to understand the International Resolutions, which purport to provide for women representation and participation at all levels of society especially in the context of conflict resolution now in Somali's history. For this reason that IIDA together with SWA have in the last decade translated and Disseminated CEDAW [6] and all the UNSCR on women from 1325 through to 1960.

## **GENDER EMPOWERMENT PROJECTS CARRIED OUT BY IIDA**

The gender empowerment initiatives fall into IIDA projects spanning into multiple sectors (health, food security, the fight against FGM, demobilization and disarmament, local Government building, etc.) and above all, in a broader process of building a strong and responsible civil society in Somalia, able to make lasting and sustainable peace. Here, we report a selection of the most significant planning stages of this journey.

*Women Trade and Small Enterprises Network and Capacity Building along the Shabelle Valley.* Donor: UE. Partner: COSPE. Period: August 1999 - January 2000. The goal of the project was to promote women's access to democratic participation. The result was the establishment of organizations of women entrepreneurs with projects that have involved about 1,500 women over the years.

*Shabelle Women Enterprises Support System (SWESS).* Donors: EC-SU e Cooperazione italiana. Partner: COSPE. Period: March 2003 - November 2005. The program supported 5 groups of entrepreneurs from 4 regions for the creation of an association of the second level (SWEA). It included a prior training at all levels: management/accountability, data collection, understanding the differences between facts and perceptions. The next step was to guide the association to translate the results obtained in the context of daily life, aiming to respond to the immediate needs of women entrepreneurs. With this aim, the project has fostered collaboration between entrepreneurs, providing support services to enterprise development, such as education, technical training, empowerment services, support for women's access to the market and financial opportunities [7].

*Strengthening Somali Civil Society - Capacity building.* Donors: UE. Partner: COSPE e NOVIB. Period: 2005 - 2008. Series of focus workshops for representatives of the Somali civil society, associations and traditional leaders on access to basic rights. The action of IIDA was geared to focus on gender (7000 entrepreneurs, 1000 business people, health care professionals and 2,000 teachers in 2000).

*Somali Women Platform for Action (SWOPA).* Donors: UNIFEM e DFID. Partner: COSPE. Period: April 2007 - 2009. The program has promoted the participation of women in local and national democratization. The target of the beneficiaries included Somali women of every social level, women leaders, policy makers, parliamentarians, professionals, women's organizations, union groups and opinion leaders of the community. The aim of IIDA was to ensure that women and women's groups were able to commit to the goals of the MDGs and access to fundamental rights, through:

- protection initiatives aimed at supporting the participation and representation of women in government structures;
- strengthening and increasing the participation of women in national and local processes of democratization;
- the promotion of dialogue between stakeholders and government officials in the establishment of a platform for women's actions in Somalia.

*PACE SETTERS - Somali Women taking up their Destiny!* Donor: UE. Partner: COSPE. Period: November 2006 - 2009. The project has conferred capacity for action of women's organizations in Mogadishu (Benadir), Merka and Afgooye (Low Shebelli), Jowhar (Middle Shebelli), Beletweyn (Hiraan), Dhusamareb (Galgaduud), Gaalkacyo (Mudug), Bosaso (Puntland), Hargeysa (Somaliland), Kismayo (Lower Juba), Garbaharey (Gedo), Baydhaba (Bay), by strengthening their active involvement in the local and national political processes. Through a kind of intergenerational dialogue based on the reality of the community, the project has promoted women rights through education and understanding of issues related to peace and security from the perspective of human rights.

*The promotion of gender equality and women's economic empowerment in Somalia.* Donor: ILO. Period: September 2012 - ongoing. The project will improve the (self) employability of women through training on entrepreneurship and enterprise skills. The project will also facilitate an enabling environment through the development of private business support services.

*Gender Equality and Women Empowerment Programme.* Donor: UNDP. Period: May 2013 – ongoing. Women MPs and CSOs need each other to win over men and women to support women's human rights. Women have to start redefining their roles and allegiances. The proposed project will work to create a link between the elected women in parliament and their constituents. The project will serve as a catalyst, a hub and an incubator for possible future interventions in relation to working with the legislature in lawmaking, conducting oversight over the executive, representing Somali citizens and their interests and facilitating and promoting public knowledge and participation of

citizens in parliamentary processes.

**Fig. 1 - Women of SWEA at the first interregional congress – December 2003.**



**DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILISATION AND REINTEGRATION.**

Despite the customary limitations, Somali women struggled to contribute to the peacebuilding process in war-torn Somalia. IIDA was the first organization who played an important role in the demobilization and disarmament of the local warring militias. IIDA (Women’s Development Organization) in the 1997 in collaboration with COSV, an Italian NGO, and with EU funding, carried out the first DDR (Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration ) Project offering education, housing, and income opportunities for about 150 disarmed militias in return for submitting their weapons in the city of in Merka (Southern Somalia) [8].

**Fig. 2 - Monument DDR project of IIDA were 156 young army were disarmed.**



**GENDER AUDIT OF THE SOMALI CONSTITUTION**

In Somalia women constituter over 52% of the population based on the projections between 8 and 10 million people and the Constitution cannot ignore the concerns of over half of its population, if sustainable peace were to be achieved. It is acknowledged that peace in Somalia is attainable and it is linked with the advancement of women, who are a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of sustainable and a lasting peace in the country. This gender audit of the draft constitution will ensure that women’s concerns are well articulated and presented to the Commission for incorporation in the final draft. The audit will inform women to take position on their concerns, and to be at the forefront in championing their representation and involvement at all level of decision making. The gender audit will also be used for civic education, in public and political consultation to create a critical mass – a strong and unified women’s voice in articulating the concerns of women, generally and in the Constitution. In gender audit provides opportunity to incorporate the human rights commitments made by the world governments in advancing the



participation of women in decision-making positions at all levels of governance, especially as outlined in Resolution 1325; CEDAW; and the AU, Rights of Women in Africa and Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality. It is recognized that progress of Somali women has been uneven, and inequalities between women and men have persisted and major obstacles remain, with serious consequences for the well being of the state. The constitutional-making is an opportunity to create visibility for Somali women concerns to be heard within the country. In summary, the gender audit will be used to ensure women's concerns are well articulated in the Constitution; mobilize women at all levels to address women's rights issues through civic education; and create a critical mass, a strong and unified women's voices and visibility of women's concerns in the whole country.

This audit also included a component of Women's Right in Islam, component, added to counter the misinterpretations of Islam, especially those concerning women's rights. To give women the chance to know their rights in Islam also giving tools to use if the latter are misinterpreted. Women's rights have been prescribed in the Sharia Law; it was critical rights that the audit report bases its analysis on the rights of both men and women as provided in Quran and Sunnah. It was also critical that Islamic teachings are endorsed and used as a means to secure women's rights in the Constitution while highlighting how the Quran supports gender equality.

### **IIDA POLICY BRIEF. SOMALIA: LA LOTTA CONTINUA! A WOMEN'S RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE SOMALI FEDERAL CONSTITUTION**

On the 30th of October 2012 IIDA have launched of a Policy Brief On Women's Rights Within the Somali Provisional Constitution. The launch was attended by a large number of people and officiated by amongst others the former Minister for Constitution and Reconciliation, Hon. Abdirahman Hosh Jibril. The purpose of this policy brief was to ensure that the past two decades of work in development of a framework for women's rights is not lost. Since, the rights of women are now written in law, the next battleground for women's rights will be at interpretation and implementation of the constitution. Therefore the fight for women's rights has to continue and IIDA policy brief starts that discussion and provides some ways forward.

The Policy Brief is part of IIDA's celebration and contribution to its 22 years of frontline engagement in women empowerment in Somalia. The road to get to where we are today after 22 years and was characterized by its sad moments and difficult moments and other glorious and full of satisfaction. In all this, our organization has always believed that we need to pursue their dreams at all costs to arrive at a just society. The leadership of IIDA always look ahead and anticipate the times being the pioneers of new ideas and this because we are the setters of peace.

### **CONCLUSIONS**

For over 20 years Somali women have fought for their rights. Currently they have much of their rights provided for within the provisional constitution. The interpretation and implementation will define the future of women's rights in Somalia. This document has come at a time when forward thinking is required in order that rights of women are realised. This policy brief outlines the challenges that women face in order to actualize their constitutional rights. The hurdles include the capacity of the state to deliver services, the capacity of women to demand services due to the lack of a functional state for the last 20 years, the lack of a culture of constitutionalism, the limited capacity of the constitutional court to make progressive interpretation of the constitution, problems of corruption within the government and the busy legislative calendar that will priorities issues of peace and stability as the expense of dealing with women's rights.

IIDA will continue to build alliances with other like-minded national institutions. Concerted effort must, however, be made by all state and non-state actors responsible for the future of Somali to achieve these provisions. IIDA will take this unveiling opportunity and work towards achieving that goal of human rights in Somalia.

Having this prospective in mind, the Coordination of municipalities for Peace of the province of Turin (Co.Co.Pa.) aims to support the work of IIDA in spreading the mission and results achieved so far by IIDA by making available their know how and support of projects in institution building, essential for the reorganization of the fabric of the Somali state.

**Fig. 3** – Paris, December 10, 2008: Halima Abdi Arush receives the Prix des Droits de l'homme de la République française «Liberté - Égalité – Fraternité».



## NOMENCLATURE

AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
COSPE	Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti
COSV	Coordinamento delle Organizzazioni per il Servizio Volontario
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FEFA	Free Education for All
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MDGs	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
SWA	Somali Women Agenda
SWEA	Somali Women Entrepreneurs Association
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	Fonds de développement des Nations Unies pour la femme
UNPOS	United Nations Political Office for Somalia
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council resolution

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## GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN EVALUATION OF STRATEGIES IN HEALTH AND EDUCATION

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### ABSTRACT

Investing in women has brought about positive effects for societies and for the economies of developing and developed countries. In the areas of education and health, women have innumerable opportunities to contribute to the economic and human development of their countries. In 1995, the international development community convened in Beijing to address the situation of women and how best to improve it. At this conference, the concept of Gender Mainstreaming was first given official recognition, and began to be used as a framework for development policy in many organizations. The aim of this strategy is to ensure gender equality in all development efforts, through the integration of women's concerns in all phases of the development process.

The aim of this paper is to analyse and evaluate the gender mainstreaming strategies implemented by International Organisations, by now ubiquitous in the international development discourse. This was achieved through an accurate analysis and comparison of international guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming in health and education programs. Secondly, through a case study of UNICEF Indonesia's Gender Policy. The case study is based on field research carried out in Jakarta, Papua, Aceh and Nusa Tenggara Timur, and focuses on the implementation of the organisation's Gender Mainstreaming policy in health and education programs. The results of the field research were then elaborated into a Gender Mainstreaming Index for health and education programs in each province.

Results showed that Gender Mainstreaming has made much progress since Beijing. However, barriers to its implementation stemmed from a certain ambiguity regarding key terms and definitions in the elaboration of specific policies, as well as a general lack of understanding and awareness further down the line, i.e., at country office and field office levels. This was particularly reflected in the Gender Mainstreaming Index developed specifically for this research.

### THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE STRATEGY: INVESTING IN WOMEN

The World Bank's 2012 World Development Report [1] was entirely dedicated to Gender and Development. This is an indicator of the central role played by gender issues in development, which has not always been recognized. Indeed, it is the result of long-standing pressure on governments and the international community to include gender issues in development policy, which dates from the 1960s and 1970s. Leaving the ideological motivations for this sort of pressure aside, it is interesting and worthwhile to consider the economic motivations for the elimination of gender inequalities as a strategy for development.

Investing in women improves economic growth – this fact has been proven by many studies, and will be explained in the paragraphs to come. This can be seen in a variety of issues, from health and education, to labour force participation and employment, to political empowerment, finance and trade. Healthier and better-educated women raise healthier and better-educated children, generating more human capital for their countries. Women in the labour force can be more productive, and represent an untapped resource in many parts of the world (both developed and developing). Finally, 'empowered' women participating in politics can strengthen democracies and, subsequently, economic growth.

In particular, investing in women's education can bring about strong economic returns, both at household and countrywide levels. Stephan Klasen [2] shows that gender inequality in education can have severe repercussions economic growth, affirming that if gender inequality in education had been lower in past decades, several countries would have witnessed faster economic growth. Furthermore, Anne Hill and Elizabeth King [3] assert that '*the nonmarket benefits of women's education experienced by the family are considerable. These benefits extend beyond the family to society at large.*'

Investing in women's health is also of crucial importance, particularly for a country's social and economic development. When it comes to women in particular, investing in health is important for the improved wellbeing of their children and families, and in turn for the economic growth of their countries. This contribution is crucial to economic growth, as Jere Behrman [4] affirms that '*Each year over 22 million infants are born with low birth weight (LBW) in developing countries, with an inverse association between the proportion of infants with LBW and economic development.*'

## THE EVOLUTION OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Investing in women has by now become a priority for most stakeholders in international development, although this has not always been the case. Getting women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming at the top of the development agenda has been a long process, which started from criticisms moved towards development theories and strategies in the late 1960s and 1970s. A pioneer in gender and development, Ester Boserup [5] was among the first to draw attention to the fact that *that in many African nations, improvements of agricultural techniques and practices actually lowered the status of women by reducing their access to productive work roles.* Boserup's observations gave a strong impulse to what has been called the 'Women In Development' or 'WID' approach, a first stride towards the inclusion of women's issues and problems in development strategies. According to C. Moser [6], at around the same time female professionals based in Washington joined forces with other groups of feminist critics of development policies to advocate the WID approach and reach greater women's empowerment in international development.

Overall, the effect of the WID movement was to achieve a greater integration of women in development. In fact, the World Conference of the International Women's Year was called in 1975 in Mexico City, and the UN called the years 1976-1985 the United Nations Decade for Women. It was in this period that 'women in development' bureaus began to be created in international development agencies and governmental aid offices. Women-specific programs were put into place, and a greater impulse was given to research on women and development. The first 'gender policies' and statements also began to emerge in international development organizations. However, Razavi and Miller [7] note that *'for historical reasons (the legacy of the 'welfare' era), WID advocates distanced themselves from welfare issues. This placed them at odds with the general thrust of development discourse in the 1970s.'* Furthermore, the creation of 'WID bureaus' and gender-specific programs had contributed towards the creation of a 'women's ghetto' in development, which separated gender issues from the main stream. Hilary Charlesworth [8] further notes that WID *'... began to be criticized as inadequate because it identified women as a special interest group within the development sphere requiring special accommodation.'*

Stemming from criticism to the WID approach, a second strategy began to emerge some years later. The Gender and Development approach focuses on the relationship between the socio-economic status of women and gender inequality, and has also been used as a basis for criticism of the structural adjustment policies put into place in the 1980s by international financial institutions. The GAD approach also delineates different policy interventions for the elimination of gender inequalities. One contribution of GAD was to bridge *'the gap between left by the modernization theorists, linking the relations of production to the relations of reproduction and taking into account all aspects of women's lives.'* [9] Furthermore, it focuses on the work done by women within the household and attributes a central role to governmental institutions for the promotion of women's empowerment through specific policies. Emphasis is placed on policies that strengthen women's legal rights, such as the reform of inheritance and land ownership laws, and the promotion of affirmative action and intervention policies. However, though theoretically distinct, these two approaches are overlapping in practice and it is at times difficult to separate between the two.

It was, finally, GAD's primary objective of institutional change that gave rise to the concept of Gender Mainstreaming within a group of international development organizations. The impulse given by GAD was also accompanied by a series of steps from the international community, which led to the official recognition of gender mainstreaming at the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

## WHAT IS GENDER MAINSTREAMING?

According to Hilary Charlesworth, [10], the term 'mainstreaming' was first applied in the realm of education in the 1970s, indicating the inclusion of children with different learning abilities in the same classroom. Children with disabilities joined children without disabilities in the same learning environment, therefore being included in the educational 'mainstream'. Through the emphasis on institutional change, GAD provided the framework for the emergence of gender mainstreaming. Although the GAD framework did much to integrate women's issues in development, Caroline Hannan [11] affirms that *'the attention to women often came after major decisions on policies, strategies, and resource allocations had already been made. Awareness of these fundamental constraints led to the development of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the early 1990s.'*

Gender Mainstreaming, essentially, requires the inclusion of a 'gender perspective' in all stages of the development process, so as to make further progress towards gender equality in all development efforts. An official definition of gender mainstreaming was provided by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) two years after the Beijing conference, according to which *"Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.'* [12]

Lorraine Corner [13] identifies three major elements that most gender mainstreaming strategies have in common:

- a) **Conceptual clarity and understanding.** According to the author, all organizations should start with a general conceptual clarity regarding the goal, objectives, approaches and rationale regarding gender mainstreaming. Generally, and in line with the goal set out within the Beijing Platform for Action, the goal of most gender mainstreaming strategies is to achieve gender equality in the organization's areas of activity. Regarding approaches to gender mainstreaming, many organizations favour the "two-pronged approach": while on the one hand the organization in question integrates gender issues in all activity areas and in all stages of the program life cycle, it also maintains specific programs and projects that focus on women's issues. Finally, different organizations provide different rationales for their gender mainstreaming strategies. Some focus on the efficiency of achieving gender equality in their activity areas, while others favour the human rights-based approach, according to which gender equality is a basic human right, the achievement of which need not be justified at all.
- b) **Organizational arrangements and processes.** In addition to establishing specific departments and divisions within their structures, most international development agencies and organizations have also put specific gender staff into place. Known as "gender focal points", "gender specialists" or "gender experts", these individuals have the responsibility of coordinating the organization's gender strategy and providing aid to the organization's staff on matters relating to gender equality and gender mainstreaming. The rationale behind the creation of gender focal points is that in most development organizations, the staff is made up of specialists with knowledge in specific fields, such as sanitation and hygiene, macroeconomics, education, maternal health, and so on. Gender specialists tend to have more technical knowledge regarding gender equality and gender mainstreaming, and are hired to provide technical assistance to the organization's staff. On the other hand, gender focal points are usually regular employees of the organization with their own mandate and role, who also take on the responsibility of coordinating and implementing the organization's gender mainstreaming strategy.
- c) **Tools and training.** Many organizations and agencies have also developed several tools to aid staff in the implementation of their gender mainstreaming strategies.
- *Gender Awareness:* the concepts and terms relative to gender mainstreaming are difficult to translate into other languages other than English, and to other contexts than those of developed North American and European countries. For this reasons, many organizations have developed tools (such as training material, manuals, and guidelines) to improve the level of gender awareness both within the organizations and throughout the organization's partners and fellow stakeholders.
  - *Gender Analysis:* most gender mainstreaming strategies call for an analysis of the impact of the organization's development policies with regard to women, primarily, but also to men. Gender analysis also refers to the analysis of the situation within the country and region in which the organization operates. Analysis of men and women's situations within the national and regional context should precede the creation of development programs, while the analysis of their impact logically comes second.
  - *Gender Statistics:* instrumental to the above tools and to the following is the segregation of national and regional statistics by sex. Sex-disaggregated statistics shed light upon the different situations of men and women in different contexts, and help to steer attention towards specific needs. For example, the disaggregation of nutritional statistics by sex can reveal that in a certain area boys suffer more from stunting than girls do, and can therefore provide an impulse toward the tailoring of nutritional programs in the area to address this specific issue.
  - *Indexes and Indicators:* in order to monitor progress towards gender equality, organizations such as the United Nations Development Program have created a series of indicators to aid development organizations in their battle for gender mainstreaming. Two of the most used indexes are the Gender and Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), both introduced by the Human Development Report 1995. The GDI is based on the same methodology used for the HDI, and therefore combines indicators relative to life expectancy, educational attainment, and income into a composite index which takes into account different social and economical dimensions of development. The GEM, on the other hand, measures the extent to which women participate in the economic and political life of a country, and takes the following indicators into consideration: political participation, decision making power, economic participation and command over resources. Used together, these indexes are useful to international organizations for monitoring the achievements made by the country in question with regard to women's empowerment and gender equality.
  - *Budgets and Auditing:* the importance given to gender issues in any government or organization can, obviously, be judged by the (monetary) value given to such aspects, and gender-focused budgets and audits show the entity of resources that an organization or government allocates to gender-related work.

## WOMEN IN INDONESIA: AN EXAMPLE OF GENDER ANALYSIS

The second part of this paper focuses on a case study of gender mainstreaming in UNICEF Indonesia. Specifically, field research was carried out in three provinces (Papua, Aceh and Nusa Tenggara Timur) to give an accurate and detailed picture of how the organizations was implementing its gender mainstreaming strategy in health and education programs, and at country office level. The first step in the process was to conduct a gender analysis of Indonesia at

regional and national level.

- *Socio-legal status of women in Indonesia*: The constitution of Indonesia, written in 1945 and since amended several times, treats men and women equally at the formal level, with its focus on the term ‘citizens’. [14] However, the national legal system coexists with *sharia* law in some areas (specifically, in Aceh *sharia* law has been in place since 2002) and with customary, or *adat* law in others. Even in urban centres, men are seen as the ‘breadwinners’ and often women stay at home to care for the family. Most ethnic groups in the country (there are over 300 ethnic groups in Indonesia, each with their own distinct culture and language) are based on patriarchal societal structures (some however present matrilineal or matriarchal cultures such as, for example, Central Flores, where the dowry system does not exist). In the general culture, women are seen as ‘*orang kecil*’, or ‘small people’.
- *Legal framework for gender mainstreaming*: One of the most important instruments for the promotion of gender equality at the international level (which also produces concrete consequences at the national level) is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Adopted in 1979 by the General Assembly, the convention aims to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women contained in national legal frameworks and promoted by all enterprises and bodies within each State party. With some exceptions, such as in the case of protection for maternity or in the case of legal instruments for the suppression of forced prostitution, States are required to repeal all discriminatory provisions in their laws. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women monitors the implementation of the convention, and reviews State parties’ progresses in the elimination of discriminatory laws, practices and provisions in the national legal framework.

In order to complement (and contribute towards the implementation of) the legal activity that has taken place in the past decade, the Indonesian government has also put into place a series of mechanisms that should ensure the implementation of gender mainstreaming at all levels of government, both national and local. The primary institutional instrument is the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment, which has the task of realizing and monitoring the implementation of Presidential Instruction no. 9/2000.<sup>18</sup> The ministry is composed of members from other government ministries, such as Child Protection, Growth, Religion, Foreign Affairs, and so on. Furthermore, the ministry appoints Gender Focal Points in each government ministry, which have the task of monitoring and aiding the implementation of gender mainstreaming in all government actions. Finally, the Ministry was expanded in 2001 to include Child Protection and Welfare in its mandate. The ministry is also concerned with the coordination of official reporting on the compliance of Indonesia to CEDAW provisions, and works to further implement the convention through the achievement of gender mainstreaming in all government policies and programs.

Alongside the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment, the government of Indonesia has also placed other instruments, such as the Gender Working Groups, which can be found in virtually all government departments. Working together with Gender Focal Points and with the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment, these groups are made up of government officials working in different departments, and provide support for the implementation of the national gender mainstreaming directive. These working groups are present at *all* levels of government (local, district, provincial and national) and in all departments (from health and education to infrastructure and foreign relations). Furthermore, at the provincial level Women’s Empowerment Bureaus (Biro Perempuan) have been created for the coordination of the gender policy. All in all, the institutional framework for gender mainstreaming includes 29 Gender Working Groups, more than 30 Women’s Empowerment Bureaus, and more than 304 Gender Focal Points distributed in municipalities all over the country.

## MEASURING GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN UNICEF INDONESIA

The present case study is based upon a report elaborated under the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) in December 2010. In order to produce this report, a research on the effectiveness of UNICEF Indonesia’s gender mainstreaming strategy was conducted in three Indonesian provinces. The research team was made up of a Gender Specialist, assisted by one volunteer and two interns, all working within the Social Policy and Child Protection Cluster of the Jakarta Country Office. In September the team focused on general data collection and desk review, while in the following month the structure and methodology of the research began to take shape, and feedback from different clusters was received. Consultations with management figures and field offices followed. In November the team travelled to the field offices of Papua, Nusa Tenggara Timur and Aceh to conduct interviews and collect data. The following month, the collected material was elaborated and the final report was produced.

The main purpose of the research was to gain a better understanding of how UNICEF was mainstreaming gender in two specific areas, health and nutrition. Due to the fact that the research was carried out during the elaboration of UNICEF Indonesia’s new Country Program Action Plan (CPAP), the final report was of great use to the country office.

The two main objectives of the research were the following:

- to collect data and document ‘best practices’ in gender mainstreaming, within UNICEF’s education and nutrition programs in Papua, Aceh and Nusa Tenggara Timur;
- to develop observations and recommendations regarding UNICEF Indonesia’s gender mainstreaming strategy for the creation of a future action plan.

Focus of the research was the integration of gender mainstreaming within the project lifecycle, as well as the extent to which gender issues were being addressed by local (district and/or provincial) or national government bodies.

**Methodology**

Following the initial period of desk review, two specific UNICEF programs were chosen within the health and nutrition sectors. Within the education sector, Creating Learning Communities for Children (CLCC) was chosen, while the target program in the health sector was the Infant and Young Child Feeding program (IYCF). The rationale behind these choices was purely practical: the two programs were present in all three provinces, and UNICEF staff working on these programs was available for collaboration with the research team. In consultation with field office staff working in the two programs, a list of relevant stakeholders to interview was finalized. These came from schools included in the CLCC program, as well a *sposyandus*<sup>1</sup>, health centres (*puskesmas*), local government health, education and women’s empowerment offices, local religious communities, universities and NGOs. In total, the following 150 stakeholders were interviewed.

The sampling of these stakeholders, schools, NGOs, local communities, and health facilities was elaborated in consultation with local field office staff and did not follow any scientific methodology. Stakeholders and venues were chosen purely on the basis of availability and the extent to which they reflected the socio-economic diversity of the region (a division between urban and rural areas was necessary in all provinces). Given the limited time and resources of the research team, location and budget considerations were also influential in the sampling process. Through interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) with the stakeholders listed above, the main body of qualitative data was collected, which allowed the research team to evaluate the extent to which gender issues were being mainstreamed in the two specific programs.

Quantitative data was also collected, mainly through national statistical surveys, as well as through UNICEF staff and Internal documents and research. The interviews with stakeholders were structured in order to respond to the following indicators (Table 1) The results that emerged from the interviews and focus group discussions were then integrated with the results of interviews with staff in the Country Office for a wider view of the gender mainstreaming strategy. The results, as well as observations and recommendations from the research team, were included in the final report.

**Tab. 1 - Indicators of Gender Mainstreaming.**

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>What does it measure?</b>
Girls’ participation in the classroom and in extra-curricular activities	The extent to which girls feel free to participate, as well as the extent to which teachers treat girls and boys equally
Girls’ and boys performance	Extent to which teachers treat boys and girls equally
Patterns of socialization between girls and boys	Gender roles
Seating plans	Extent to which teachers are gender-sensitive, as well as gender roles between boys and girls
Distribution of classroom duties among boys and girls	Extent to which teachers are gender-sensitive, as well as gender roles between boys and girls
Inclusion of gender issues in school curricula	Gender-sensitivity of national or provincial education policies
Gender sensitivity of teachers when interviewed	Gender sensitivity of teachers (as well as the effectiveness of any gender training they may have received within the program)
Inclusion of gender awareness in teacher training activities	Extent to which gender issues have been mainstreamed in the program project cycle, as well as the extent to which gender issues have been mainstreamed at the national and provincial government level in education policies
Equal training opportunities formal and female teachers/health workers/midwives/government officials	Extent to which gender issues have been mainstreamed at the national or provincial government level

<sup>1</sup> The term *posyandu* refers to particular health outposts dispersed throughout provinces in Indonesia, where basic nutrition and ante- and post-natal care services are dispensed to mothers and their children. While *posyandus* fall under the purview of local health departments, the *posyandus* included in the sample worked in partnership with UNICEF to deliver basic health services to mothers and children.

Number of women in key decision-making positions	Extent to which gender issues have been mainstreamed at the national or provincial government level
Participation of mothers in school and committee activities	Gender roles between mothers and fathers
Participation of fathers in school and committee activities	Gender roles between mothers and fathers
Attendance of mothers at the <i>posyandus</i>	Gender roles between mothers and fathers
Attendance of fathers at the <i>posyandus</i>	Gender roles between mothers and fathers
Inclusion of gender issues in the training activities of midwives and health workers	Extent to which gender issues have been mainstreamed at the national or provincial government level, as well as the extent to which gender issues have been mainstreamed in the program project cycle

### Building the Gender Mainstreaming Index.

The data collected during the research on the field was then elaborated in order to build a 'gender mainstreaming index'. It should be noted, first of all, that the data available lacked scientific value and was collected using arbitrarily assigned sampling methods. This was due to budget, time and capacity constraints of the research team. Furthermore, the construction of the index necessarily entailed arbitrary decisions based on practical and theoretical knowledge of gender mainstreaming in health and education. This can also be witnessed in the indicator table above, where the indicators and the dimensions that they measure have been constructed based on knowledge picked up after extensive research on the subject and after a (relatively) substantial amount of time spent in the field interviewing all stakeholders involved.

The first step in the construction of the index was the identification of the different dimensions relative to the implementation of gender mainstreaming, both in health and education. For education, Table 2 illustrates the dimensions of gender mainstreaming and the relative indicators.

**Tab. 2** - Dimensions and indicators of gender mainstreaming in Education.

Dimension	What does it measure?	Indicators
UNICEF Field Office	Extent to which UNICEF's gender mainstreaming strategy is being implemented at the field office level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding of the term 'gender mainstreaming'</li> <li>- Awareness of UNICEF's gender mainstreaming strategy</li> <li>- Implementation of UNICEF's gender mainstreaming strategy</li> <li>- Gender-responsive budgeting</li> <li>- Collection of gender-disaggregated data</li> <li>- Gender awareness training</li> </ul>
Government Education department (district and provincial level)	Extent to which UNICEF has collaborated with local authorities involved in the selected programs for the implementation of gender mainstreaming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding of the term 'gender mainstreaming'</li> <li>- Gender awareness training for officials</li> <li>- Women in key decision-making positions</li> <li>- Equal training opportunities for men and women</li> <li>- Gender policy at district/provincial level</li> <li>- Collection of gender-disaggregated data</li> <li>- Gender-responsive budgeting</li> </ul>
Parents of children attending CLCC schools	Extent to which the gender mainstreaming strategy is being implemented in the CLCC program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding of the term 'gender equality'</li> <li>- Participation of both parents in decision making</li> <li>- Participation of both parents in school committee activities</li> </ul>



Teachers who work in the CLCC schools	Extent to which the gender mainstreaming strategy is being implemented in the CLCC program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding of the term 'gender mainstreaming'</li> <li>- Gender awareness training for teachers</li> <li>- Participation of boys and girls in classroom activities</li> <li>- Participation of boys and girls in classroom tasks and chores</li> </ul>
Head teachers who work in the CLCC schools	Extent to which the gender mainstreaming strategy is being implemented in the CLCC program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding of gender mainstreaming</li> <li>- Gender awareness training for head teachers</li> </ul>

The indicators selected reflect a relatively comprehensive picture of gender mainstreaming: understanding of the term, gender awareness training, disaggregated data and gender-responsive budgeting. These elements have been listed in the previous chapter as necessary tools for almost every gender mainstreaming policy. The indicator 'awareness of UNICEF's gender mainstreaming policy' was necessarily added during the interviews, when it became clear that hardly any UNICEF officers had even heard of the organization-wide strategy. This also shows that all manner of policies and directives can be set at the organization's headquarters, but it takes a great deal of effort to make them trickle down to the field office level, and directly into the programs that the organization puts into place.

Another dimension identified relative to gender mainstreaming was that of the provincial and district education department. It has already been mentioned that the purpose of gender mainstreaming is to actively promote gender equality, and a necessary level of action was that of local government. Seeing as curricula are established by the provincial and district education departments, and it is these departments that also nominate teachers, head teachers and administrative staff, as well as organizing training courses for school staff, it was necessary to measure the extent to which gender issues had been mainstreamed within the local Indonesian government, as well. This was done in relation solely to those officials involved with UNICEF in the CLCC program, seeing as the focus of the research was UNICEF's gender mainstreaming strategy and how, through the CLCC program, local government was also affected. The same rationale stood behind the dimensions relative to teachers, parents and head teachers of the CLCC schools, all of which gave an indication of how gender issues were being mainstreamed by the program.

The interviews carried out followed different sets of questions, due to the fact that the question sets were changed several times during the field research. When looking back on the transcripts, it was possible to identify 'yes/no' answers to each indicator listed above, by re-formulating the answers given to interview questions as 'yes/no' answers. Once the indicators were re-formulated, the interview transcripts were re-read and answers to the questions were found, even though the original questions did not follow the same structure. For each indicator, therefore, a dummy variable was created by assigning a value of one to 'yes' answers and a value of zero to 'no' answers, indicating the fulfilment or not of each particular indicator. This was repeated for each subject (school, teacher, head teacher, officer, government official, etc.) in each district, and the mean was calculated by finding the sum of each variable and dividing by the total number of indicators. The mean for each district was found by summing up the results for each subject and dividing by the number of subjects. For example, if one school in Aceh obtained a score of 0.50 for the teacher dimension, and another school obtained a score of 0.75, the total score for Aceh with regard to the teacher dimension would be the mean between these two scores, leading to a total score of 0.63. The total 'gender mainstreaming' score for each province was found by calculating the mean of the dimensions for each province. For the health programs, the same methodology was used. Due to a much smaller sample size for IYCF programs (33 stakeholders) than that of the CLCC programs (117 stakeholders), the results obtained for health and nutrition programs are less reliable than those for education. Finally, an overall gender mainstreaming score in education and in health and nutrition was found for each province.

## RESULTS

The results showed better overall results for all three provinces in education, with lower scores in health. Aceh obtained the best gender mainstreaming score in education, while Nusa Tenggara Timur scored highest in health and nutrition.

The average score between all three provinces was 0,48 for education and 0,33 for health and nutrition.

The following scores were obtained for each province:

**Tab. 3** - Gender Mainstreaming Index score for health and nutrition.

Dimension	Province		
	Aceh	Papua	NTT
UNICEF Field Office	0.17	0.17	0.00
Government health department (district and provincial level)	0.29	0.29	0.43
Midwives and health workers	0.40	0.40	0.80
<b>Total Provincial Score</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>0.41</b>

**Tab. 4** - Gender Mainstreaming Index Score for education.

Dimension	Province		
	Aceh	Papua	NTT
UNICEF Field Office	0.17	0.33	0.17
Government education department (district and provincial level)	0.64	0.52	0.43
Teachers	0.50	0.25	0.25
Headteachers	0.63	0.63	0.67
Parents	0.67	0.52	0.67
<b>Total Provincial Score</b>	<b>0.52</b>	<b>0.48</b>	<b>0.44</b>
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.48</b>		

## CONCLUSIONS

Despite the challenges presented by the strategy, many benefits have stemmed from its implementation in the work of international development organizations. The object of the author's experimental research was precisely the effectiveness and impact of UNICEF Indonesia's gender mainstreaming strategy. While the situation of women in Indonesia has improved considerably over the past decades, many challenges remain. Universal primary education has been reached in almost all Indonesian provinces, but due to poverty and workloads at home many girls are still forced to drop out in some of the poorer areas of the country. Many less girls than boys attend university, and most marry between the ages of 18 and 25. Malnutrition, both among mothers and, most of all, among children, is a worrying issue in many provinces (in particular in Nusa Tenggara Timur). The rate of violence against women has decreased across the country, although it remains shockingly high in some provinces. Even today, after having had a female president for three years, women are under-represented in parliament and excluded from the elitist and heavily corrupt political life of Indonesia. Women participate in the workforce, mainly in agriculture and retail or manufacturing activities. The Indonesian government has been active in the past decades with legislative efforts to eliminate discrimination against women in these areas, particularly inside the government structure.

The picture that emerged from the interviews was mixed. Among many stakeholders there was at least a minimal understanding of the terms gender equality and gender mainstreaming. This, however, was offset by a complete lack of understanding among other stakeholders, mostly in local government departments. Within the UNICEF Field Offices, many staff members were unaware of the existence of a gender mainstreaming strategy, although the desire to learn more about it and to put it into practice was expressed frequently. This result was coupled with a complete lack of gender awareness training and implementation of the government gender mainstreaming policy in the education and health departments. The reasons for which staff members were not aware of the gender mainstreaming strategy were mainly two: firstly, although the strategy *had* been communicated throughout the country office, lack of accountability on gender mainstreaming, as well as time and workload constraints on staff members, ensured that the strategy was not put into place.

Secondly, the lack of an effective Gender Focal Point and Gender Specialist network undermined efforts to implement the strategy at the field office level. However, thanks to the arrival of a Gender Specialist during the field research period and to the increased visibility given to the strategy for the purposes of the field research, gender focal points had been named in each country office even when they had not previously existed. This is an encouraging result that, with appropriate follow up and capacity building, could bring to the effective implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy throughout the field offices in Indonesia.

Both the qualitative and the quantitative results show that there *has* been progress in implementing the gender mainstreaming strategy in the three provinces, although much work still needs to be done. The regional gender strategy, with its focus on the four areas listed above, should be much more widely publicized and staff should be held accountable for its implementation, particularly at the Field Office level.

Overall, gender mainstreaming as a strategy has made much progress since the Beijing conference. By now, it is almost a must within international development organizations. UNICEF Indonesia's gender strategy could contribute widely to the elimination of gender inequality in the country, if it is properly implemented. There *are* barriers to its implementation, as discussed above, which can easily be overcome. Although the organization is already on the right track, some changes and improvements could do much to improve the situation of women in Indonesia through gender mainstreaming.

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## NOMENCLATURE

CLCC	Creating Learning Communities for Children
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
GDI	Gender and Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
HDI	Human Development Index
IYCF	Infant and Young Child Feeding
WDR	World Development Report
WID	Women in Development

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## AGRICULTURAL GENDER INDICATORS TO IMPROVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES: A CRITICAL APPROACH

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### ABSTRACT

The use of indicators as tools to summarise large amounts of data, providing information as comprehensive as possible about a particular phenomenon, it is largely shared by the academic world. Nevertheless, it may be noted how the supply and the availability of gender indicators, applied to the specific framework of natural resources and agriculture, are very limited, especially in developing countries. This research would therefore analyse this lack, focusing on the importance of identifying gender indicators in rural settings of these Regions, comparable over time and space. Gender indicators in agricultural developing contexts can have multiple purposes: they can be a methodological resource for the comparative analysis of gender in the stages of feasibility, monitoring and evaluation of cooperation projects, focused in rural-agricultural issues, as well as having an impact on national agricultural policies, lobbying and advocacy. For this reason, in a general turmoil context like the present, characterised by the debate on the new Sustainable Development Goals, included in the Post 2015 Development Agenda, gender indicators in agricultural contexts may play an important role as support instrument for the new global instances. Moreover at micro level, the development and the provision of gender indicators, as much as possible qualitative and all-encompassing, would appropriately supplement the deficiencies in statistical terms frequently observed by technicians and researchers, both at national databases level, both within national or regional specific field surveys, particularly in the Southern countries. In conclusion, the need to measure the actual incidence of women in natural and agricultural resource management, could be translated in the development of indicators gender-sensitive oriented, to be used as a tool to analyse, and possibly promote the active participation of women in political and economic life in the North as in the South of the world.

### THE RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Indicators are commonly defined as tools able to summarize large amounts of data with the purpose of representing a dynamic situation (i.e. time trends of the level of education, average number of children, etc.) and, therefore, with the unique task to “state” [1]. Accordingly the problem of qualitative and quantitative indicators, such as gender and social indicators [2] immediately arises, in which numerical information is almost never sufficient and it needs to be complemented with qualitative analyses (often more complex than quantitative, especially if one-dimensional, i.e. based on only one type of data).

In order to make information comparable with each other, it must be added the difficulty to standardize them, since who works with these data is obliged to scaling operations. The situation becomes even more complicated when gender indicators in rural areas are considered, where there is a less accessible location for the information, such as the Sahelian villages are. If on one hand is complex obtaining national data disaggregated by sex, on the other hand is even more difficult to gather local data, often completely excluded by the national statistical supply.

Another critical aspect is related to the definition of indicators to measure the level of gender “empowerment/un-empowerment”. Naila Kabeer [3] gives a definition of empowerment as a possibility to make strategic life choices in a context in which these choices were first denied. The empowerment of women thus involves both the importance of increasing their strength decision-making, both the right to determine free choices in their life and to influence the direction of change, through the ability to increase their control over resources and materials [4].

The UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) has tried to quantify this dynamic change from a gender point of view, introducing in the Human Development Reports [5] the GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure), aimed to highlight the level of participation of women in political, professional and economic sectors. This indicator was however, soon questioned by several authors [6] for different reasons. For instance, the GEM does not measure gender inequalities since it only concerns women with higher levels of education and economically advantaged and political situation at national level as well; in fact it does not take into account the contexts economically less visible and comprehensive by statistics such as the rural areas. For these reasons subsequent amendments were proposed [7].

The gender empowerment is not just a set of quantifiable information, but is also a mixture of motivations and objectives that accompanies the actions of men and women towards change and new opportunities (“the agency”) and it

is certainly not efficiently represented by only one indicator [8].

Moreover, according to other authors, no indicator, although articulated, is able to capture the subtle implications of power relations which are established among different stakeholders in the processes of change and empowerment. Accordingly this “numerical” approach has to be combined to targeted qualitative analyses [9].

The measure of change and the decision of which aspects to measure and how to measure them as well, is thus something complex and cannot be attributable to a mere technical exercise, especially if the progress is measured in terms of gender equality, which also entails a strong political component [10].

With respect of the overall problem complexity, this study intends to suggest gender indicators to implement a development project aimed to improve the subsistence level and the quality of life of the population across a rural area of sub-Saharan Africa. Another goal of the paper is to reflect on the effectiveness of these indicators as well as on their contribution (or not) to a more equitable implementation of such development projects.

Whit this regards a sample case represented by the Senegalese Statistics Information System was individuated. In particular the analysis was focused on the national statistics supply and the general tendency related to the gender dimension at regional and national level, as well as applied to the specific sector of agriculture.

This research was developed in the framework of a field survey carried out by the authors in Italy and in Senegal in 2013. The latter was an enquiry conducted under the umbrella of an international project held in Senegal and aimed to improve food security and agricultural production in some specific regions of the country. This project is expected to involve a target of about 3000 women. In particular, the project aims to provide small irrigated plots of land, designed for activities of horticulture and fruit production (in which traditionally women play a key role) and that will be managed in according to communitarian principles.

Therefore, since the mentioned project presents a strong technological component, the need to analyse in a critical way some specific issues as fair access and management of technology as well as technical trainings to women involved in the project, appears fundamental.

Considering the access to technology, many studies conducted in Senegal [11], have shown evident differences between men and women, in terms of access to resources and management of technological applications, especially in the agricultural field. But these disparities do not forcibly entail negative effects for women. Indeed it seems that in some cases, provided that they can count on a fair and available access to technology, women have proved more entrepreneurial and innovative than men.

## **THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THE INDICATORS ELABORATION**

The methodological choices of the field survey were organised as following.

After having individuated the main subjects to assess in relation with gender and agricultural sector, a statistical matrix aimed to collect data was set-up and divided into five different sections namely:

- demographic indicators;
- social indicators;
- economic indicators (with a special focus on rural context);
- occupation in the agricultural sector and grass-roots organisations;
- agricultural production for exportation.

On the basis of the available data three indicators for each region interested by the project were elaborated: a Nutritional Index, an adjusted Gender Inequality Index and an Index of Economically Qualified Presence of Women and Men in Agriculture.

In this framework it should be specified how the analysis carried out at regional level, although if more specific than that of the whole, will never be able to identify what is really happening in rural communities, in villages and individual *ménage*, which can be investigated only through direct interviews.

The context of analysis consists in three bordering regions, two of which geographically and economically more advantaged (with access to sea and commercial activities), while the third is more inland, drought-prone and not provided with an efficient road network.

Regarding the specific characteristics of the sample, Region 1 consists in 50 rural communities and municipalities, compared with 36 in the Region 2 and 39 of the Region 3. In particular, Region 2, larger than the others, is the region with the greatest rural extent, while in Region 3 a more pronounced population residing in urban areas exists. In contrast, a more uniform distribution of the population between rural and urban areas is observed in Region 1 (Table 1).

**Tab. 1** - Distribution of the population in the three analysed regions.

	NATIONAL		Region_1		Region_2		Region_3	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Total population	6,348,578	6,506,575	849,12	849,3	382,9	387,29	668,17	731,05
Urban	6,101,448		872.814		104,67		891,44	
<b>Rural</b>	<b>6,753,705</b>		<b>825,6</b>		<b>665,52</b>		<b>507,78</b>	
Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	196,72		6,6		7,05		4,86	
Ratio urban/total	0.47		0.51		0.14		0.64	
Ratio rural/total	0.53		0.49		0.86		0.36	
Total population / km <sup>2</sup>	65.35		257.45		109.26		287.79	
<b>Rural population/km<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>34.33</b>		<b>125.15</b>		<b>94.41</b>		<b>104.44</b>	

On the gender dimension, although women in the three regions are numerically slightly higher than men, it is not possible to know whether they are more prevalent in rural areas (as it might be supposed).

In the Table 1 it can be seen significant findings of the lack of specific gender oriented statistics in rural areas, while an interesting question emerges from Table 2, in which is evident that in Region 3 the percentage of emigrants men is significantly higher than in the other two Regions.

**Tab. 2** - Number and percentage of emigrants (per sex and per region).

	NATIONAL		Region_1		Region_2		Region_3	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total population	6,348,578	6,506,575	849,12	849,3	382,9	387,29	668,17	731,05
Emigrants	144,527	32,164	10,479	2,255	4,107	1,502	16,506	929
%	<b>2.3</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>0.1</b>

Instead, in respect to the elaboration of the three indicators and the sources of data as well, firstly a discriminating indicator on the under nutrition of the population was identified, using the percentage of malnourished children (under 5 years) and their mortality rate, together with the BMI (Body Mass Index) of the adult population.

The Body Mass Index (expressed in kg/m<sup>2</sup>), is a factor that helps to identify segments of the population underweight: if  $18.4 < \text{BMI} < 17$  we are in presence of a chronic energetic deficiency, while if  $\text{BMI} < 17$  the thinness is considered severe. The nutritional indicator is a percentage (ranging between two extremes never reached in practice, 0 and 100 and very similar to the Global Hunger Index, GHI) which indicates that the population in some way may suffer from nutritional and environmental problems (information provided by data on children, Table 3).

**Tab. 3** - Undernourished population, with BMI<18,4.

	NATIONAL		Region_1		Region_2		Region_3		Source
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
% undernourished children (age<5)	0.19	0.17	0.15		0.11		0.19		EDS V
children mortality rate (age<5)	0.0091	0.0083	0.0053		0.0088		0.0104		EDS V
BMI<18.4 (significant thinness)	0.282	0.220	0.242	0.208	0.253	0.161	0.409	0.295	EDS MICS
<b>Nutritional indicator</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>9.8</b>	calculated

In Table 3 the indicator of under-nutrition is always higher for men than for women, both at National and Regional level, with a dramatic 20.3 registered in Region 3, while Region 2 seems to be less in emergency.

The second indicator that was calculated, the GII (Gender Inequality Index), entailed some problems. The GII is a measure that captures the loss in achievements due to gender disparities in the dimensions of reproductive health, empowerment and labour force participation. Values range from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (total inequality). GII is a composite indicator, which involves two indicators to measure women's reproductive health (the maternal mortality ratio and the adolescent fertility rate), two indicators to evaluate women's empowerment (educational attainment, secondary and above, and parliamentary representation) and the labour force participation indicator.

Specifically data on regional maternal mortality were taken from the National Demographic and Sanitary Survey of 2012 [12] as well as those relating the teenager fertility. Whereas the information on the level of education (divided by gender) as well as the number of economically active women and men, were obtained during the mission carried out in Senegal in March 2013.

Instead, obtaining data on the presence of women and men in local institutional charges (regional, provincial and municipal) was much more complex: in fact, this specific data provided during the field mission, were related to the period 2002-2007 and not divided by region. Nonetheless, through information made available by the Gender Laboratory of the University of Dakar and thanks to other researches [13] it was possible to estimate fairly accurately the political presence of women and men within the three Regions.

Therefore all these data were used to calculate the adapted Gender Inequality Index (aGII). In particular the aGII at National level (0.56) is equal to the GII reported in the Human Development Report of 2013 [14], while the adapted index of gender inequality is slightly higher in Region 1 (0.577) and even more in Regions 2 (0.611) and 3 (0.624).

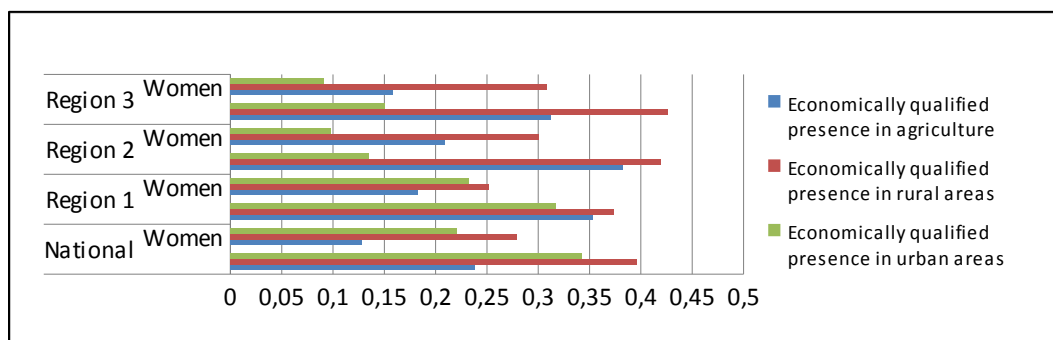
However what neither the indicator on food security conditions, nor the aGII show, is what happens in the countryside to compare with the urban space. Indeed regional data are important and more detailed than the national: but what about, for example, on the level of schooling at least to the second level (as required by the aGII) in the cities than in the countryside? In addition to the (not secondary) aspect relating to the economic resources of families living in rural areas, i.e. are there roads and schools easily reached by boys and girls in the countryside? And again, what about the presence of accessible health centres, which considerably influence the maternal and child health levels of population? Are they really accessible to the villages of rural communities? Obviously these considerations are valid also for all other sub-indices and indicate that a gap, if already exists at the level of the different regions of Senegal, is amplified within the single Region and, even more, in the rural districts.

Moreover, from the information provided during the field mission of March 2013 (and divided by sex) we attempted to establish an index of the significant presence of women and men in agriculture, to be compared with that corresponding in rural and in urban areas as well. In synthesis, the following sub-indices (all divided by gender) were used, in order to calculate the presence of economically qualified women and men in agriculture:

- adults literacy rate;
- percentage of economically active population in agriculture;
- percentage of people responsible for resources in agriculture (obtained from the sub-index of the economically active population);
- percentage of economically active population in rural areas (not necessarily corresponding to the agricultural sector, since includes services, trade and other activities performed in rural areas but not strictly related to agriculture);
- percentage of economically active population in urban areas.

Finally the indices shown in the graph of Figure 1 have then been obtained: some numbers between 0 and 1 (as deducted by percentage).

**Fig. 1 - Economically Gender Qualified Index in Senegal and in the three sample Regions.**



We can note how in all sample regions, the index of the economically qualified presence in agriculture penalizes women, especially in rural areas. At the same time in the urban context the indexes of economically qualified presence are more similar for men and women, as well as even still much lower.

## THE STATISTICAL SUPPLY ON GENDER ISSUES IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR: AN OVERVIEW

With regards to the outputs of the field research, first on the basis of the preliminary results, it can be noted how in Senegal accurate data disaggregated by gender in agricultural contexts or do not exist, or are not available, or are available primarily through direct qualitative surveys (which is difficult to access, especially if conducted by other institutions or international organisations, as already highlighted by the first analyses on gender and statistics [15]).

However the consideration of the need of having gender-specific data, related in particular to the agricultural sector, is not new to researchers who have already worked on it in Senegal. Indeed this aspect was already pointed out within the planning document for the National Strategy for Gender Equality and Equity (“SNEEG 2015”), in which is deplored the lack of gender disaggregated data, in particular relating to the sub-sectors of agriculture [16] (as those related to processing, marketing, horticulture and so on, or rather the activities in which rural women hold traditionally an important position).

In regard to this element, among the factors attributable to such deficit of data, the role played by the insufficient political will and support on the development of national policies would be evident. Furthermore a weak involvement in the negotiations of that civil society more active and interested in these subjects is often observed. Therefore, to deal with this limit, the necessity to create and promote favourable conditions to the collection of gender-specific data in the agricultural context (and not only), released at national and decision-making level and with regard to the real weight of women in agriculture, is increasingly necessary [17].

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that, even if on the one hand, within some specific national policies (as the same new National Strategy on Economic and Social Development) [18], the will and the need to address the lack of statistical data seem to be largely widespread; on the other hand, analysing more closely the types of indicators selected, gender issues still appear marginal.

In addition, in order to obtain a complete picture of the situation of gender in agriculture (as well as to supplement the lack of official data) the elaboration of gender sensitive indicators is not exhaustive. For this reason, as sustained by several authors [19], the use of qualitative research in the field, to be conducted at a representative sample of the target audience by the means of participatory methods, should also be addressed. However, in this context another set of problems arises: that often related to the failure to recognize and officially validate data collected through sample surveys on the ground, which consequently cannot be fully exploited and used at central level. Accordingly, a method of harmonisation of data in order to compare them at regional and national level, should also be identified.

Whit regards to this, it is even necessary to implement a deep sharing of the research outputs (present and future) with all the stakeholders implicated by the development projects, whether direct and indirect beneficiaries, active subjects of the preliminary field investigations as well as the internal staff of public bodies.

Other aspects that have been repeatedly cited are the will and the need to set up a joint database, accessible and available to all relevant stakeholder active in the field of the gender issues in agriculture. However many obstacles still exist, such as the extreme fragmentation of initiatives relating to this issue, the lack of coordination between them, the weak relations between technical staff and local authorities as well as the financial problems (especially at regional level). To deal with these weaknesses a proper management of such a hypothetical database shall be ensured. At the same time a better coordination of the information sharing as well as of the networking among the different levels involved, has to be pursued.

In order to provide an overview as complete as possible of the statistician resources (available at national and regional level) and related to the issue of gender in agriculture in Senegal, the second part of our study was consisted in a detailed analysis of all the available documentation (the most updated) concerning the gender aspects within the country.

One of the first element issued by the preliminary analysis is how the overall documentation sources can be considered particularly “virtuous” in the world of Senegalese statistics, since they generally offer the double advantage of having gender-disaggregated data and/or by region.

At this point a question arises: how to examine the level of detail of gender issues (related to both the agricultural sector and the regional dimension), developed within some of the major works and in relation to the specific statistical requirements of the study (a point that will be significantly explained in the second part of the analysis).

Nonetheless, in the matter of the statistical sources specifically dedicated to the agricultural sector, within the national reports there is no reference nor to the gender nor to the division by age of farmers. This could be explained with the apparently attention focused only on the strictly gross production of the Senegalese horticultural sector, ignoring the more qualitative dimensions, which instead would contribute to obtain a more complete picture of who actually works in the overall sector.

Actually, the evidence that all the statistical efforts are focused solely on produced quantities (i.e. t/ha, income/ha, main agricultural production,...) and exploited areas, is easily traceable to such data for production and export crops are the most popular. This latter could be explained in the light of the economic weight and the consequent strong influence in the decision-making processes, represented by the horticultural export sector in a country as Senegal [20]. In regard to this, it is not surprising to observe how these types of data (that symbolise directly the interests of agribusiness, mostly foreign), are more easily traceable and mastered by the two major professional organisations of the country: the ONAPES - “Organisation Nationale Des Producteurs Et Exportateurs De Fruits Et Légumes” (which manages the 80% of exports) and the SEPAS - “Sénégalaise de Produits d’Exportation et de Services” (which holds the remaining 20%)



[21]. This context reveals some criticism: the first concerns the fact of concentrating the management, dissemination and acceptance of such a data base, in the hands of the major professional organisations of the country. It is natural to wonder what happens to small producers not incorporated within a formal body or even more to women producers, largely excluded from these organisations, and therefore not calculated within the statistical estimates, as could be proven by the absence of specific indicators related to their particular status [22, 23].

A second critical aspect, partially connected to the first, is referred to the solely focus of the management system and data collection on export crops, ignoring the crops for self-production [24], which play a key role in the food security of Senegal. This element would lead to think that where there are interests and economic resources, data can be formalised, computerised and well managed. It would imply that, to achieve similar results (in terms of availability and efficiency of statistics) but applied to other agricultural sub-sectors and more focused on the welfare of small farmers and their families, large international investments should be envisaged.

In relation with the more specific aspects of gender, the first element is that is not possible to identify, among all the available statistical sources, any document explicitly and exclusively dedicated to gender issues (except for the SNEEG 2015, but which does not constitute a statistical source in the strict sense). Therefore, we proceeded to analyse how the gender component (relating to the socio-demographic and more purely agricultural-economic variables) was present/available (and at what level of detail) within the supply of statistical information.

In synthesis, on the basis of the examination of the main Senegalese statistical sources and policies documents [25] as well as in according to the outcomes of the mission of March 2013, the statistics failures related to gender (in agriculture or not) in a country as Senegal, may be summarized in the following open questions:

- the weak mastery of the concept of gender as well as its utility, noted by the same human resources within the National Statistical System;
- the lack of coordination at the level of gender statistics production, as well as between producers and farmers, and producers and users; the insufficient consideration of gender in planning and implementation of the activities of data collecting, processing and analysing;
- the weak consideration of gender issues in sectorial programs (for instance in the new Agricultural Programme 2011-2012 [26] the word gender is never mentioned) and within the national budget; as well as the most frequently cited, limited application of the gender dimension to the field of socio-demographic statistics (population, education, health...);
- the difficulties of data centralisation due to the cross-cutting nature of gender, an issue involving in a different ways many sectors of the economy and society; the insufficient level of information and/or knowledge on gender issues registered at all levels (i.e. both in relation to the whole population, both to technicians and professionals, as well as to the political and managerial class);
- the absence of a clear methodology and tools designed to the integration of the gender dimension in the statistical production.

As occurred in the wider issues strictly related to gender, also with regards to the regional dimension of the Senegalese statistics, it is possible to identify different levels of complexity, such as:

- the multiplicity of actors involved (users/producers) without an unified framework of consultation/coordination;
- the vulnerability of the institutional framework and the methodology to collect, archive, and spread harmonized data, aimed to manage and make as effective as possible the dissemination of the regional statistics information;
- the inadequacy of human and material resources available to the various regional services of the National Statistical Agency (“ANSD”);
- regarding the specific agricultural sector, the more often criticized, lack of opportunities for consultation with producers, which can help both the technicians to obtain more specific and complete investigations, both the producers themselves to be more involved and aware of the importance of the whole statistical process as observed by several field researches [27];
- the limited decentralisation of the regional statistics services (both in terms of decision-making power, as well as financial availability and independent resources management).

In brief it is possible to extrapolate a series of cross-cutting issues to the different above mentioned aspects (i.e. data supply on: gender, regional dimension and agricultural sector) such as the weakness of the institutional framework and the lack of coordination among the different statistical areas, combined with a multitude of sources and the absence of a permanent system of consultation and harmonisation of data.

In addition, the already cited problems related to the financing of the statistics field. In relation to this, we can note often, sample surveys conducted on the ground, but only thanks to the intervention of an international donor directly affected by that specific issue (a factor that limits the impact of these surveys, as well as a widespread sharing of its outputs among multiple actors, especially considering time and costs occurred for this type of activities).

At methodological level, there are other obstacles related to data processing, such the archive and dissemination of

statistical information, the latter linked to the excessive length of processing data phase, which results in the fact that often the data processed are already old at the time of their publication.

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the integration of gender issues within the Senegalese statistics (especially at regional and local levels) should go hand in hand with public policies more attentive to gender and its concrete implementation, in the overall areas of Senegalese economy and society. The two sectors should proceed jointly, in particular by virtue of their close connection, which is necessary on the one hand, to gender policies to find more support and feedback in the reality (as facilitate awareness of multiple stakeholders on the importance of gender); and useful at the same time, to the statistics to achieve a greater recognition of its usefulness. A recognition that could help the sector to attract more (national and international) investments as well as an improvement of the management of the whole system.

This research was focused on the identification of gender indicators to use in the specific context of rural development projects. The case study was limited to Senegal, in the framework of an international development project. However, the authors purpose is extend the impact of these indicators in different geographic and cultural contexts, but even related to gender issues in rural environments. In particular, the nature and the incrementing complexity of these indicators could be suitable to evaluate the effective participation degree of women in development and rural projects, starting to evaluate their general level of empowerment and the main obstacles to access to the same rights, inputs, resources (as the property of land) and decision power than men. Furthermore, the elaboration of multiplex gender indicators could constitute an efficient tool for national and sub-regional gender policies as well as lobby activities.

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## NOMENCLATURE

aGII	adapted Gender Inequality Index
ANSD	Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie
BMI	Body Mass Index
CISAO	Centro Interdipartimentale di Ricerca e di Cooperazione Scientifica con i Paesi del Sahel e dell’Africa Occidentale
DGCS	Direzione Generale della Cooperazione allo Sviluppo
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GHI	Global Hunger Index
GII	Gender Inequality Index
IAO	Istituto Agronomico d’Oltremare
ONAPES	Organisation Nationale Des Producteurs Et Exportateurs De Fruits Et Légumes
SEPAS	Sénégalaise de Produits d’Exportation et de Services
SNEEG 2015	Stratégie Nationale pour l’Egalité et l’Equité de Genre
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UTL	Unità Tecnica Locale

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