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Gender Planning within Non-governmental Organizations in Somalia

By

Idil M. Salah, BA.(Honours)

**A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirement for the Degree of**

Master of Arts

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

1997

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Research acceptance of the thesis**

**“A Gender Planning within Non-governmental
Organizations in Somalia.”**

**Submitted by Idil M. Salah, BA(Honours)
In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nabila Abdo', written over a horizontal line.

Supervisor

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jacques Rivelin', written over a horizontal line.

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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1997

ABSTRACT:

Incorporating gender perspective into development policies and operations is a challenging concept for non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Findings have indicated that most NGOs are currently in the preliminary stage for gender planning rather than being fully incorporated into their policies, projects and programs.

This thesis explores three inter-related issues which are hypothesized as being responsible for the unsuccessful integration of gender planning into development. These issues include the social attitudes towards women in most countries, the vague position of funding agencies on gender integration into organizational policies and programs, and the lack of responsibility and accountability with regards to gender on the part of the NGOs.

Therefore, this thesis argues that the reason gender planning has not become mainstream is not only due to the strict societal structures of the countries in the South, but also due to the gender bias within Western NGOs.

Both Western and Southern NGOs have to enforce gender planning within organizational policies and operations so that women would obtain equal participation and contribute to an emerging strong civil society. To attain this goal, this research calls for the creation of an inclusive approach to development policies and programs, where women are at the centre of the planning process, rather than at the margins.

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INTRODUCTION

Development work today is challenged by a particularly difficult environment, ranging from man-made miseries such as poverty, illness, disease, civil war, discrimination, exploitation and the oppression of marginalized groups. The world is also experiencing environmental deterioration through famines, pollution, global warming, droughts, floods, earthquakes, deforestation etc. The end of the Cold War, world economic recession, shrinking international aid, and the Third world debt crisis further contribute to the decline of development in many countries of the South, and have a especially devastating effect on Somalia.

These dire circumstances, to various degrees, effect world populations indiscriminately. However, the effect has been more pernicious for those countries in the South. The concept of "development was invented by the West in the twentieth century as a token of support to Southern countries. Traditional development models have not brought about positive change for many people from the South. As this thesis will demonstrate, the situation is particularly difficult for Somalia.

Somali is located in North-Eastern Africa and has a population of about six million. It covers 638,000 square Kilometers and has a coastline of 2000 miles. European imperialists, the British, Italians, and French had colonized Somalia. The North of Somalia gained its independence on June 26, 1960. Seven days later, July 1st, it merged with the South, forming the Somali Republic.

Somalia, in ethnic terms, is considered one of the most homogeneous countries in Africa because almost all the population share same religion, culture and also speak Somali as their first language (Geshekte, 1979:31). Somalia is also considered one of the least developed countries and one of the ten poorest countries in the world.

In addition, Somalia is also "the least researched area of Africa" (Haakonsen, 1983:1), as Pestaloza (1974) correctly points out:

Somalia has in fact remained in the sidelines of the great debates on Africa since the war... Not even the foremost Africanists normally devote more than a passing remark to her, whereas there are quite a few good reasons to consider her exemplary of certain typical African experiences in the last two or three decades (1974:22)

Further, Somalia is a Muslim country (99.8% Muslim) which has strong ties with the Islamic world in Africa and the Middle East. Traditionally, more than 60% of the Somali population were nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists. Agriculture, fisher communities, government and service industries account for the remaining 40% of the population's employment or occupation (Ntiri, 1991:73). Therefore, regardless of the poor economic situation of Somalia as well as the lack of scientific researches, this thesis argues that NGOs' gender planning in development policies and programs in Somalia has failed to bring changes on Somalia's social structures that sustained women's subordination. Western NGOs' biases towards women's issues further constraint the issue.

The main objective of this thesis therefore, is to explore and elucidate the position of gender planning in funding agencies from the West (donors) and international and

local NGOs involved in Somalia. According to Moser, gender planning is the goal of attaining the emancipation of women from their subordination, and the achievement of equality, equity and employment (Moser, 1993:1). The premise of this thesis is therefore, that the clarification of gender related issues in development policies and programs will result in practical suggestions and critics for the NGOs working in Somalia for the success of their projects and for the improvement of the country. Searching for clarification, this study will examine three interrelated hypotheses that account for women's place in society. First, throughout much of the world including the West, conventional societal structures have been responsible for women's marginalized position, and within Western based NGOs, this has translated into unsuccessful development policies, programs and projects. In order to scrutinize and test this hypothesis, various approaches based on feminist theories, in particular the theories of Third world women and development, will be examined.

The second hypothesis of this thesis suggests that gender planning fails because the role of donors with regards to gender planning tends to be very vague and contradictory. This hypothesis questions whether there is an obligation, on the part of donors to ensure the position of gender planning within development agencies. Do they have influence and enforcement power over the NGOs without setting in place specific policing measures?

The final hypothesis argues that gender planning fails in most NGOs because there is a lack of accountability and perhaps commitment in this area. To scrutinize the reasons behind gender planning negligence, understanding the origins of gender analysis

becomes a very crucial element to this study. In simple terms, gender analysis can be understood as the systematic effort to document and understand the roles of women and men within a given context (Overholt et al. 1985:1) including relevant concepts such as productive and reproductive activities of both genders. Productive activities include all those tasks that provide for the household and community economically: the crops, livestock production, handicraft production, marketing and wage employment etc. Reproductive activities are those carried out to reproduce and care for the household and community, including fuel and water collection, food preparation, child care, education, health care, and home maintenance etc. These activities are generally viewed as non-economics, as they carry no pecuniary remuneration. Reproductive activities are usually excluded from the national income or GNP (Overholt et al. 1985). More often women carry the burden of reproductive roles, while men are involved in the productive side.

In addition, a form of gender blindness often exists within development agencies by discriminating against women through an inherent devaluing of the reproductive roles. Gender blindness can be understood as the inability to perceive the different roles and responsibilities for men and women within the realm of productive and reproductive activities. Consequently, this leads to the failure to realize that policies, programs and projects can have different effects on men and women (Overholt et al. 1985:2).

Another key concepts that gender planning has to take into account is addressing practical and strategic gender needs of women when delivering projects and programs. According to Moser:

Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labor or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care, and employment (Moser, 1993:40).

Practical gender needs are complemented by strategic gender needs.

Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular context. They relate to gender divisions of labor, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate (Moser, 1993:39).

It is crucial to be prepared when conflict based on gender discrimination arises in the field during implementation of strategic and practical gender needs. It is important to clarify here that conflict can often be interpreted as either technical or political problem. Technical problems frequently relate to inappropriate planning due to lack of cultural sensitivity or lack of real understanding of differing productive and reproductive roles of women, and political problems erupt when a project is seen to be creating too much change in a very patriarchal social order (Moser, 1993:1).

In addition, this thesis illustrates other related factors which also hinder development process. This includes the obscure definition of development and the misunderstanding growing out of evolving development milieu terminologies. Often,

activists from the South question the constantly changing development terminologies and jargon that surface in development literature. They wonder if people from the North and the South have a similar understanding of the concepts that dominate this field, terms such as "equal access", "control", "empowerment", "participation" "gender integration or mainstreaming", "gender equity", "gender equality" and "gender planning etc.

In practice, these terminologies may confuse development agencies. Moreover, terms can be misinterpreted or misunderstood on the basis of cultural differences in NGOs' daily operations. It is important that NGOs be aware of potential differences in interpretations of development terminology. These concepts will be explored in the process of this thesis.

This thesis is organized into five chapters, excluding, the introduction. Chapter one will address the theoretical framework of women and development in the South. It has been derived from the grounded theories of development and Third World women. These include Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) in conjunction with the broader Southern feminist perspectives on development. The contributions of women from the Islamic world will also be presented in this section as Somalia has a very significant Muslim population. These approaches will be explored with the purpose of discovering what they may offer to the development of women in Somalia, by asking whether such approaches address and provide solutions to any of the problems or concerns of the women. What are the profitable and suitable mechanisms that can be used for the progress of these women? In translating these theories into practice, non-governmental organizations play critical role.

Therefore, the second part of this chapter will introduce and define non-governmental organizations.

Chapter two will attempt to relate these development approaches to the actual work of international donors in regards to gender planning. First, this thesis will question the donor's position on gender planning and will ask who is ultimately responsible for checking (legally or otherwise) the NGO operations and their obligations to implement gender equity into their programs and projects. It also asks whether donor agencies can legally demand gender implementation from their NGOs partners. For that purpose, it will review the role of two selected funding (donor) agencies; Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Netherlands Organization for International Corporations (NOVIB). The Canadian Council for International Corporations (CCIC) findings on gender integration within NGO partners in Canada will also be used as additional information.

Chapter three will consist of two parts. The first part will present the historical background of Somali NGOs who emerged in 1990s. Consulting with Canadian and some European generic NGO structures, policies, and operations, the second part of this chapter will examine three selected local NGO policies and activities in order to determine the position on gender planning. At the same time the difference between the women's NGOs and mixed NGOs on the subject of gender mainstreaming will be discussed. In other words, women's awareness of the complexities of gender issues will also be examined.

Chapter four will consist of three parts. The first part will briefly introduce the selected five projects and guidelines that would lead the analysis. The five selected

projects and program are: one water project, two farming projects, one small-scale credit project, and one Participatory Rural Appraisal program implemented by both international and local NGOs working in Somalia. The main question addressed here is if and how NGOs working in Somalia address and implement gender planning. The second part will revisit development debates discussed earlier and will examine their relevance to Somali context in particular to Somali women. Part three will examine five case studies in order to determine whether gender planning has an impact on the implementation of projects and programs and the influence of Western NGOs on gender planning. Finally, chapter five will illuminate the conclusion of the thesis.

Methodology

Collecting data and other information about NGOs working in Somalia was not only a difficult tasks, but almost impossible. One factor is that there has not been a formal Somali government for over seven years. In addition to that, when I was collecting material for this thesis, I contacted a number of international organizations through e-mails and writings. Some of them avoided sharing their internal reports on implemented projects and programs in Somalia and that was obstacle to this research too.

Nevertheless, enough material was collected from a variety of sources. Most of the information was acquired from the libraries of Carleton University, the University of Ottawa, the National Archives, International Development and Research Center (IDRC), and Statistics Canada. Information from Netherlands Organization for International

Cooperation (NOVIB), which funds various projects in Somalia, was also consulted.

Videos from local NGOs and related documents, policies and unpublished papers from Somalia were also used as references. Finally, this thesis will rely heavily upon materials from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Canadian Council of International Cooperation (CCIC), Oxfam (USA), Care International and the Mennonite Central Committee.

It is hoped that the examination of the policies, projects and programs of funding agencies and NGOs will provide helpful information regarding the significance of gender planning as well as the experiences and obstacles that these NGOs encounter with gender oriented projects and program implementations in Somalia. So that, findings will guide NGOs and researchers in the future.

Chapter One

Women and Development in the South: A Theoretical Framework on Gendered Development

The word development symbolizes a process of amelioration, empowerment and participation of marginalized groups; women, children, disabled and elders of a society in order for them to achieve equality, equity, peace and economic development. However, many theorists and development activists from Southern countries, such as Gustavo Esteva (1991), have expressed their dissatisfaction with the "development process. Esteva, for instance, claims that the word itself receives a cynical recognition in many instances: "The term of development appears mostly in jokes... if you live in Mexico City today, you are either rich or numb, if you fail to notice that development stinks" (Staudt, 1991:25).

Similarly, Lloyd Timberlake(1985), referring to western workers in the South, indicated that advising Africa has become a major industry, with at least 80,000 expatriates at work in the south of the Sahara at a cost of more than US\$ 4 billion a year. The volume of magazines, books, periodicals and papers concerning development continues to increase, and there are so many conferences on development that attendance has become almost a profession in itself (Timberlake, 1985:8-10).

There are many other problems with development. Edward (1989) concerned about the direction development is taking, asks the West why is it that "our increasing knowledge of the Third world does not enable solutions to be found?. He also questions whether restructuring development studies is possible without a much deeper change in

attitudes and values among academics and practitioners alike (Edward, 1989:117). As Edward illustrated if people can analyze, design, implement and evaluate their work in a critical fashion, they stand a good chance of achieving their objectives. However, Edward caution that a system of education and training that relies on experts[alone] will never be able to do this, because the attitudes of experts prevent people thinking for themselves (Edward, 1989:119). This comment is a small reflection of the problems in development approaches today.

Initially, development was defined on the basis of macroeconomics, which considers the increase of a country's Gross National Product (GNP) and the growth of per capita income in a nation, allowing for the determination of underdeveloped vs. developed countries. These factors, however, are not able to measure the real growth of the basic necessities of marginalized groups. Moreover, in keeping with this macroeconomics model, Western theorists have suggested that the only way Third World countries could achieve development is to follow the Western, capitalist path. Indeed, both Liberal and Marxist approaches have classified development as a one-way street; where a nation moves from a backward traditional society [the South] to a progressive\modern industrialized one [the North](Marchand et al. 1995:11).

Since the measures of development were reduced to the increase of GNP, and the growth rate of per capita income, with focus on the productive sector of the economy, the reproductive activities and the well being of the society in general were neglected to be measured. The question of the real well-being of the individual, particularly women, more recently became a subject of debate in the development world. During the period

extending from 1970-1980, the goals, processes, and achievements of development were re-examined, and this ultimately enforced redefining development.

According to *Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women* (FLS, para 12), a document adopted by International Women's Conference in Nairobi (1985), development is defined as total development. This includes development in political, economic, social, cultural and other dimensions of human life including the development of the economic and other material resources and the physical, moral, intellectual and cultural growth of human beings. This document also suggested that development requires a moral dimension to ensure that it is just and responsive to the needs and rights of the individual (FLS, 1985: para 12). This suggests that the emphasis of development policies shifted from industrial growth to growth of equity (Moffat, 1992:10), by targeting the poor, and building on local capacity and cultural autonomy. However, Peitile and Vickers (1990), referring to this document, stated that "the issue of women in development has often been perceived as a welfare problem, viewed simply as a cost to the society rather than as a contribution, ... therefore of low priority" (Peitile, 1990:55).

These critiques have developed heated debates that demand change and new approaches to development. This type of demand for change requires a thorough examination and understanding of the weaknesses of previous development researches, policies and practical approaches in order to improve the future. In doing so, it is imperative to look at women's challenge to development, by examining issues that are major constraints to them such as social, economic, political, cultural, religious, legal attitudes together with the whole complexity and bias embedded in language. To

overcome these obstacles are the ultimate challenge to both women of the North and the South. In development, this bias is translated as gender-blindness, which systematically undermines women's contribution to society. Although countries might vary in the degree of societal bias (patriarchy and the resulting sexism) towards women, in reality the challenge of both women in the South and North remain to be strong. When discussing changes, questions such as what kind of change, on what basis, on whose terms and with what approaches become complex issues women have to deal with.

Dorothy Smith (1990a), recognizing the need for change, as well as the constraints women face suggests that women have to revise their own social structures, what she refers to as objectified knowledge; the constituents of power in contemporary societies... that expressed the standpoint of men [only] (Smith, 1990a: 11). In Smith's conception, both men and women normally come to a society governed by a pre-determined set of rules and regulations that favor men over women. Emphasizing this, she argues: "Where a traditional gender division of labor prevails, men enter the conceptually organized world of governing without a sense of transition" (Smith, 1990a:17). Therefore, she says, under the traditional gender regime, women's challenge is to liberate themselves from Aristotelian categories. Where a woman keeps house for a man, bears and cares for his children, washes his clothes, looks after him when he is sick, and generally provides for the logistics of his bodily existence (Smith, 1990a: 19). Thus, in order to bypass these social constructions, Smith urges women to break the assumptions and expectations of the existing structures by thoroughly learning the inner workings of patriarchy within their particular contexts (Smith, 1990a:19).

This suggestion contrasts Western conceptions of development in the South, where development is equated with the Western footsteps of modernization. The latter imposes western systems on Southern countries and also puts people involved into non-negotiating positions where they are subjected to control and where a Western model of gender relations is unquestioningly imposed.

Recognizing the predicament those countries in the South experience, Edele Muller(1987) referring to Dorothy Smith's work (1990b) on "relations of ruling" had provided significant examples of how WID and GAD discourse overpower the voices, experiences and realities of the women in the South. Edele Muller's study probes how the social organization of knowledge sustains unequal power relations between Northern development workers and Southern women. She argues that through WID discourse, Southern women have become subject to be categorized, managed, and developed according to western needs. Muller defined development as:

a set of organizational and discursive practices for planning, managing, administering, controlling and ruling exercised by advanced capitalist countries over what is called the Third World(1987:2).

This complex dilemma has in the first place resulted in the development debates between the South and the North, and in particular within feminist literature of development. These discussions including Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) have spawned various development approaches. These approaches have been offered to Southern women as alternative development strategies, although based mainly on Western experiences.

WID, WAD, GAD and Beyond: Pseudo or Real Approaches for Development:

Women in Development (WID)

Ester Boserup's seminal work, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970) and the UN decade for women beginning in 1975, led to the birth of Women in Development (WID), a development philosophy closely connected to American liberal feminism and modernization theory. The liberal modernization perspective suggests that underdevelopment in Southern countries is caused by traditional values and social structures; and that the basis for development lies in the diffusion of values, capital, technology and political institutions from the West... (Bandarage, 1984:497). Therefore, the objective of WID is to import the symbolic modernization of the Western development model to women in the South. Expecting to accomplish the fuller integration of women into the formal sectors of the Third World economies, WID thinkers seek this integration through legal measures and changes in attitudes (Bandarage, 1984:499).

Eva Rathgeber (1989) argues that the theories of WID were used to integrate women into the economic system in order to eliminate women's discrimination and subordination in both public and private spheres. In addition, under Women in Development premises, women's experiences of developmental and societal change were institutionalized. It became legitimate for research to focus specifically on women's

experiences and perceptions (Rathgeber, 1989:2). The WID approach further suggests that:

the massive expansion of education systems would produce stocks of well-trained workers and managers that would enable the evolution of static, essentially agrarian societies into industrialized, modern ones; as growth occurs, the benefits of modernization, i.e. better living conditions, wages, education, adequate health services, etc., would trickle down to all segments of society... It was assumed that male experience was general to females and all would benefit equally as societies modernized (Rathgeber, 1989:2).

Accordingly, WID adherents argue that basic education with the provision of vocational and technical training skills, as well as appropriate technology, raise women's consciousness about the oppressive structures that keep them in the position of powerlessness (Rathberger, 1989:6).

In contrast, many feminist researchers argue that education alone cannot be the definitive indicator for women's development. Education most often discriminates against women, and reaching equality through education depends on how education is presented to women and the type of education: whether it is formal\informal, specific or general. In addition, the efficiency of the provision of systematic education for all depends on how a given society receives it and if education is a significant indicator for the measurement of well being for a particular country. Anita Anand (1995) condemning such strategies, argues that "it should not be surprising that common indicators used to determine women's involvement in development have been employment and education. When most women live in rural areas and in a non-market economy... these indicators have little validity (Anand, 1985;5).

Further, WID activists caution planners and practitioners, that enhancing gender equality depends on women's economic independence and equal participation in the policy-planning and decision-making processes from the beginning. In consequence, women would be able to overcome male domination over economics and the inequality intertwined with social structures. WID also contends that:

Society's acceptance of male domination has pervaded development work. Though much lip service has been paid to the equal participation of women in the male dominated development circles, this has remained by and large "integration" without much thought or attempt towards genuine power sharing with women (WID, 1984: 7).

Even though Women in Development adherents enlighten the world of how to integrate women into development process through national planning, nevertheless, WID approach has been subject to much criticism. It has been argued that the WID approach has failed to acknowledge women's contribution to the economy, a problem embedded in modernization theory. WID adopted modernization theories without questioning the implications for women involved in reproductive labor (Rathgeber, 1989:2). WID has also been criticized for its manner of incorporating women into the development process, while neglecting to draw attention to the fact that women are already an intrinsic part of the development process (Haider, 1996:39). Further, WID has been attacked for its focus on how women could be better integrated into ongoing development initiatives rather than examining why women have fared less. Marjorie Mbilinyi indicated that this non-confrontational approach has avoided questioning the sources and nature of women's

subordination and oppression and focused instead on advocacy for more equal participation in education, employment and other spheres of society (Mbilinyi, 1984).

In addition, the WID approach has been accused of fostering development practices that ignore difference(s), indigenous knowledge(s) and local expertise while legitimating foreign "solutions" to women problems in the South (Marchent et al. 1995:11). WID cannot be a model to Southern women because it contributes to more marginalization by stereotyping Southern women as backward, inactive, vulnerable and as the other in need of rescue.

Finally, in terms of the real implications of such a debate within the development context, WID integration has come to mean small and separate projects for women compartmentalized within development programs and with the continued absence of women from priority development projects. Women remain absent from higher levels of planning, being restricted to the separate realm of women's projects. WID failed to bring women's perspectives to other levels of development (Goetz, 1991:139) such as decision-making positions. Challenging WID's explanation on the causes of women's subordination, new approach called Women and Development (WAD) emerged.

Women and Development (WAD)

Similar to WID, Women and Development (WAD), surfaced in the 1970s. As a Marxist feminist approach, WAD's theoretical base was drawn from dependency theory which for the most part has given remarkably little specific attention to gender

subordination. Unlike WID, WAD recognizes that Third World men who do not have elite status have also been adversely affected by the structure of the inequalities within the international system (Rathgeber, 1989:3). WAD approach argues that women have always been part of development process and that they did not suddenly appear in the early 1990s as the result of the insights and intervention strategies of few scholars and agency personnel (Rathberger, 1989:8).

WAD attributes the prime determinants of women's poverty, marginalization and inequality to the imbalance and unjust international trade between less-developed and developed countries in the international market economy. Moreover, the negative implication of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on its structural adjustment programs in Third World countries also worsens the situation. Rather than focusing on the relationship between women and process, WAD purely focuses on strategies for the integration of development. WAD gives little analytical attention to the social relations of gender within classes. In other words, WAD converges on changing international relations as a condition of attaining gender equality (Abdo, 1995:34).

According to Sen and Grown (1987), WAD suggests two development strategies which practitioners can use towards the amelioration of women's conditions. First is the long term strategy which concerns "control of multinationals...which have been instrumental in diverting resources from basic needs towards commercialization, exports, and militarization" (Sen and Grown, 1987:83). Second, in the short term, WAD embraces the strategy recognized by WID adherents, advocating changes in " laws, civil codes, systems of property rights, control over our bodies, labor codes, and the social and

legal institutions that underwrite male control and privilege..." (Sen and Grown, 1987:81). In addition, in WAD, demilitarization is viewed as an essential requirement to alleviate the fiscal burden and indebtedness of most Third World countries. Its adherents emphasize the links between militarization, dictatorship regimes, the suppression of civil freedoms, and the further subordination of women (Abdo, 1995 :34).

Similar to WID, WAD receives criticism on the ways it relates women's subordination to the world market economy, because as Abdo (1995) puts it, WAD's overriding concern with the international sphere overshadows the internal dynamics of social contradictions, particularly around issues of the sex-gender division of labor and its role in shaping women's lives (Abdo, 1995: 35). In addition, with regards to development projects, WAD falls into the same trap as WID and modernization theory, concentrating on *productive* activities such as income generating projects, while devaluing labor invested into reproductive roles (Rathgeber, 1989:3).

The limitations of WID and WAD have led many development practitioners, scholars and researchers to explore alternative theoretical frameworks on development. Gender and Development (GAD) emerged out of this concern in the 1980s:

Gender and Development (GAD)

Around the world, activists and academics alike are shifting from the framework labeled "Women in Development" (WID) to Gender and development (GAD). The new challenge reflects a change in focus from women and their exclusion from development initiatives (women's lack of

training, women's lack of income...) to the relations of inequality between women and men (CCIC, et al.1991: 5).

In contrast with WID and WAD, Gender and Development (GAD) emerged from socialist feminist theories in the 1980s. According to Kate Young (1993) the conceptual framework of GAD was constructed around several key propositions: that women are incorporated into the development process but in very specific ways. That a focus on women alone was inadequate to understand the opportunities for women to develop agency or create change. Women are not a homogeneous category but are divided by class, color and creed. That any analysis of social organization and social process has to take into account the structure and dynamics of gender relations. Young also argues that the totality of women's and men's lives must be the focus of analysis, understanding women not as passive, nor marginal recipients of development, but as active subjects of social processes (Young, 1993:134).

This perspective provides a holistic explanation of gender relations in which women have been systematically marginalized. As Whitehead (1979) has illustrated, we use the term subordination...to make the general point that the character of gender relations is that of male dominance and female subordination (Whitehead, 1979:12). And thus, the relation between men and women is one of the sets of power relations in society", with regards to production, reproduction and community obligations (Young, 1993:135). Socialist feminists have identified the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression and have focused attention on the social

relations of gender, questioning the validity of roles which have been ascribed to both women and men in different societies (Rathgeber, 1989:10).

Young (1993) highlights the basic problem of women's development as situated within the existing structures and processes of society, and that it is not women's integration into development, or their invisibility, or their lack of training, education, credit, or self-esteem that give rise to women's disadvantages. One source of disadvantage is the pervasive ideology of male superiority, both physical and intellectual, which appears to be found, to different degrees, in almost all cultures and economies and also shapes women's view of themselves and their capacities (Young, 1993:134).

Therefore men's control over political, economic and social resources and over the distribution of power must be challenged. Simply changing the symptoms of disadvantage; giving women training, credit, etc.; is not a solution, but only a useful first step in women's empowerment. Dismantling the structures that support women's disadvantage is a solution. Changing laws and the systems of religious and political institutions, indeed the very socialization practices, will involve a tremendous struggle for both women and men as they negotiate and adapt to a change in the nature of gender relations in public and the private spheres (Young, 1993:134-135). GAD perceives women and men as active agents and not passive recipients of development. It also recognizes that men and women are differently located within the socio-economic structure, and they tend to have different sets of interests and needs (Young, 1993:136).

GAD is, however, not immune to many of the same criticisms made of WID & WAD. GAD generalizes women as one group, who in relation to men are in a

subordinate position. In contrast, as we will discuss it in the next section, some women from Muslim countries view gender relations as a complementarity rather than subordination. GAD does not adequately deal with women in situations of war or national struggle (Giacaman, 1995:53). This is a situation, that most Third world countries are facing in particular the country under study.

Furthermore, GAD has been criticized for its unrealistic suggestions for calling the countries of the South to a complete transformation of the structure of their societies in terms of civil and religious laws and social policy, without being cautious of the consequences. For instance, Risto Heistakala (1987) examining gender relations from a semiotic perspective illustrated that while modern Western capitalist society has made it possible and desirable to speak of equality between sexes (instead of complementarity between the genders), this formal equality is not in practice realized in any modern Western society (Heiskala, 1987:207). To support this notion one only needs to look at employment laws, for instance, where women are still battling over issues such as maternity leave, breast-feeding at the workplace, daycare, and flexible work hours.

Regardless of those limitations, WID, WAD and GAD adherents pressure policy-makers to improve women's situation of both in the North and the South. That is why WID policies have been shifting, from welfare, equity, and anti-poverty to efficiency, and empowerment policies. For summary of these shifts see attached (Appendix A). Recognizing the major limitations of these debates have led me to examine an alternative literature emanating from some Islamic countries. This is called "complementarity of sexes; it is a perspective that provides compromising positions to both genders, instead of

dominating one over the other. It is hoped that an overview of this literature will enrich this study.

Further, complementarity is introduced to this thesis for three main reasons. First, the focus of this study is to Somalia, which is a Muslim country. Second, because of lack of official Somali government, strong Islamic groups become the sole self-appointed authorities in many regions of Somalia, and finally similar to Western NGO, there are effective local and International Islamic NGOs who are working in Somalia. However, It is hard to get reliable information about the impact of Islamic NGO programs on Somali women. Therefore this research concentrates only on Western and local NGOs in regards to gender planning. Considering these relevant factors, the complementarity perspective will be able to conceptualize and portray Somali women in a Somali context better than WID WAD and GAD.

Complementarity Rather than Equality: Point of Departure to Real Development:

God...makes it the duty of men to provide all economic means for [his wife]... and in exchange for this heavy responsibility, that is the financial burden of the women and the family, what is he entitled to expect of the women? Except for expecting her companionship and courtship, he cannot demand anything else from women. According to theological sources, he cannot even demand that she brings him a glass of water, much less expect her to clean or cook... Fereshteh Hashemi, Iranian Islamist Intellectual, 1980

While Gender and Development (GAD) approach implies societal transformation, and confrontation for the inequality and subordination of women as the weaker sex, the complementarity perspective implies equality between the sexes, with separate but equal status and roles to play in life.

The debate on the complementarity between the sexes has divided scholars in Muslim countries as well. Leila Ahmed, concluded in her analysis of the status of women in Muslim societies, that Islam is incompatible with feminism, even with the more mainstream/modernist notion of women's rights, because Islam regards women as the weak and inferior sex (Moghadam, 1993:7). Fatima Mernissi, while agreeing with Ahmed regarding the existing inequalities within the Muslim countries, illustrates that the notion of the inferior sex is alien to Islam, and rather that it affirms the potential equality between the sexes (Mernissi, 1987:19). Mernissi draws on a particular verse of the Qur'an to support this: All Muslims are equal before God, ... but men have a degree (of advantage) over women (Sur2: 228)

Freda Hussein, a modernist Muslim feminist, raised a parallel argument. She based her argument on the concept of complementarity of the sexes in Islam. Similar to Mernissi, Hussein, referring to the same verse of the Qur'an, argues that:

according to Islam both men and women are equal in the sight of God and each will be judged according to his or her depth or religiosity. Thus, contrary to what is practiced in many Muslim societies, women are not under the control of men. They enjoy a separate but equal status within the theology. If they were under the control of men, women would not be able to determine their actions and, as such, before God, only men and not women would be accountable. Therefore, both are accountable for their own actions and not for those of others (Hussein et al. 1984:60).

Hussein (1984) attributes the oppression of Muslim women to the Muslim traditionalists who have prescribed women's roles and destiny on the bases of their feudal and patriarchal interpretations. Traditionalists, Hussein argues, have given a false authenticity to the social, political, economic and legal aspects of Muslim societies. They have distorted the principle of Islam (Hussein, 1984:59), and she calls their interpretations of the Qur'an as Pseudo-Islam (Hussein, 1984:2). Hussein also illustrates that the ideal philosophy created by traditionalists to suit their feudal rulers, also benefits to the capitalist Muslims of today. Thus pseudo-Islam became institutionalized by those who have economic and political powers.

In addition, Obermayer (1994) agrees with Hussein that traditionalists' interpretations emphasize:

those passages in the Qur'an and Hadith that give women a lower valuation than men, and these have been taken advantage of to

define a distinctly subordinate social role for women. The statements in the religious texts that grant women the right to manage their own property and to conduct their business receive little attention compared to those that value female testimony in court as worth half that of a man etc. (Obermeyer, 1994:61).

In these traditions, women's positions are limited to their domestic role and they have little freedom of choice in matters of marriage, divorce and the custody of their children, and hold almost no property or inheritance rights. Other factors include denying education, employment outside the home, and political participation. Freedom of choice for reproduction and family planning were also seen as violation of basic human rights of women in Muslim countries. Therefore a number of scholars and activists in Muslim countries condemn these conditions.

Ali Shariati, an Iranian modernist who encouraged the rights of women over these issues, attacked traditionalist interpretations for opposing equal opportunities for women in education and the professions as well (Ferdows, 1983:285). Mahnaz Afhami demonstrates that a right is a property of control a woman achieves over her person over time. It is an appropriation of individual power and acceptance of personal responsibility. Rights are also related to the changing properties of political culture, values, beliefs, and aesthetics that have to do with the dispositions of power... (Afhami, 1995:4-5). Others acknowledge that religion alone is not the cause of the violation of women's rights.

Other scholars in Muslim countries attribute these violations to Muslim state's fragile capacity to regulate the economic reality, than religion, because religions are neither unidimensional nor fixed in time. Attitudes and practices vary according to sect,

ethnicity, class, and with time, can be deepened or modified, abandoned or continued, replaced or revived (Shaheed, 1995:79). Fatima Mernissi also reveals that it is a common feature of Muslim politics in times of economic crisis to force women to wear veils, force Christians and Jews to wear special crosses and belts (Mernissi, 1995:42). People comply with these conditions, Mernissi says, as long as Muslim states fulfill the promise which brought it to power, that is to make Muslims richer and more powerful.... if [they] do not provide what the masses need and want, the state will last only as long as the people's fear to contest lasts (Mernissi, 1995:43). It is just a matter of time and the fear will evaporate, and the risk of population contention is today, for a whole combination of reasons much more than yesterday, very much a feature of the future (Mernissi, 1995:43).

Despite the rigid laws and customs of Muslim countries towards women, the changing socio-economic situations of the world, and time dictate these old traditions. Today's changing world would also reform woman's ascribed position as Haider (1996) points out:

if survival necessities are urgent enough, and alternate workers unfeasible or politically problematic, the opportunist nature of the Islamic state moves women, almost overnight, into tasks otherwise considered both 'inappropriate' and 'incompatible' (Haider, 1996:45).

In short, regardless of religious limitations, more often it is the economic hardships, which motivate women to enter the public domain in Muslim countries as seen in cases of Iran, Afghanistan, Algeria, and Egypt. Besides Muslim states have no choice but to cope with the changing world. That is why even an Islamic fundamentalist regime

such as Iran has come," however grudgingly, to support reforms that bring improvements of women's options in education and employment and justifies its position with reference to Islamic texts, clearly demonstrating the flexibility of the doctrine" (Obermeyer, 1994:71).

Therefore, many scholars and activists take advantage of the flexibility of the Islamic doctrine and the economic tribulations in the South in order to challenge authorities in many Muslim countries. Diverse solutions have been brought to light. Hussein (1984), Shaheed(1995), and Mernissi(1987) agree to seek liberation from the authentic Islam by learning and interpreting Qur'an from women's perspective.

Freda Hussein believes that the absence of a female interpretation of the Qur'an is the key to the victimization of Muslim women. Because there are Muslim women who are educated and who have knowledge of the Qur'an, they have never dared to interpret Qur'an for fear of opposing clergies (the Ulema) (Hussein, 1984:5). They fear of being pushed beyond the collectivity of one's nation, religion, and ethnic groups, of casting out or losing one's identity, militates against initiating positive action for change (Shaheed, 1995:83). To overcome fear, Shaheed(1995) encourages Muslim women "to distinguish customs, practices, or attitudes from their faith and self-identification...[because] improving everyday reality is conditional on women's ability to distinguish their religious faith from the social customs that have come its symbolic representations" (Shaheed, 1995:80).

As Afkhami (1995) illustrates, that, requires a substantial number of women in a community to come to believe that they have rights and demand to exercise them, [otherwise] rights remain an abstraction (Afkhami, 1995:4-5).

Masses of women can be reached through international networking and this "becomes a relevant strategy for accelerating change" (Shaheed, 1995:78). This will empower Muslim women in the long run. Other strategies include, linking women and women's groups across Muslim communities, increasing their knowledge about both their common and diverse situations, and strengthening their struggles by creating means and channels to support their effort internationally from within and outside Muslim world (Shaheed, 1995:95-96).

One of the great advantages networks have over organizations is their fluidity...They provide a vehicle for individuals and organizations to share information, analysis, and strategies without trying either to homogenize the diversity...or to control their autonomy in matters of political or personal choices (Shaheed, 1995:97).

However, Mayer (1995) cautions that such international women's networking may result the foes of women's rights move to internationalize their positions (Mayer, 1995:127) to challenge what Cairo Conference stands for such as women's freedom to choose in particular on issues of family planning and abortion. Mayer presented one relevant example of these foes strategy " a new hypocritical rhetoric,... of the Vatican-Muslim alliance..., opposing the emphasis that Cairo population conference was placing

on women's rights and women's autonomy proposing that [their opposition] was grounded not 'on religious values', but on a respectful approach to the dignity of the human persons (Mayer, 1995:127).

Considering all the constraints; religion, economic, and state power, as well as the significant solutions provided by activists and scholars, brings women and development issue back to discuss. Mernissi (1976) suggests that any Muslim state that considers 50% of its human resources as secondary can only lead to a quixotic form of economic development. Muslim countries have no choice but to invest in their human and natural resources to the fullest within capitalist world markets (Mernissi, 1976:39). Nevertheless, the main question remains how do women in Muslim countries develop themselves considering all constraints discussed earlier? Employing the theoretical debates of Third World women and development such as WID and GAD with consultation with the complementarity perspective from within Muslim countries may offer practical solutions in daily operations.

The main practical solution is to conceptualize complementarity roles within development policies and programs. However, the intention of this thesis is not to suggest complementarity as an alternative approach to WID and GAD. Instead, complementarity is a way of improving some weaknesses of WID and GAD approaches, particularly, in respect to Muslim countries rather than being substitute to them.

Complementarity recognizes issues that WID and GAD approaches do not consider but are basic and relevant to the development of Muslim countries. Muslim people believe that Islam is a way of life and it cannot be separated from daily living. In

that sense, religion becomes an effective factor that determines and directs their lives. Therefore one should not be dismissing the impact of religion in the development process and particularly in gender analysis.

However, there is no argument that most women in Muslim countries have no knowledge of their religion, and their believe of being equal to “half of man” is evident of that. This believe is based on misinterpreted verses quoted from the Qur’an. These verses are taken out of context as discussed earlier. Contemporary Scholars in Muslim countries argue that men and women are equal before God, and each person is responsible for his/her actions. They also suggest that sharing responsibilities must be based on mutual agreement and respect between men and women rather than fixing and ascribing roles where men are breadwinner and women are household keepers only. As Mawdudi pointed out:

Within the family, Islam has assigned to the men a position of authority... this does not mean that he has been made a household tyrant and women has been handed over to him as a helpless chattel. According to Islam the real spirit of marital life is love, understanding and mutual respect...(Mawdudi, 1992, 41).

However, this is not unique to Islam per se, but it is possibly more visible and effective than many countries in the world. Besides complementarity differs WID and GAD approaches in many aspects.

One of the factors that complementarity basis on women’s discrimination is the denial of women’s basic god given rights by Muslim countries. Women’s illiteracy about the religion contributes to this dilemma. In comparison, WID attributes women’s

subordination to their lack of economic independence, while GAD blames that inequality between genders on gender division of labour in the household. Therefore, both WID and GAD encourage women to engage productive roles and participate in public spheres in order to achieve complete equality with men. It is not realistic to devalue reproductive roles while putting more effort on productive roles only.

In contrast, complementarity values both productive and reproductive roles equally. In terms of development, men can be educated to involve in reproductive roles, since there is no evidence from the Qur'an that supports them to be exempted from this role. Besides, they are aware that women are not obligated to perform reproductive roles only.

Accordingly, for the development of women, WID presents women's economic independence as the solution to their empowerment and equality. But the question remains, is this realistic. Would economic independence bring equality? Many women who are economically independent and educated are still lack the courage to participate in decision-making ranks or public affairs. What would that indicate about WID's suggestion?

In contrast to WID, GAD's solution to women's subordination is a complete transformation of the predetermined laws, religion, cultures and institutions. It believes that, just, empowerment and equality would follow. However, GAD recognizes that this causes confrontation and men feel threatened by women's empowerment. Therefore, GAD adherents, particularly NGOs avoid to involve or deal with any situation that brings confrontation, and gender becomes sensitive issue to deal with..

Instead of confrontations, complementarity offers less hostile environment. It provides to both genders a compromising position where they can equally engage productive, reproductive, and community obligations. However, this compromise becomes effective after men and women are educated about women's basic rights. In particular, men have no support from authentic Islam to control or pressure women. Therefore, they are forced to open dialogue with women on how to share roles. By equally valuing all three roles; productive, reproductive and public engagement, then achieving mutual consent becomes easy and without confrontation. In this case, it seems that complementarity is more realistic and in touch with the reality of people than WID and GAD.

After establishing the foundation of women's discrimination in the context of Muslim countries, which is derived from misinterpretation of the Qur'an first, and other factors such as economic and political leadership as second, complementarity thinkers have no difficulty in finding a place for the utilization of WID and GAD tools to achieve development.

In addition, complementarity does not oppose the practical suggestions of WID and GAD approaches to achieve real social change such as increasing women's education, literacy, economic independence, and participation of decision-makings. Therefore, after *strengthening women's self-esteem spiritually*, the source of inequality can be challenged easily. Competition becomes inevitable, and people would compete on the basis of ability, education, skills, etc. rather than gender alone. This is not different of

what WID and GAD expect in the future. However, in respect to Muslim countries, complementarity is a missing factor of WID and GAD approaches.

Furthermore, considering any religion, complementarity can be useful across countries in the world. It is more effective to use it for the improvement of gender relations than GAD approaches. Moreover, complementarity perspective values GAD's tools to achieve equality, empowerment, and participation. Some of those tools are recognizing and addressing of women's strategic needs, and women's engagement of leadership and participating on decision making. In short, WID and GAD have appropriate tools to offer for the development of Muslim countries as long as complementarity is pursued and consulted simultaneously.

Further, pressuring policy decision-makers, non-governmental organizations and international financial institutions to be more aware of complementarity role will also improve the situation of women. Since non-governmental organizations are the focus of the thesis and one of the key players in development, it is crucial to present brief introduction of NGOs before engaging their analysis.

Non-governmental Organizations (NGO): Introduction

Non-governmental organizations are often non-profit, voluntary agencies, established for various purposes. Depending on their resources and operations, NGOs are categorized into large, medium, and small-scale agencies. They exist for almost every field, economic, social, agricultural, scientific, educational, religious, artistic, judicial, communication, sports and so on (White, 1951:4). As White puts it,

besides emergency crises, the main reason that NGOs get involved is the result of state failures to meet the demands of marginalized communities in a given country. Frequently NGOs are pioneers, the first to recognize a need, the first to do something about it, either in study and research or in a program of action, and NGOs usually function as agents of international understanding, as molders of public opinion, and as pressure groups, both on national and international levels (White, 1951:10)

There has been a sudden proliferation of NGOs over the years. For instance, the number of development NGOs registered in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries of the industrialized North grew from 16,000 in 1980 to 28,970 in 1993 (Smillie and Helmich, 1993). Over the same period, in current prices the total spending of these NGOs rose from 2.8 billion dollars US to 5.7 billion dollars US (OECD 1994).

Furthermore, according to John Bennet NGOs collectively spend an estimated 9-10 billion US dollars annually, reaching some 250 million people living in absolute

poverty. Bilateral government donors increasingly channel resources, especially for emergencies, through their favoured NGOs rather than through allegedly less accountable governments of the South (Bennet, 1995:xi). Yet, this phenomenal increase in the number, size, and financial status of NGOs in the 1980s and 1990s to a large extent, has happened without close inspection of their actual performance. Therefore, regardless of all their visible success, it is argued that some NGOs have been guilty of poor practice, wastage and a lack of professionalism, which mostly has gone unchecked (Bennet, 1995).

In addition, others argue that NGOs are not universally impartial in their activities that relate to women. For instance, a United Nations report (1989) regarding the role of NGOs in Asia and the Pacific revealed that NGOs often ignore women's productive role in the economy and their equal entitlement rights in the household and in society. These types of criticism had enhanced gender awareness among Western and Southern NGOs.

Donor agencies also put more pressure on the NGOs to incorporate gender planning in their applications for funding. In that case gender aspect became inevitable issue to avoid by NGOs. However, it is necessary at this stage to be reminded everyone why NGOs often are hesitant to interpret gender planning into their policies, projects and other services.

Non-governmental organizations deal with very complex institutions, communities and governments. NGOs performance go through different channels and in each channel they must satisfy the involving group. Some issues can be introduced and implemented with little challenge. However, when it comes to implementing women's issues, all the conventional rules from patriarchal structures in the family to bureaucratic

institutions that govern society emerge at the forefront to dominate and direct the process. Often this is not necessarily to women's benefit. Therefore, in operations, most non-governmental organizations choose the easy way out, by not raising gender issues at all.

Further, some Western NGOs blame their Southern partners for designing projects that lack gender consideration thus preserving their own biases, and in that sense the project justifies its reluctance to raise the gender issue (Plewes et al. 1992:i).

Irene Tinker further explains that, given their ethnocentric views about women, Western planners, usually men, are "unable to deal with the fact that women must perform three roles in society [productive, reproductive and community management], whereas men perform only one (Tinker, 1976b:22). This indicates that women's struggle has a long way to go and it will become more apparent in the following chapters, where donor agencies and NGOs manifest little commitment to the issue of gender planning

Chapter Two

Agency for Change or Impediment for Gender Planning: Aid-Donor Policy Analysis

In the world of policy and planning where fashions come and go, women and development concerns are a peculiar anomaly. They resolutely refuse to disappear (Moser, 1993:1).

Non-governmental organizations would not be able to spend billions of dollars for delivering projects, programs and other services, to poor people around the world, without the financial support of donor countries (agencies). Since it is unrealistic to study all donors and their policies on gender mainstreaming within this thesis, two of them, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation (NOVIB) were selected to be examined. The fundamental question is, bearing in mind both the WID and GAD perspectives, how is gender planning incorporated within the policies of donor agencies. It also asks if donor agencies have the power to pressure or persuade their NGO partners to formalize and institutionalize gender planning into their policies and programs.

Responding to this point, it is important to revisit the second hypothesis mentioned in the introduction, that gender planning fails because the role of donors with regard to gender planning tends to be very vague and contradictory.

Exploring the second hypothesis reveals that the donor agencies' lenient position on gender planning is also an impediment to women in development policy, programs and projects. For instance, according to Randel and colleagues only seven out of twenty

one funding countries from Europe, North America, Japan, and Australia, all members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), have clear gender policies within their institutions and aid programs and projects in developing countries (Randel et al. 1996). In other words, regardless of women's decisive role in development, gender planning is not a priority issue among many aid donors. Among the OECD members who promote gender planning are CIDA and NOVIB. Both are funding agencies, which advocate women in development policies. However, they do not constitute a representative sample for all donors. But considering their experience, resources, funds they provide to the poor in many countries of the South, this research uses these agencies as samples for the reflection on gender planning within donors. Finally for analysis purpose, each donor will be presented individually in the following section.

Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation (NOVIB) and Gender Planning

Development is a right and the poor must be empowered to claim that right (NOVIB, 1995:5)

NOVIB is one of the Netherlands' national agencies for aid and international development. It works for sustainable development by supporting the efforts of poor people in developing countries and by championing their cause in the North. NOVIB has three related goals; structural poverty alleviation through cooperation with partners in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; educating Dutch public opinion; and standing up for the interests of the poor in policy-making (NOVIB, 1995:2).

In 1995 alone, NOVIB financed programs of about 700 partner organizations in more than 50 countries in the South and Eastern Europe. Seventy-nine percent of NOVIB's income is allocated to projects in the South (NOVIB, 1995:7). In Somalia alone, NOVIB has 6 NGO partners (NOVIB, 1995:24), and of the 21 applications received, NOVIB approved 5 projects and rejected 9. Another 8 projects were in process at the time of the report (NOVIB, 1995:24).

One of NOVIB's thematic priorities is the area of women and development. It believes that there is a very strong connection between the structural causes of poverty and the inequality in the balance of power between men and women (NOVIB, 1995:18).

In other words, NOVIB policy is based on anti-poverty approach where women's poverty is seen as the problem of underdevelopment, not for subordination (Moser, 1989:68).

For that reason, NOVIB utilized gender strategies, which place more effort on persuading its partners to develop and adopt gender approaches into project activities.

In addition, NOVIB continued to support women's organizations, and they comprise only in 15% of its total membership. Other activities that NOVIB assisted include various program in the realisation of the "Study on Women's Rights from the perspective of Islam" (COGWO, 1996). In Somalia, it sponsored Women's rights workshops and Organizational Development training. Through its consultations, Coalition for Grassroots Women Organizations also receive regular technical support (COGWO, 1996).

Regardless of NOVIB's effort to promoting gender planning within its partners, only thirty percent have implemented a specific gender policy (NOVIB, 1995:18). There were a number of obstacles why gender policies were not translated into practical implementations. Those were included a lack of sufficiently qualified personnel, particularly women; a lack of participatory methods to determine the specific needs of women and men; and the lack of necessary time and labour for implementation, that discouraged many NGOs (NOVIB, 1995:18).

These obstacles are some of the issues that development activists and feminists became vocal about. Why after twenty years of gender planning promotion, agencies like NOVIB and others, still experience the same constraints against gender planning? And

why most donors do not give much consideration and effort to solve these over due obstacles? Indeed it seems that a point of indifference about the issue is reached. Why spend millions of dollars on writing gender policies, strategies, and employ experts, when donors fail to redress the constraints identified by their experts and NGO partners over the years? Would this not be the real challenge for the success of gender implementations? Not only would such actions determine western donors' position as agencies, but would also necessitate them to deal with their own biases and/ or apathy towards women in development before attributing the blame on their partners in the South. Similar apathy can be drawn from Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as the next section presents.

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Policy on Gender Planning:

CIDA is a leading donor agency on gender planning in the field of development. One of its priorities is the area of women in development and gender equity (WID-GE). In fact, CIDA has been a policy leader amongst OECD donors with respect to evolving policy discussions around women and development (Tomlinson, 1996:105).

The main goal of CID, a policy on Women in Development and Gender equity (WID-GE) is to strengthen the full participation of women as equal partners in the sustainable development of their societies. Some of its objectives are to promote the elimination of discriminatory barriers against women; to promote and support policies and activities among CIDA's partners, in Canada and overseas that enable them to integrate gender considerations effectively into their development work; and to build the institutional capacities of CIDA so that gender considerations are fully integrated into policies, programs, projects and other activities (CIDA, 1995:2)

As a result, this policy goes beyond an emphasis on women as agents and beneficiaries of development to an emphasis on gender equity and women empowerment (Tomlinson, 1996:105). [Ironically] while CIDA's policy calls for gender analysis and strategies in all CIDA programs, it does not address the question of the roles of women beneficiaries in guiding the construction of such programs. Tomlinson also concluded that a measurement of progress in achieving policy goals has not yet been achieved (Tomlinson, 1996:106).

Although CIDA's WID-GE policy requires of its NGO partners to apply gender planning to all activities and projects, most NGO partners undermine that commitment. CIDA, similar to many donors violates its own policy by not enforcing WID-GE policy (Salah, 1996).

This finding was based on a policy review (1996) in two CIDA divisions in the Canadian Partnership Branch; the NGO Division and the Institutional Cooperation Division. The divisions began requesting their NGO partners to provide them with their WID or GAD policies or strategies. At the time of this review, replies had been received from over 50 NGOs. From this sample, more than half of the respondents (24 out of 47) advised that gender equity was not reflected in their policies. In addition, among some of their responses were the following phrases; "Yes, we do have gender equity policy"; "We do not have it, however, having said that does not mean..."; "We address and advocate women's needs..."; "We place women as a priority..."; "We are in the process of researching and developing a gender equity policy"; and finally, "We do not have it, and when we do, we will let you know (unspecified time frame). These statements reflect the weak position of CIDA for pressuring/influencing its partners on gender planning without policing them. Following are the lessons learned from this review.

First, it is apparent from the responses that some organizations have strong support for the implementation of gender equity, in spite of cultural biases against women. In other cases however, the information requested by the CIDA survey appears to have put some NGOs in a defensive position. They argue, for example, that even though

they do not adopt gender equity as a formal policy, they have equal numbers of males and females in their organizations or in their projects, and they have been promoting women's interest for long time. This statement reflects the depth of NGOs' misunderstanding of the gender equity issue and in turn, gives us a pause to wonder whether these organizations are really aware of the complexities of gender issues. And if so, how can this be improved? What would be the respective roles of CIDA and the NGOs themselves?

Second, the results also suggest that some organizations have little knowledge of CIDA's WID-GE policy, except superficial understanding of the issue which is necessitated by their partnership with CIDA. That is to say, organizations often dedicate half of their programs and projects to women. Therefore they believe that the imperatives of gender equity are met by ensuring equal number of males and females in their programs and projects. Ironically these NGOs obscure to be clear about women's participation in terms of being part of planning and/or decision-making processes. Consequently they translate equal number of men and women as a way of fulfilling CIDA's objectives or requirements.

Even though the CIDA's WID-GE policy components seem apparent, the full and effective integration of gender considerations into development initiatives and the involvement of women as equal and active partners in development work without systematic discrimination are absent. In short, many NGOs feel that they understood CIDA's WID-GE policy and fulfilled its requirements. For example, one respondent

declared that it had WID-GE policies in place and sent a copy of a proposal they had submitted to CIDA. This proposal demonstrates only that women would be involved in the project. Such a response may have resulted either from an error in misreading the request, or from an inadequate grasp of gender equity policy.

Therefore, CIDA is partially responsible for the confusion on gender equity among its partners, because CIDA's own position on this issue lacks clarity in some areas. For instance, regardless of gender equity, CIDA funds equally to those NGOs who have gender equity into their policies and those who do not. This may send contradictory signals to its partners by interpreting WID-GE as a loose policy. For that, gender equity policy suffers.

Finally, some of the respondents were puzzled as to why they should formally adopt gender equity in their NGO's policies, when they already serve women on equal bases?

Women's contribution is crucial to the success of the family and community at large. Development programs fail without women's involvement. When planning policies, projects and programs, perhaps consideration should be given to programs that focus on women's issues, skills, knowledge, resources, wealth, and talent in order to improve their poor living situations. Addressing women's needs without looking at individual cases implies women as being beneficiaries only. This also implies that women are not capable of identifying their own need. In other words, planners do not have to pre-assume that women have a zero talent and zero skills when it comes to project

planning and implementation. As result, this would limit women's equal participation of diverse roles of projects process, the perception that gender planning intends to promote. These limitations therefore, indicate that women's issue is not a priority, and it is a common concept within most Western NGOs as other findings conducted by the Canadian Council For International Cooperation(CCIC) explored.

CCIC, is an agency which acts as an umbrella organization for Canadian organizations working in international co-operation. In 1992, CCIC had investigated where Canadian NGOs stood on gender issues. They found that, regardless of increasing gender awareness among NGO communities, almost half of the 120 members contacted kept silent about the issue. Of the fifty-nine organizations who responded, only twenty-eight showed genuine interest in the issue. As Betty Plewes and Rieky Stuart stressed the result was very discouraging (Plewes et al. 1992:3). The investigation also indicated that a significant change has not taken place since 1982. A similar study found that seven out of thirty agencies interviewed reported that the "consideration of women" was a specific project selection criterion, while the other twenty-one said the position of women was not really a priority. Interestingly enough, instead of effective promotion of gender planning within partnership NGOs in Canada, Canadian NGOs such as CCIC have influence over European NGOs. For instance, CCIC gender approaches on policies and strategic ways of evaluating projects on gender bases was adopted by German Hunger Foundation (Deutsche Welthungertile a German) (Positioning Paper, 1996). This reassures the possibility of adopting gender planning by Southern NGO partners in the future.

However, there is a reason for genuine concern. CIDA's WID-GE has been in operation for over twenty years, building a global reputation among donors and developing countries on gender equity. If one-half of its partners (Canadian and Southern) have not adopted gender equity into their organizational policies in 1990s, then what can be expected from Southern counterparts who are either in denial or in preliminary stages about the whole gender issue? It is ironic to expect NGOs funded by donors to adopt gender planning into their policies and programs when most donors disregard this issue as a priority. Besides, adopting gender planning in policy levels would not guarantee gender implementation in the programs, perhaps primarily most Western donors send mixed signals to their partners about the expectation on gender planning, as we have seen both in cases of CIDA and NOVIB. Nevertheless, the responsibility to ensure the success for gender planning falls equally on all donors, and they have to make their NGO partners more accountable for this issue legally or otherwise. NGOs also need more thorough training on gender planning. It is aid donors' position to provide training if they want to see successful gender planning.

The position of most funding agencies for the integration of gender planning into the organizational policies and operations are weak, it is time to ask how that affects NGO partner's policy and performance levels? To answer this question and others raised earlier, the following chapter will first introduce the history of the Somali NGOs. Then the policy of three selected local NGOs will be examined in order to detect their role of gender planning and if there is an influence from the donors on their policies.

Chapter Three

Gender Planning within Somali NGO Policies:

The Somalis NGOs Phenomenon in 1990s: Background.

A non-profit, voluntary NGO is a new phenomenon to many local Somalis. They were familiar with few organizations established during the military government (1969-1990) for the progress of the community. International non-governmental organizations (INGOs) also intervene in times of famine, wars and refugee influx from neighbouring countries. International Red Cross, Save the Children and UN agencies are good examples of those.

The benefits of the programs offered by INGOs were often directed towards refugees. Contacts mostly between Somali population and INGOs were minimal. The concept of a western style local NGO was alien to many Somalis. Nevertheless, there are a number of local organizations and cooperatives before the civil war in 1991.

During the military government, there were several forms of organizations such as the Somali Women's Organization and the Somali Youth Organization established by the government to promote its popularity and, therefore, controlled directly by the government. In addition, there were organizations who had formal relations with the government such as the Somali Unit for Research, Emergencies and Rural Development (SURERD) and Haqabtir which emerged out of the Horn of Africa Crisis in 1970s.

Others such as Adamiga, Daryeel, Deegaan [SORRO] and [Somali Women's Concern](Raghe, 1997:374) also existed.

Furthermore, there were several Islamic voluntary development organizations (cooperatives) developed to serve the rural areas. For instance, Banaaney Solidarity Cooperative was established in 1959 and run by a general assembly which met at least once annually to elect an executive council of five members (Adam, 1991:8). According to Hussein Adam, in June 1987 [alone], the cooperative cultivated 22,525 hectares in three religious centres situated in two regions of south Mogadishu. It owned about 10,000 head of livestock, the backbone of Somalia's economy, including some 2,500 camels and 4000 cattle (Adam, 1991:8). Another grass-roots cooperative was Eil Berdaleh Cooperative established in 1950. In addition to settling drought victims voluntarily, this cooperative grew various cash and food crops, experimenting on a large scale with a variety of crops, including coffee, not normally grown in Somalia (Adam, 1991:8). Most of the former NGOs were either displaced or have disappeared, due to the deadly security environment and political fragmentation caused by the civil war in 1991 (Raghe, 1997:376).

As a replacement, new Somali NGOs surfaced during the critical period of the civil war in 1991, that is why Raghe (1997) called them the "Product of Crisis". Raghe illustrated that in general terms the rise of Somali Non-Governmental Organizations is no different than that of first generation international NGOs, rooted in the humanitarian tragedies of the major world wars. These early NGOs acted as relief organizations in war

zones and later emerged as non-profit relief and development organizations (Raghe, 1997:371). According to Rhage, around 940 Somali NGOs had registered or were in the process of registering under the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) Humanitarian Division (Raghe, 1997:387). Some of these NGOs are:

<u>Name of the NGO</u>	<u>Year</u>
Somali Women Concern	1988
SOMAID(Canada and Somalia)	1990
SAACID Voluntary Organization	1990
IIDA Women's Development Organizations	1991
SHAYMA Non-Profit Organization	1991
Somali Peace and Development Society(Netherlands and Somalia)	1991
Social Service Voluntary Organization	1991
Somali National Women's Organization	1991
Save Somali Women and Children	1992

Further, Raghe categorized the most active local NGOs:

as professional NGOs; extensional NGOs in the form of partnership; NGOs with entrepreneurial background; NGOs as an extension of relief capacities such as kitchen units and orphanages; NGOs on the self-held group level, working mostly at the district\regional levels; NGOs working as an umbrella for different branches, such as the Somali National Partners(SNP)with up to twenty three branches, so far, from the same geographical area; and finally, NGOs as an intellectual movements, or women's associations (Raghe, 1997:387).

In addition, most Somali NGOs in 1990s have similar structures with Western NGOs in terms of operating under the supervision of executive bodies, board of directors, constitutions (policies), memberships, and budgets. That can be interpreted as direct

influence from western agencies. Other local NGOs were influenced by Islamic agencies such as Al-Haramin Islamic Foundation and Abu-Dhabi Welfare Organizations who also worked in Somalia as well. According to Gebremariam:

Islamic NGOs had great success in winning the trust of the Somali people [because] Western based religious NGOs tend to be more institutionalized than Islamic NGOs and have developed, at least in theory, as well structured institutional apparatus that separates their identity from both government and society, [where as] Islamic NGOs...are different in that they maintain no distinction between government and society (Gebremariam, 1997).

However, there is no information available regarding the Islamic NGOs' role on gender planning. Besides, women's empowerment, public participation and equality are not in tune with most Islamist principals. That is why the focus of this thesis is turned only to Somali NGOs who adopted western formal structures.

Somali NGOs are mainly structured for one specific reason, that is, to respond to the needs of the community in crisis. The only way they could provide for them was to meet the demands of the donor agencies, by creating formal, structured NGOs and following the donor guidelines. However, the new NGOs services became limited particularly to their clans, because during the civil war, working in any other place beyond one's own clan borders was very dangerous since there was no formal government in power to protect them. Therefore, the NGO workers remain to serve specific area where they can have security.

In addition, as Raghe points out, for policy and operational reasons, most Somali local NGOs "are structured in very simplistic way in which the founders also serve within the executive body. Such NGOs depend on affiliated professionals for their project preparation needs. Few have [experience of development issues], entrepreneurial or business background (Raghe, 1997:381).

Further more, Somali NGO could not pay the salaries of its core staff [without donor funding]... the supervision and administration costs are planned within the project's budget components with cautious consideration of the non-profit making NGOs philosophy (Raghe, 1997:385). As for international NGO relationship, few local NGOs are fortunate enough to become partners with international NGOs and secure a level of the necessary institutional capacity requirements and collective action programs. Raghe warned this inherent weakness of local NGOs, their lack of fundraising techniques for development purposes (Raghe, 1997:385).

Furthermore, The relationship between donor agencies and Somali NGOs is declining because, donors demand from their partners to match project costs (matching dollar to dollar, 1:1 or 1:2). It means, if a project costs \$2000, then NGO has to come up with \$1000. Due to number of constraints against Somali NGOs including lack of fundraising capacities for development issues, such demand becomes very difficult to meet.

Funding agencies were also concerned about Somali NGOs professionalization and capacity in management, accounting and their experiences with development

priorities. Furthermore, most local communities are not aware of the theoretical debates of WID WAD and GAD, and it is very rare to find any studies in Somalia that relates to these theories. Therefore, the analysis of Somali NGOs policies on gender planning is purely based on my own interpretations.

Somali NGOs and Gender Planning: Organizational Policy analysis

Over the last seven years, like many countries in the South, hundreds of Somali NGOs (local and international) have emerged to serve the displaced and poor communities, particularly affected by the civil war. In Canada alone, there were more than eighteen Somali-Canadian NGOs with international mandates registered under the membership of the Horn of Africa Policy group (HAPG) an umbrella policy oriented agency based in Ottawa. However, almost all of these NGOs, became ineffective. Therefore, for policy analysis, Chapter Three focuses on three local NGOs policies in Somalia.

Analysing organizational policy in respect to gender planning therefore, explores NGO goals, objectives, and overall mandates. Doing this would shed light on where Somali NGOs policies stand on gender planning. It would also reflect the relationship between local NGOs, funding agencies and other international NGOs. Studying their relationship may answer one of the main questions, do donor agencies, and INGOs have influence over local NGOs in regards to gender planning. To provide some responses, these three selected NGOs: The Somali Women's Concern, Save Somali Women and Children, and Shayma Non Profit Organization will be examined.

Somali Women's Concern (SWC)

Somali Women's Concern (SWC) founded in 1988 is one of the oldest Somali organizations. First, it is unique in terms of its survival after the devastation of the civil war in order to assist vulnerable groups in the community, particularly, women and children. Second, with a different mandate, SWC is one of few organizations that works across regions: North East, Mudug, Lower Jubba, and Galgaduud region.

SWC's main goal is to assist Somali women at managing their households effectively and at participating in community-based development programs in Somalia. Some of its objectives include; training Somali women in functional literacy, health, education, income-generating skills, nutrition and encouraging skilled Somali women to participate in community-based activities. Other activities include, poultry farming, fishing skills and low cost water projects, irrigated horticultural schemes and producing the Eve news paper.

Some of the international agencies who recognized SWC's profession as an NGO, and contributed funds and other resources to its activities include Care International, Belgium Women's Association, UNICEF, ICRC, UNESCO Islamic Development Bank, African Society for Humanitarian Aid and Development ASHAD-Canada and Dikonia Sweden.

Policy Analysis:

Somali Women's Concern is a women's organization established to support Somali women and children. As its objectives demonstrate, SWC policy is associated with welfare and anti-poverty approach. The purpose of welfare policy is to bring women into development as mothers...the reproductive role of women is recognized and policy seeks to meet [just] practical gender needs (Moser, 1989:58). Anti-poverty approach relates to the eradication of poverty and allows women to achieve self-sufficiency and economic independence by entering the labour market, and earning their own income.

Considering its organizational policy and projects, SWC is aware of gender issues. One of its questionnaires for literacy training shows SWC policy of using gender disaggregated data, an information which is very rare in most NGOs. SWC asks participants their names, sex, ages, marital status, children, level of education and so on.

Further, although the executive director of this NGO is a woman, men's involvement is clear in the executive body. Men also serve as consultants and trainers. Therefore, SWC operates under GAD approaches, where both sexes are served. In other words, their beneficiaries are both men and women. This interpretation is derived from the ways that SWC discusses its participants by referring them as volunteers instead of women participants.

In addition, considering the type of projects and programs that SWC delivers such as health, literacy, basic skills training and income-generating projects, show that SWC is

a traditional NGO which gives more effort to household improvement than empowering women socially and politically. That does not limit women in the executive committee to participate in local and international conferences which address women's issues, peace, democratic process and children's affairs. However, how these women share their experience from those conferences to their participants requires further research. This also brings up the issue of international community relations with women NGOs.

The relationship between international donors and Women NGOs in many respects is very limited, as Asha Gelle, the Executive Director of SWC illustrated on her visit to Ottawa in 1993. In an informal conversation with her, Gelle expressed her disappointment with international NGOs' funding conditions. She indicated that INGOs support for women organizations is declining, and that women's issues come up only when pre-designed projects are in position to implement. First, funding agencies decide the type of projects that will be funded in Somalia, and then, male-oriented NGOs who have better contacts with International NGOs get most projects. Projects are selected on the basis of the needs of nation rather than on the needs of women. This always happens without women's consultation.

Overall, SWC has a long way to go to meet the objectives of gender planning in the sense of empowering women to equally participate in the political, social and economic spheres of Somali society. Meanwhile, given the circumstance of Somalia in terms of religion, culture, civil war and economic deterioration, it becomes difficult for many NGOs like SWC to separate the special needs of a woman, or a mother from the

needs of a family since they are all interdependent, and individualism is discouraged. Collectivity rules Somali family, a concept rooted from the Islamic ideology of family values. According to Islamic doctrine, achieving development requires communal effort rather than individuality. Even though this may overshadow the reality of poor women, as many WID adherents caution, development practitioners should not be blinded by planning projects for all rather than women with specific needs. It is very rare to come across projects that serve only women, regardless of NGO objectives and mandates. While this type of situation seems to violate the objectives of women's organization, whose mandate is to serve women only, this can be seen as an entry point to gender and development, where women have the opportunity to serve the community. Within this environment women NGOs can educate both men and women about gender issues and their relevance to the well being of the community. This may improve the relationship between men and women. The intent of this suggestion is not to undermine the needs of women, but to remind ourselves, that even if NGOs intend to focus only on women, circumstances such as those mentioned earlier hinder the possibility of addressing the needs of women alone. Other obstacles include the NGOs' lack of theoretical analysis of women's subordination and its links with the broader economic, social, and political issues (Moser, 1989:202).

Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC)

SSWC is another Somali women's organization based in Mogadishu and Nairobi.

It focuses on the basic urgent problems of women and children, as well as the promotion of the peace process. Believing peace to be the key to development, some of the SSWC objectives include the following:

- To consolidate and enhance unity among all Somali women and
- To sensitize them to patriotic and national consciousness, rather than a clannish and factional one.
- To empower women economically, socially and politically.
- To develop a comprehensive human rights education programme for raising awareness about women and children's rights.
- To develop programs and procedures for eliminating all forms of harassment and violence against women and to assist female victims of violence.
- To develop non-discriminatory education and training, including vocational training to reduce the gender gap in education.
- To encourage efforts to promote changes in negative attitudes and practices toward women.
- To promote research and implementation of an information strategy for ensuring a balanced portrayal of women.

In addition, this NGO provides various projects and programs that meet women's

immediate needs. Its projects are basically similar to those provided by SWC such as small-scale income generating projects for women in Mogadishu. Other activities include the establishment of Peace and Development Centre in Mogadishu, participation in a number of national, regional and international symposiums, seminars, and workshops regarding women, children's affairs, women entrepreneurship and peace promotion. Finally SSWC has relationship with international funding agencies, similar to those of SWC.

Policy Analysis

Save Somali Women and Children objectives highlight important aspects of the gender integration into its policy. Its policy addresses women's empowerment by committing to promote awareness about women's rights, conducting research and eliminating all forms of violence against women. These are real constraints to Somali women's successful development, particularly, in the absence of Somali authority. SSWC is in the right track for gender planning in the sense of addressing women's strategic interest, the conscious raising ...a change of attitudes, organization and mobilization for social and political participation, structural change and institutional and legal changes (CEPAL 1983:10).

Regarding the implementation of these policy objectives, there are two contradicting principles that are noteworthy to be discussed. On the one hand SSWC

committed itself to pay appropriate attention and respect to custom and religion in order to avoid tension and confrontation, while on the other hand, it vows to follow the objectives of the organization. These opposing commitments are destined to conflict. Because it is impossible to stick with specific policy that challenges the roots of problems such as circumcision practices on girls, the denial of women's rights on inheritance, property, education, and others, while in practice SSWC policy intends to respect same customs that undermine and violate women's rights.

In addition, from a gender planning perspective, SSWC's ability to promote Somali women in peace and empowerment is questioned, since SSWC is reluctant to contest situation that discriminate against women. According to Moser (1989) gender planning... should be challenging rather than ignoring or avoiding conflicts and tensions; gender planning seeks to identify such politically appropriate points of entry (Moser, 1989:191).

However, women organizations such as SSWC are seriously subject to intimidation, threat, kidnapping and killing specially when one engages to eliminate different levels of harassment and violence. Besides, today there are no civil laws or formal authority in place that protect women, and in particular women NGOs from those conditions. Therefore, fulfilling policy objectives under the present circumstance is very uncertain. Perhaps that is why SSWC drew this modest organizational policy for the time being.

SHAYMA Non-Profit Organization

Shayma(1991) was established by Professional Somali men and women lawyers, social workers, agriculturists, and health workers. It operates around the Mogadishu area. Its commitment is to assist both the international and the local communities in Somalia to establish channels of communication and networking. Some of Shayma's objectives are:

- To establish an operational network and to co-ordinate rehabilitation activities in cooperation with other NGOs and relief agencies;
- To establish local community centres;
- To permit participation of local rehabilitation and development programmes;
- To establish good relations with local administrative communities so that strategies for delivering required services effectively may be devised;
- To build strategies of opting community needs and delivering accordingly;
- To establish educational programs for children and to develop local community projects engaging activities that permits the reintegration of communities.

Since 1992, Shayma has delivered various projects and programs, including the distribution of seeds and tools for agricultural programs, rehabilitation of the Bura Canal. Other programs included education and training seminars. For instance training for Breast Feeding, twenty-five women had completed to give lessons to the community. It also organized seminars for primary principals and teachers, and

provided shelter and food for displaced people.

Policy Analysis:

Shayma policy has commonality with the previous two NGOs. It is an economic-oriented NGO whose main goal is to eliminate poverty among men and women in the community. In that sense Shayma meets its overall policy objectives, because its main policy focus is to provide services to the poor without challenging the culture at large.

Regarding gender planning, Shayma policy is committed to target the practical needs of its members. It provides basic necessities such as food, shelter, and small credits. Besides, women are not limited to being beneficiaries only. Some women are in the executive committee. Nevertheless, that did not motivate Shayma's policy to target the strategic needs of women. Adopting policies that address strategic needs require knowledge of gender planning. Often organizations headed by women such as SSWC, Somali Women's Voluntary Organization (IIDA), and Somali Women's Concern recognize the essence of addressing policies that deal with violence, rape, abuse of women's rights, female circumcision, as well as the participation of peace process and decision-making, within their policies.

However, mixed NGOs policy like Shayma, even if women are at the executive committee, often bypass dealing with women's sensitive issues. Those issues require

challenging the current societal structures of Somalia, and most NGOs, specially those headed by men are not ready to involve.

In spite of all the circumstances, women who are in the executive committee of mixed organizations address women's concerns in other forms without changing their NGOs policies. For instance, meeting with Nurta Hassan from Shayma Non Profit organization, on her visit to Ottawa in 1995 reveals that she was very much concerned about the widows of the war particularly in the Mogadishu area. Hassan stated that both sides, referring to North and South Mogadishu, had lost their loved ones, as well as their wealth. Regardless of their political hatred, they shared similar and painful experiences. Hassan believes providing credit-loans to the widows of the war collectively would empower them economically and emotionally. That would begin the healing process of both sides, and it would reinitiate women's solidarity toward peace, hopefully for the sake of their survival and the rest of the country.

Other ways that Somali Women's organizations address strategic needs of women is by organizing a coalition that gives women a powerful voice. This voice also strengthens the confidence of Somali women to attend Somali peace conferences where women's participation is not priority to men as we will discuss in the following section.

Somali women in peace and development:

Somali women NGOs also created a Coalition of Grass-roots Women's organizations (COGWO) to address their areas of concern such as peace building, promotion of women's rights and also strengthening their voice in the peace conferences. They also commit to build their capacity as coalition. To fulfill their commitment, Somali women organizations participated in diverse workshops. One of the seminars attended by over fifty Somali women NGO representatives in 1995 is called "The Role of Women to Bring Peace, Democracy and Human Rights to Somalia". This is organized by The Women's Program at The Fund for Peace (USA) and is funded by number of agencies such as NOVIB, Match international, The Centre d'Etudes Arabes Pour le Development (CEAD) and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). This workshop provided practical skills for conflict resolution, organizational development and human and women's rights advocacy.

These representatives also attended other training such as violence against women, leadership and organizational structures, and organizational planning. At the end of the workshop, Somali women representatives issued the Somali Women's Declaration of Peace in Somalia and they set goals to achieve that. Attending these workshops were partially motivated by the embarrassment of Somali women faced during the Addis Ababa Somali Peace Conference in 1993. They were practically denied attending this

conference. After long negotiations and pressure from the international communities, the Somali women's issue was added to the agenda.

Prior to the conference, women were given a separate time to discuss their concerns, issues and needs. Later, they presented themselves in a visible manner to the delegates.

We, the Somali, women have followed behind our men in the wake of devastation and destruction of our Homeland. Now, it is time that we leave our role as followers and become the leaders of our people into peace (outcome of women's workshop, Somali Peace conference in Addis Ababa, 1993).

During the conference, Somali women had made many recommendations.

Unfortunately, the course of this conference did not have much impact on reshaping women's role in the reconciliation of Somalia. There was also no impact on men delegates attitude about women's appeal to the world for development and peace in the nation. For instance, in December 1993, there was a local conference following Addis Ababa Peace conference. This conference took place in Garoowe city in Somalia and was attended by exclusively 80 men representatives from five neighboring regions, North East(Bari), Nugal, Mudug, Sanaag, and Sool. Ironically, some of the them had attended the previous conference in Addis Ababa and had witnessed the Somali women's plea to them and to the international community. In the conference, the delegates discussed improving the five regions' economic, political, and social constructions. Unfortunately, neither women's participation nor their specific needs were incorporated to the local agenda. The only way in which women participated in this conference were setting up the logistics and serving the delegates.

In conclusion, if the success of gender planning depends on the participation of women in all policy levels, then it is the women's organizations that are close to achieve this objective compared to the other organizations headed by men. And as Farah, Nuradin expressed to be a Somali and a woman fighting for equality and social justice in these times requires an even greater deal of courage than in times of peace. And yet it is more necessary than ever (Farah, 1995:18).

Chapter Four

Gender Planning of Five NGOs projects and Programs in Somalia

The training of women in areas traditionally identified as men's work may not only widen employment opportunities for women, but may also break down existing occupational segregation, thereby contributing to the strategic gender needs to abolish the gender division of labour (Moser, 1989:50)

Gender planning is structured as a guidance mechanism for the empowerment and equal participation of women in development. In other words it improves "the social and political decision-making of how to allocate resources for the needs and the interests of society" (Moser, 1993:6). The gender planning process has three interrelated stages of policy, planning, and implementation. According to Coyers, planning is not an isolated activity but a part of a complex process of development which involves a number of related activities including: the identification of general goals or objectives; the formulation of broad development strategies to achieve these objectives, the translation of the strategies into specific programs and projects; the implementation of these programs and projects; the monitoring process for the achievement of the stated goals and objectives (Coyer, 1982:3).

In addition, gender planning involves a transformation process involving political and technical issues and they also experiences constant conflict. The main objective of gender planning is, therefore, to overcome all constraints against women in order to

achieve gender equality and empowerment by strengthening women's practical and strategic needs. The goal is to ultimately lead to the emancipation of women from their position of marginalization to equality in a society. Chapter four examines local NGOs direct efforts to integrate gender planning into their projects and programs. To achieve this purpose, five NGO projects and programs have been selected for analysis. Tools borrowed from Moser's (1989:239) will be used, because they best summarize what to look for when exploring constructive gender planning. These tools include:

- a) The potential impact of the project at the household level on
 - i) men and women in their productive roles
 - ii) women in their reproductive role
- b) The potential impact at the community level on
 - i) women in their community-managing roles
 - ii) men in their community politics
- c) Practical and strategic gender needs
 - i) identify which gender needs each project intends to meet
 - ii) The nature of the constraints technical or practical

Before engaging in the analysis of the selected projects in Somalia, it is essential to contextualize the relevance of development literature to Somali women. Most Somali women live under very poor conditions. To understand the causes of their poor conditions, we have to trace their social, economic, and political situations.

Development Debates: Its Relevance to Somali Context

Investigating the relevance of gender planning within the Somali context requires a review of Somali women's background in regards to their role within family and the community. Somali women's role can be traced back to Somalia's societal structure and gender division of labour through the family unit, kinship and marriage. In Somali family structure, regardless of location (urban or rural), time, education or wealth, women are perceived as marginalized.

In the Somali family, the father, older son or husband is the head of the family and normally determines women's rights to marry, work, seek education, participate in the labour market to earn income, or to become involved in public affairs. This leaves women no political rights or other rights of her own (Adan, 1991:34).

Nevertheless, in Somali tradition women play a crucial role in reproductive, productive and community roles, and the relationship between the genders in regards to the division of labour is complementary.

The division of labour, each gender and each (informal) age group had its own specific labour tasks assigned to it... Both men's and women's work was acknowledged to be crucial to the well-being and survival of society... while there is some flexibility in the division of labour (Kepteijin, 1995:242).

Good examples can be found in women's reproductive roles in nomadic and farming communities. The gender division of labour in both communities is flexible (see appendix C). In nomadic communities, women's specific duties include the responsibility for the care of children, maintaining the household, setting up huts and taking them down, packing up the household goods for transportation by camels, and participating in informal market towns. In the rural areas, women and young children fetch water for the family, look after the sheep and goats (Slottevd, 1979:16). Activities performed by nomadic men include camel and cattle rearing, and periodically making fences for the animals. They also decide when and where the family should move for better grazing. However, both women and men perform similar responsibilities when there is a shortage of labour power in the family. This reflects the complementary roles of men and women in the nomadic communities. Another example of the complementarity sex roles can be found in agricultural communities as well.

In 1983 the UN agencies of FAO/WED conducted 179 interviews as part of a rural household surveys on the division of labour by sex in the agricultural communities. The survey was divided into three group households; 85 male head of households, 84 women in households and 10 female head of households. In farming activities 62% of males, 58% of women and 70% of female heads had performed land clearance. Similar numbers were also found in land preparation, planting, fertilizing, harvesting...transporting and marketing... (UNICEF et al. 1984:81).

Accordingly, in the labour market there appears to be no rigid divisions of labour, or tasks that fall to a class of individuals (men and women) socially recognized as less deserving or inferior. No household or group of families is expected to do certain jobs disdained by others (Brandstorm et Al. 1979:28). For instance, similar to men, pastoral women have a long tradition of trading. They sell milk, ghee, mats, wooden spoons, ropes, bark containers, charcoal, as well as sheep and goats for family income. However, women usually trade in the smaller towns or village markets and are not frequent visitors to the market place where large animals are sold (SDR, 1984:79). Historically, women in the nomadic and rural areas had knowledge of the family income, the number of livestock and size of land owned by the family. That knowledge was negatively impacted by modernization. Overwhelming technologies, formal employment, cash oriented farming, and competitive market economy marginalized women since their involvement became limited to traditional occupations, as Sudarkasa (1982) illustrates:

the complementarity and near parity of male and female occupational roles found in many indigenous economies were eroded by the spread of the market economy. Where women continued in their traditional occupations as in the case of traders and farmers, they often found their opportunities circumscribed because of the preference that the expatriate business community and/or government bureaucracy had for dealing with men. Extensions of sizable amounts of credit typically went to male traders rather than to women; innovative productive techniques were usually introduced to male farmers rather than to their female counterparts" (Sudarkasa, 1982:282).

The marginalization of Somali women, like other African women, increased after Somali independence in 1960. The new civil government ignored women's concerns in

national planning. Women made no or little progress in the ten years of civil government rule. The situation changed dramatically when the military government came into power in 1969.

Social and Economic Development of Somali women:

One of the main steps taken by the military government was declaring Somali women's participation in the national planning as equal partners to the revolution. In January 11, 1975, Somali President Siad Barre, with the collaboration of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, announced a new progressive law that protects Somali women's rights and their equality with men. For instance, in the first article of the first Charter of the military Revolution in 1969s declares equal rights in marriage, divorce, and family inheritance.

Nevertheless some Somali scholars and women activists demonstrate that these laws contradict Somali customary laws which is called (Xeer). Women are always under the protection of male figures and blood compensations of woman usually is valued at half that of man. This reflects the little knowledge most Somali scholars, including women have on the issue of gender planning as well as women's basic rights under Islam.

Furthermore, these new laws contradicted Islamic Sharia which permits daughters to inherit half of what is inherited by sons. Regardless of the existence of

Islamic Sharia Law of inheritance, in practice, Islam was rarely followed by traditional Somalis. Daughters ordinarily did not inherit valuable property including camels or land.

In addition, before the new family laws, a divorced woman was left in the matrimonial home, without any share of the property (ILO, 1989:75). Because of these discriminative practices, the new laws had announced equal division of property between the husband and wife upon divorce and also the exclusive right and control by each spouse over his or her property. While these laws vocalized the equality of men and women, they also stated that the husband is the head of the family (Slottved, 1979:19), as had been the traditional practice.

However maintaining man's position as the head of the family did not ease the growing opposition to the new laws. First, religious groups reacted by organizing demonstrations and condemning the government. The male population began to ridicule women who took advantage of the new laws, labeling them " Ali Xiniin" (The Ali with one Testicle). They shouted that men have two testicles (symbol of manhood), and women would never be equal to men, no matter how hard they try (Salah, 1994).

This resistance was imminent because the government's announcements on women's equality were neither clear to the community nor helpful to many women. Nevertheless, considering the high rates of illiteracy, the lack of knowledge about the rights of women in Islam, and women's economic dependence on men, these laws were helpful to women's progress in civil society. Perhaps, the new laws would have been more effective, if the government had taken the time to prepare the community for these

major and sensitive changes. Regardless of all demonstrations and oppositions, Somali women, especially those in urban areas, took advantage of the circumstances, in particular, the newly acquired access to education.

The Somali government emphasized education as the main key to alleviate the high illiteracy in the country, especially among women. It announced compulsory primary education for all ages and sexes, and equal access to higher education for women; this was great opportunity that ultimately enhanced a number of Somali women's employment opportunities.

Somali women's labor participation increased over the years, particularly compared to other Muslim African countries. The level of female labour force participation in Somalia became higher (33.65%) than in the more developed North African Muslim countries, including Algeria (3.95%), Egypt (5.20%), and Tunisia (14.50%)(ILO, 1986:58-59).

Further, in 1988\89 the Somali government implemented a number of projects directed at improving women's situation and the country at large. These initiatives were funded by diverse agencies such as UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, ILO, WHO, OPEC, USIAD, and NGOs such as, Family Planning International Assistance and International Planned Parenthood Federation. Most projects were multilateral, where donor agencies worked on national development including poverty alleviation, health improvement, and population control through family planning. Even though most of these projects did not target women alone, their benefit reached most Somali women in terms of health

improvement, less maternity mortality, education, economic independence, and employment. Therefore, regardless of Somalia's poor economy, rigid traditions, unclear family laws and the devastating civil war, women participated in all economic, political and social spheres. After the civil war, government responsibility for developing the nation was replaced by local and international non-governmental organizations. These NGOs deliver various projects, programs and other services as the following section will present.

Gender planning Analysis: Five Case-Studies

The five projects and programs selected for gender planning analysis are as follows. The Rehabilitation of Baki Shallow Wells; the small-scale Credit Scheme project; two separate farming projects and finally the Participatory Rural Appraisal with Somali pastoralists. Each case study will be presented as follows: First, the project will be introduced including its goals, objectives and its benefits to the community. Then the project will be analysed by following Moser's tools presented earlier for regarding gender planning.

Case Study One

Rehabilitation of Baki Shallow Wells Project

The rehabilitation of the Baki Shallow Wells Project was implemented in June 1994 by a local NGO called Social Services Voluntary Organization (SOSVO) and funded by OXFAM USA. The main goal of this project was to rehabilitate wells in order to provide safe drinking water in Baki district. The objectives of the project were:

- To provide potable water for Baki village and surrounding areas;
- To provide water for their animals since they are agro-pastoralist; and prevent this population from migrating to other areas to search water;

- To train the community in the maintenance and sustainability of the project; particular relevance to women:
- To assist women to obtain clean water without making a 14-20km walk; and
- To save the women's time for other activities.

The project's target was to benefit a population of 35,000. It was a small project, which cost only USD\$ 44, 594.00. Nevertheless, it provided an opportunity for a number of people in the village to receive clean water in a less labour-intensive way.

Project Analysis:

The project overtly took a GAD approach, and benefited both men and women's practical needs, regardless or perhaps as a necessary side-effect of Oxfam's general policy that targets women's strategic needs:

Oxfam America is committed to the gender and development (GAD) perspective...Although the integration of women leads to more efficient and effective development, Oxfam America acknowledges that integration and economic participation is not enough to ensure equity and improve conditions for women...this approach focuses not just on the problem of the exclusion of women but on the society constructed power relations between genders" (Oxfam America).

This project had positive impact on the village, and in particular on women's reproductive roles. First, it allowed the households to receive clean water, which in the long-run will lead to improvement in the families health. It also lessens women's walking distance

for fetching water, and thus saves time and energy for the women to engage in activities of their choice. For instance, they can spend more time with their families, since generally both parents are absent from the home for long part of the day because of economic hardship. The women are also freed up to engage in other activities that are equally important to them, such as family businesses and community obligations.

Second, this project reduce the risks that women face each time they go to draw water from deep wells. Such dangers include tumbling into dark pits while pulling heavy buckets of water from deep wells with buckets usually consisting of thirty litres of water.

At the community level, this project has had a magnificent impact on the people of the village. It was structured in a way that permitted both men and women to become involved in management levels.

Having women representatives on the water committee empowers them and gives them to control most important resources in their life...[in this case] Water (Khadija Ossoble-Director of SAACID, a Somali Women's Development Organization, 1995).

The project's objectives illustrate that three of the five-member committee who supervised the wells would be women. The project plan also included the training of two people from the community (one woman and one man) for the maintenance of the pumps.

While much of the planning of SOSVO project was successful, in reality, as many studies reveal planning is different from implementing. Implementation process never goes so smoothly as expected. Therefore, when a project plans to use a GAD approach, particularly in the Somali context, the planners must take religion, and culture into careful

consideration, particularly, when planning to implement projects that require women's participation or involvement in public property management, such as community wells. Traditionally, men control and maintain public wells. The concept of women plumbers is alien to Somali society, and the possibility of training women to acquire these skills requires challenging traditional structures. This challenge entailed a political and social constraint that neither the SOSVO nor Oxfam were prepared to confront. The objective of this project was to alleviate the water shortages only, and not necessarily to transform Somali society. Because, of the fear of confrontation to the traditional structures in the community, causes planners to avoid any process which involves community transformation. As result, women's opportunity to participate in management become invisible. Besides, selecting women to steering committees on voluntary bases without prior training may not be appealing to them since they always perceive maintaining wells as males responsibility. But, what Somali women do not realize is that as Muslim persons, they have social obligations to fulfill in their community, and this responsibility of managing the wells can be treated as one of those duties to engage. This is where complementarity can play a role. Planners can educate women about their social obligations as Muslim women and that would encourage them to involve and equally participate about public issues, particularly managing of the wells. Otherwise, they will consider the duties of managing public wells only as men's responsibility given by Islam, and because of such believes, women stay away interfering public issues which is men's responsibility.

Women's lack of participation on wells responsibilities was observed by a male foreign consultant who was involved in another water project managed by the Somali Peace and Development Society in the neighbouring North Eastern province. This water project was funded by NOVIB of the Netherlands, one of the leading aid donors on gender mainstreaming policy. Dermijn (1993) illustrated that gender planning is a complicated subject for Somali pastorals. External contacts are the responsibility of men and not of women, and the information base for this project was collected through the male members of the society and only through visual observation of the women (Dermijn, 1993:9).

Dermijn's findings have implications on gender planning in Somalia. His findings are partially valid; because most women in the rural area he visited were illiterate. These women rarely have contact with people from outside the province let alone the country. However, it is important to note that generalizing this finding across regions, particularly to women in urban areas, undermines the role of women NGOs, women's groups, cooperatives, entrepreneurs and activists involved community development who have very different experiences. This could also jeopardize the implementation of gender oriented projects or programs in such areas. A study of the particular context of a project is, thus, always vital.

Case Study Two

Small-Scale Credit Schemes in Somalia:

Credit alone... may be quite sufficient to bring a business to a critical level of operations where there is good long-probability of sustainability, profitability and growth. But credit alone may not work where women have had little previous opportunities and no support for such work either from their immediate environment or in the large regional and national context (Creevey, 1995:5-6).

The Small-Scale Credit Scheme's project was launched and implemented (indirectly) by the United Nations Development Program Office for Somalia (UNDPOS), with the collaboration of Somali Rural and Rehabilitation Programmes (SRRP) in Bossaso and Baidoa, and the Emergency pastoralists Assistance Group (EPAG) in Gedo Region, with the help of three local NGOs. This project is unique because while it covers diverse sites of Somali regions, each implementing local NGO had separate responsibility for planning, identifying, implementing, monitoring and evaluating this project.

The Small-Scale Credit Scheme Project aimed to improve the extensive conditions of poor families in general, and disadvantaged families headed by women, in particular, through the utilization of untapped resources in the traditional sector both in rural and urban areas (UNDPOS, 1993:25). It was also intended to generate income and employment for the poor, including women, the war wounded, the ex-militia, and the displaced. To alleviate poverty in the country, and to improve women's material conditions were the priority area of the UNDP (UNDPOS, 1993:30-32) as an administrator writes

UNDP is committed to a gender approach as an alternative and a complement to women-specific programming approach because we believe that increasing the participation of women in the decisions, events and processes which shape their lives is central to bringing about sustainable human Development (Moghadam, 1995:17).

Generally, Somali women have no access to institutional credit, although they have considerable potential for generating production, income and savings. The planners believed that only through a focus on women the project could reach the most underprivileged segment of the population (UNDPOS, 1993:25). For this reason, poor women became the dominant beneficiaries of this project. Poor is defined as any person belonging to any poor family, which is earning an income less than subsistence level or having assets equivalent to twenty small animals. The credit lending scheme included a need for participants to form a group of five like-minded persons with a similar economic status.

The project's long term objective was to uplift the socio-economic condition of the poor by helping them to build an effective institution of their own, in line with the Grameen Bank Model of Bangladesh; which...they could find socio-economic strength through mutual support. As a short term objective, the project planned to organize 10,000 poor women from Somalia's comparatively safer regions within three years to provide them with credit, training and other services for undertaking income generating activities (UNDPOS, 1993:33).

Together, the UNDPOS and the SRRP formulated the plan and objectives that local NGOs would implement. The local NGOs objectives included:

1. identifying beneficiaries and assisting them to form into groups;
2. supervising and collecting loans and depositing collected loans with a nominated

person;

3. monitoring business activities of group members and providing them with guidance and counselling as required;
4. organizing training programs to introduce business practices, business planning, record and book-keeping and saving systems.

After introducing the project, the three sites will be presented separately, followed by one inclusive analysis.

SITE ONE

The first local NGO that worked with the SRRP\Bossaso for the introduction of a small-scale credit scheme was the Somali Women Reunification Union (SWRU). After identifying the poor women in the area and organizing them into groups of five, the small-scale credit scheme Project began. The local representatives entered into a contract with Grameen Bank in February. The project was called "Bosteio Grameen Experiment Project". By 1993, the program had expanded to about ten areas (UNDOPS, 1993:8), suggesting great success.

At this locale, the main objectives of the project were: to improve the business financing of poor women, who are heads of households of at least three children, by providing them with a minimum amount of cash credit on reasonable and affordable terms; and to measureably improve the living standards of the above women, covered by way of a

50% increase in the net income derived from a business activity of their choice (UNDPOS, 1993:9).

The first loan given to women groups was Somali Shillings(So. Sh.) 500,000 per loan, which increased to So.Sh.1,000,000 in case of a second loan. Borrowers were required to pay the loan in equal weekly instalments with interest of 20% on the total disbursed amount.

SITE TWO

The second Site of the project was the region of Bay, in the South of Somalia. The SRRP/Baidoa office took a different approach than the one used by SRRP/Bossaso for identifying the target group. Instead of organizing groups of poor people from the larger community, the project planners identified groups from market vendors (women) disabled persons (25 Males + 25 Females), members of the United Women's Organization (UWO), and members of Awdinle Women's Cooperative (AWC). The project had used the by-laws of Grameen Bank of Bangladesh. According to Moghadam (1995), Grameen Bank is one of the best known and [that provides] the most successful WID projects that combine efficiency and poverty-alleviation approaches for micro-entrepreneurship (Moghadam, 1995:5).

Instead of organizing into many small groups, the project concentrated on organizing umbrella groups. For instance, the market vendors organized themselves into six smaller

groups, each group consisting of 6-10 members. After organizing themselves, in May 1995, the Vendors received a total of So. Sh.27,000,000 for undertaking income-generating activities. Each member received of So. Sh.500,000. The total loan was repayable in 26 equal weekly instalments. The members were not charged any fees or interest on loans unlike Site one. The implementing agency of the first three groups, the market vendors, the disabled and the United Women's Organization, was a local NGO called Somali Islamic Relief Committee (SIRC). The report illustrates that the Director of SIRC himself, or his brother in the absence of the director, managed the project activities.

By 1993, the project has benefited fifty people, of whom 25 were female and 25 were males into groups each consisting of five members.

SITE THREE:

The Emergency Pastoralists Assistance Groups (EPAG) managed the third site to be studied. This group was formed and registered with a United Kingdom charity in 1993.

The main objectives of the project were: to create sustainable income generation for 400 poor households in order to reduce their vulnerability; to establish a functional rural credit institution and improve the local market economy in the north Gedo region; and to develop effective community groups.

Three staff members from EPAG visited the selected villages. The assessment mission identified 4-5 poor women, depending on the size of the village. Any member from a household owning less than 20 small stock or its equivalent was considered as poor. Group

members were provided with a group business chairwoman and with training on group management, group discipline, and credit conditions. The group chairwoman and secretary maintained constant contact with the project and were responsible for recommending loan proposals, ensuring proper utilization and repayment of loans. They also ensured the attendance of group members at the weekly or forth nightly meetings, payment of instalments, and overall discipline of the centre.

With regards to loan selection, disbursement and repayments, these groups followed similar steps to those of the above NGOs with the exception that not all members of a group were considered at one time for a loan. They received loans in turn (2+2+1), with the chairwoman being the last. For instance, when the first two loans had been repaid regularly for 6 weeks, another two members were considered for a loan. When all four members had repaid a loan instalment for 6 weeks, the chairwoman was considered for a loan.

As part of the project preparation in this site, one of the EPAG staff visited Bangladesh to study the credit operation procedures of the Grameen Bank, and other credit schemes before they designed their credit scheme and rules. EPAG staff were also provided with training on project implementation procedures before they were sent into the field. Group members collected baseline data on age, sex, education, profession, family income and assets. For gender planning this information was very important in assessing the impact of the project as we will analyse in the following section.

Project Analyses:

This Small Scale Credit Scheme project has been employed in various regions of Somalia where agriculture, fishing, livestock, informal and non-farm activities are the main economic prospects. The rationale for Grameen Bank is the following:

The target group of this project was poor men and women, and the principles of the plan were borrowed from Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, which gained the reputation for empowering women.

Money going through a woman to a household brought more benefit to the household than money entering the household through a man. Children get the top priority from the mother. A man often has different priorities" (Mohamad Aeneas, Managing Director of Grameen Bank, Bangladesh).

This project, therefore has a potential impact on household. The literature of Women in Development(WID) indicates that when a family income increases, family health and nutrition improve dramatically. In their productive role, men benefit from this project by accumulating income, and often managing women's income as family income. Through their reproductive roles, a woman head of household gains strength and a sense of belonging from her own business. Women are thus able to provide for their families without being dependent on extended family support. Women also earn a more respectful position in the household, as well as in the public.

The credit scheme also improves women's reproduction work, but not necessarily gender relations, especially in this case where most target groups were exclusively women. When the target groups are predominantly women heads of households, there is no direct struggle between men and women over the control of resources. However, when men have complete power of managing and allocating resources, women seem neglected. This has proven to result in the eventual failure of many projects.

Regardless, this project had a positive impact in productive roles of women. In Somalia, historically women have been involved in the traditional market, and this project gave them more self confidence and income-earning power, particularly those who were not able to start their own businesses independently. It also permitted them to learn new skills, such as management, bookkeeping, group commitments and finally economic independence. This led to the improvement of the living conditions of many families and the community at large.

In addition, managing credit was not difficult for Somali women because they traditionally used similar, but more informal rotating funds. The informal system is called "Hagbad" or "Shaloongo", a "rotating credit". Groups support each other in a very harsh economic environment by simply organizing themselves and following simple rules of lending which is based on collecting-allocating-repaying cycles. Women identify themselves on basis of trust, respect, and ability to provide some basic funds every month. They also allocate funds on the basis of the most needy person first. They do not charge any interest at all. It is a less complicated system than UNDP or Grameen Bank models, and it has been a very successful system within Somali women. Since the credit scheme built on the

traditional skills of Somali women, its success was not surprising. However, there were a number of recognizable flaws or shortcomings.

First, these credit loans were more formal and very challenging to women's earning ability. Charging higher interests in some Sites was inappropriate, particularly when there was no study about the local market competitions, and currency inflation that affect women's investment and income returns. For instance, some markets in rural areas have limited capacity to accommodate a number of similar products at a time. In other words, some markets cannot accommodate two sacks of onion at a time, let alone ten sacks or more from same group. That created inconvenience for many participants who have no control over how the market operates, especially when they are expected to meet deadlines set by the project management officers.

Second, the project requirement placed a lot of pressure on women to meet deadlines, and attend meetings, and with little negotiating power. The apathy from the management about individual circumstances frustrated some women, especially to those who had experience of managing traditional rotating credit schemes. These women believe that they are losing more power to men, since men are in a position to manage a work which traditionally belong to women.

Third, the project was to offer literacy training and skills for the staff and beneficiaries in order to perform their duties and responsibilities. The report indicates that training was minimal, and non-existent in some areas. Further more, two out of the three implementing NGOs had no gender dis-segregated data. This was a dilemma for most development agencies as discussed in the previous chapters. Only the EPAG group had data

on their beneficiaries. This raises a very crucial question. Since the UNDP was responsible for planning, monitoring and evaluating this project, and Grameen Bank's model was adopted, why did not they provide written guidelines to the local NGOs of how to collect relevant data? Both UNDP and the Grameen Bank have gender equity policies. Does this situation confirm their indifference about real change for women?

Finally, considering gender equality, this project limits women's participation at the management levels. For instance there was one gender specialist mentioned in Site One, and no similar positions in the other Sites. Naming a contract after women called "Bosteia Grameen Bank" was the closest approach to address the gender awareness in this area, and women's involvement in international contracts. But this did not change the fact that most women were passive participants who had no control of planning and decision-making processes since most local NGOs were managed by men.

In Site Two, there were also interesting results. First, this area was under the control of Islamic NGOs and groups. The implementing agency was called Somali Islamic Relief Committee (SIRC). Under its management, women and men were separated. The head of the local NGO was a man and he and his brother looked after the management. Besides, this may have resulted a concern, because religious men's intimidation causes women to avoid challenging men's poor management:

One of the major threats coming out[of Somalia]...was that women in general are at risk from influences of Islamic extremist groups who have no respect for women's rights. Women were considered to be potentially at risk because of their very little knowledge about the Quran and Islamic teaching (COGWO, 1996).

Therefore, women tend to remain passive followers and beneficiaries only, and this has negative consequence in the long run. It could limit their consciousness raising and self-empowerment opportunities; a process that is essential for their empowerment, as WID, GAD and complementarity adherents advocate. This is a political constraint that requires double effort to bring new change to Somali women's deteriorating situation.

In addition, charging high interest rates in some regions also limits women's motivation to invest. This is a crucial weakness and technical in nature, because it could be solved easily if the project planners would consult with the women and the market.

It is also clear that the Grameen Bank had not shared their experience of promoting women's empowerment with the NGOs who had contracted them. That is why some scholars such as Greenhalgh 1991, and Goeta and Gupte, 1994 caution that informal employment, which largely includes the self-employed women members of the Grameen Bank, is unlikely to empower women, if not accompanied by gender equity policies. Control of finance is the essence of the matter. Providing women with additional resources, such as NGO loans, is unlikely to improve their additional economic status unless they are able to escape from male control (Greenhalg, 1991).

Therefore, one has to wonder if these weaknesses took place because women were the dominant beneficiaries of this project and the mistakes across regions were deliberate; or whether this resulted from lack of knowledge of gender planning on the practitioners side? The answer to these questions require further research. However, the solution in general calls for addressing strategic needs of women.

Targeting strategic needs in this case necessitates providing a platform where women can discuss their concerns and solutions. Planners overlooked the possibility of using such platforms for women to discuss other issues beyond credit loans. As Meekers and her colleagues(1992) elaborated

the combination of credit, women's solidarity groups and awareness-raising is believed to empower women by enabling them to earn a cash income through various types of self-empowerment activities. Their enhanced contribution to their families' incomes is believed to strengthen women's bargaining position within the household, so that they are better able to make independent decision as well as playing a more decisive role in joint decisions.... these are some of the ways in which 'empowerment' could strengthen demand and make women more successful in overcoming obstacles to family planning (Hiader, 1995:146).

In short, since these projects were generally organized, consulted and evaluated by men, leads one to conclude that the weak gender planning of this project across regions was the result of the unorganized, apathetic plans and pre-assumptions made by male planners about women being weak and isolated. And their weak planning was not challenged because female beneficiaries had neither the education nor the power to contest persistent male domination in the decision-making process. This is one of the reasons that feminist scholars argue that male bias, either conscious or unconscious, is manifest everywhere in the thoughts, actions, structures and processes that shape our daily lives (Elson, 1996:8).

Case Study Three

The Seeds and Hand Tool Project in Somalia

Improving women's role in development has the immediate effect of increasing equality between sexes. It has also the effect of accelerating the process of agricultural development, increasing the level of national production and the supply of food at the national and local levels. Simultaneously it has the effect of making development more responsive to human needs (Plewes, 1992:19).

The Seeds and Hand Tools Project was implemented by Care International between September 1992 and September 1993 in the south of Somalia, where the most land for cultivation is located. As part of the incentive package to return home, a seeds and hand tool distribution programs was developed, and the strategy was to provide sufficient seed and hand tool equipment to returnees to enable them to cultivate their own food crops (Care, 1993:1).

Besides distributing seeds and delivering tools, Care was involved in activities related to technical assistance, and improving crop quality. All that permitted people to cultivate and produce enough grains, legumes, vegetables, oilseeds, for subsistence and the possibility of surplus gave the opportunity to sell in order to generate some income. Overall, 65,500 hand tools have been successfully delivered to target families over the last three agricultural seasons. Care's accomplishment in that period of 12 months included 129,938 farm families in five regions who benefited from the Seeds and Hand-tools project (Care, 1993:2).

Project Analysis:

In spite of long hours [in agriculture], women have very little control, very little say in decisions about food production. They produce the worlds food, cook it and serve it, yet they are malnourished (WID, 1984:73-74)

In Somalia, farming production has a great impact on the family, in particular men. First, agriculture benefits families by enabling them to produce their own consumption material and surplus to sell for income generation. Men are primarily responsible for selling the surplus products, unless the family is headed by women. In their reproductive role, women's position does not often improve. They produce subsistence production by performing long hours on the farm. These activities would have exchange value if carry out outside the home. Instead, these activities are considered as non-waged agricultural production, where output crops are intended for home consumption and market sale. It is not statistically counted. Women also perform other household activities including health care, education, housework and children caring. In comparison, men are engaged farming in particular for commercializing the surplus, or producing for commercial reasons instead of subsistence consumption. They are considered economically active people. Thus, women have remained in their marginalized position. Therefore, this project did not change the nature of the Somali farming structure, nor the traditional division of labour.

Regarding gender planning, the aim of this project was targeted adult female representatives of identified family groups and attempted to create some equity between men and women during resources distribution. However, as the report demonstrates, women were registered as the intended beneficiaries of project assistance wherever possible (Care, 1993:6). This can be interpreted as Care's lack of awareness of gender relations. Because, Care was not equipped strategically with appropriate tools to achieve gender planning. For instance, data collected on agricultural activities normally reflect equal number of women and men participants. Yet the assessment questionnaire used by Care International on the farming situation in the area demonstrated no sex disaggregated data based on gender but only family profiles. Nevertheless, "visibility [through data] is the starting point for integrating women into development projects..."(Overholt, et al. 1985:4). Therefore, lack of gender disaggregated data misleads project planners and practitioners to plan effective projects.

In addition, this would also leave a negative impact on the planning process and allocation of resources because under this planning, equality would be a difficult issue to implement. Moreover, women would not be served fairly without the placement of gender oriented policy. Further, analysis of the Care project will be revisited in the following case study of Somali Women's Farm project in order to avoid overlapping analysis of these similar projects.

Case Study Four

Somali Women's Farm Project (1989-1990)

The Somali Women's Farm project was implemented by The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) based in Canada. This organization worked in the refugee camps of Somalia prior to the civil war. The objectives of this project were to train 12-13 young women in cultivating and growing vegetables; to introduce hand-pulled rower-pumps and demonstrate their appropriateness and effectiveness in this region of Somalia; to transfer knowledge of vegetables, nutrition, and food preparation; and to teach seed harvesting techniques and vegetation growth.

This project offered refugee women various training of how to cultivate vegetable farms in conjunction with nutrition and food processing classes. Overall, 13 young women and their families benefited from this project. In the month of March 1989, Women's Farm Project harvested corn earning 1100 shilling for the stalks. Other improvements included providing farm power pumps, teaching ESL to 13 students, offering small income-generating loans to the women, and training a total of eight men for constructing water jars for income-generating purposes.

Project Analysis:

The impact this project had on the productive and reproductive roles of participants was not significantly different from Care's Seeds and Tools project: producing crops for consumption and cash, and improving the quality of the crops, which was believed would ultimately ameliorate the family household living conditions. However, there are two points which differentiate this project from the previous one.

First, Somali Women's Farm was a small project that focused on women and was coordinated by a woman. It was also a typical WID-integrated project, where " efforts target [not] women exclusively" (CIDA, 1995:8). Because, in practice, both men and women were equally involved in farming activities. In short, Somali men and women's equal participation in agriculture is necessary. During times of urgent need, projects cannot target women only. It is for this reason that this project supported an income-generating sub-project for men to build water jars. This structure had benefited men and women differently. While women cultivated seeds and generated income by selling their production, men built water jars and sold them for income generation. These separate activities were planned not to challenge the tradition of the community farmers where women produce for subsistence consumption only. Therefore, training young women for farming techniques meant meeting their practical needs only and not their strategic needs.

Second, the project was not only small, but also lacked appropriate technology according to the participants. As the coordinator of this project explained " the harvest was

small and young women's energy was limited... the girls have asked several times for a diesel pump... because one tenth of a hectare plot was watered entirely by rower pumps... Work is hard and girls complain about the rower pump, but they are still hanging in there "(MCC Report, 1990). This commentary indicates that hand rower pumps were not the ideal technology for a place where the temperature reaches over 50 degree Celsius. Besides delivering rower pumps did not improve young women's traditional work. Instead it had drained women's energy in fashion similar to traditional farming.

Delivering "appropriate technology" to women, one of the objectives of the project, seems unfulfilled. One has to ask "appropriate technology to who", since it was apparently not for the women involved in this project.

In addition, WID-specific projects play important role in meeting women's practical and strategic interests that are not addressed through mainstream approaches (CIDA, 1995:8), and despite CIDA's adoption of such an approach, and CIDA's funding of this project, the implementation of strategic gender interests was not addresses.

In conclusion, both Care International and MCC projects share similarities. First, both projects were farming projects and second, while Care International was partially funded by CIDA, MCC was also funded by CIDA. This would hold CIDA accountable for ensuring the NGOs adaptation to gender planning.

In addition, the MCC project was a small project compared to Care. It benefited the participants in a significant way. Regardless of the inconvenience of the hand rower pump, the participants had developed a closer relationship with the coordinator. The coordinator also gained first hand experience about the situation that the young women were complaining

about by being in the field with them every day. This is a very rare and a significant circumstance within development field.

Care International's project was an immense project that targeted families rather than young women. Under this type of project, it is hard to develop close contact with the management. Therefore, beneficiaries, particularly women were invisible and were seen as numbers and not people to the management.

In addition, in both projects women had access to the distributed resources but there was no indication of who managed and controlled the cash flows or income returns from the farming business. Unless women gain control of their effort, it will be impossible to change their situation because "if women's labour is hers but the profits are the family's or husband's, then, the fruits of her labour are not at all hers to reap" (Haider, 1996:146).

Addressing women's participation in farming projects also requires relevant gender disaggregated information about the background of the participants. Project analysis of "gender and age denominations identifies whether women, men, their children or the elderly carry out any activity; it reveals gender patterns in the work activities; and is the key to identifying subsequent gender effects" (Overholt, et al. 1985:6). Lack of incorporating gendered data within the projects reflects the planners' inability to design equitable and effective gender- oriented agricultural projects. This type of analysis would enhance women's equal participation in the projects.

Nevertheless, both projects, regardless of their size, objectives, resources, and location, did support at least one element of the WID approach to development. The participants gained substantial experience in subsistence production and generated income

by selling the surplus of the production. Therefore, given the increasing poverty of Somalia caused by the civil war, particularly the poverty of female headed of households, the benefits of these projects cannot be underestimated.

Case Study Five

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) with Somali Pastoralists: Building Community Institutions for Africa's Twenty-First Century.

The Participatory Rural Appraisal(PRA) with Somali Pastoralists Program was based on three weeks field work carried out by a team of Somali, European and Americans from Clark University's Program of International Development in Jeded, Gardo District, North Eastern Somalia, in July -August, 1994. The village comprised 71 households. In this process this team will be referred to as the PRA team.

The term PRA is used to describe a growing family of approaches and methods: to enable local people to share, enhance, and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions; to plan and to act... some of more developed...participatory mapping and modeling...well-being grouping, ranking... and analytical diagramming, all undertaken by local people (Chambers, 1994:1437).

The main objective of this program was, therefore, based on PRA assumptions that "farmers and pastoralists have knowledge and information, but it needs to be organized; villagers have resources, but they need to be mobilized; outside resources are available, but they need to be defined and invested in the context of village-identified priorities" (Ford et al. 1994:8).

Considering these assumptions, the PRA team structured a working framework to improve Jeded's economic and social well-being, in order to stress the need to rely on

their material and human resources, to build partnerships with other communities, as well as with government and non-government donor agencies (Ford et al. 1994:8).

In the beginning, this team gathered data for analysis and ranking. They also used PRA criteria of productivity, sustainability, equability, and stability to find solutions of identified concerns from the community.

PRA team also categorized the Jeded community into specific groups; elders, women and youth in order to carry out particular tasks. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, the gender planning aspect of PRA approach, particularly the role for empowering women will be the focus of the analyses.

Somali women have special knowledge and skills which make Jeded's development and resources management plans more productive and more sustainable. Working directly with women's groups and using PRA exercises which focus on women's needs created excellent rapport and positive working relationship among women and with men (Ford et al. 1994:9).

Promoting women's visibility in the program, eight women of the PRA team organized a meeting with 12-20 local women. These local women represented at least one third of the villages households. The team was enthusiastic about this meeting in terms of gathering reliable data. When this data was collected, the team organized inclusive meetings inviting all men, women and youth in the community.

During these meetings, problems and their causes were identified. The team ranked community coping strategies and opportunities and they shared this with the community. The main issues discussed included health, education, employment, water,

wind and drought. Yet issues such as income for women, the special needs of female-headed households, marketing, and housing arose only in a few sessions. A brief discussion of the causes of women becoming the heads of households and their surviving mechanisms were discussed. Causes were added to the impact of the civil war, death of breadwinners from natural causes, divorce, out-migrated for work. It also found that for the traditional coping strategies of women heads of households, involved outdoor work, managing the household, family, kin dependence, child labour and early marriages. Opportunities becoming available for women included income-generating activities, sewing machines, vocational training (Ford et al. 1994:47).

When the PRA team sorted out the main concerns of the community through meetings, workshops and data collection, they moved to the second phase of the program called Community Action Plan (CAP).

The Community Action Plan (CAP) was a method that the PRA team used to assign different groups of the community, the elders, women and youth to various public responsibilities. These groups were expected to contribute their time, labour, money, raw material, and energy, and it spelled out the details as to which groups would provide which elements (Ford et al. 1994:50). However, when PRA team tried to designate the responsibilities to each group, a conflict based on gender relations grew out of the process.

Dispute had been simmering in the village as a result of the ranking exercise. By previous agreement, men and women sat together to workout the details of the ranking. Yet some of the older men felt uneasy, perhaps even annoyed, that women were participating on equal terms with the men to make decisions about Jeded's future. Three men even walked out of the ranking session as a protest against an equal voice for women (Ford et al, 1994:50).

This conflict interrupted the team operations and opposing opinions were presented by the team members as solutions to the problem:

Some of the team members were of an opinion that it was time men learned that they MUST accept women's views and that the previous evening's session had been a good lesson for the men. Others argued that the PRA team had insulted the men by including women in a decision making exercise and that we owed the men an apology(Ford et al. 1994:58).

After long discussions and fear of total collapse of the program, the PRA team proposed a structure that placed the elders at the top as the final decision-makers, while a steering committee comprising elders, women and youth were placed under the elders. These groups had equal representation of three persons in the committee. The team concluded in their report that, while this solution did not solve all of Jeded's problems of gender marginalization, it did provide a plan in which women's priorities were recognized and for which women were included as full partners in implementation and management of Jeded's Community Action.

Program Analysis:

Generally, this program was successful in terms of strengthening the civil society of the village, collecting relevant gendered data, and defining, prioritizing, and dividing Jeded's responsibilities back to the community. Trained PRA women's involvement with the local women was also a strategic way of manifesting women's multiple roles, mothers, wives, practitioners, and community activists. Having women in PRA team

conducted surveys was a relevant strategy for incorporating women's voices within a traditional, Islamic setting. Women in the village would not have been able to stress their personal concerns if the researchers had only been men.

Discussing of gender relations in this village illustrated several concerns. Regardless of PRA 's policy and principles of building a strong civil society, where " the weaker is identified and empowered and equity is served" (Chamber, 1994:1445), gender planning in this PRA process had contradicting principles.

On the one hand, the very basic principles of PRA approach argues that one of the necessary prerequisites for sustainable development is to ensure equity access to resources for all. On the other hand, PRA avoids advocating equity between the sexes in all aspects of the program from planning to implementation including decision making. Because PRA was not structured to intervene in the inner fabrics of a society. In particular, it avoided dealing with the causes of women's discrimination, similar to the way that WID avoided addressing the roots of women's subordination. Because of this, NGOs face real challenges when they deliver projects or programs addressing women's empowerment.

Providing equal access of resources to women and selecting them to be in steering committees completely differs from addressing women's equality and equal participation with men. At the end of the program, only male elders were in the position of ultimate decision-makers, and women remained to bear more community responsibility without equal power for decision making. One might ask whether would women be better off

without having been involved in the steering committee, and would their involvement not have indicated some sort of empowerment for women?

Under CAP planning in PRA, sharing responsibilities were clear, but sharing the decision making as a group was not; Normally the PRA approach illustrates that "differentiating [people as] groups, interests, and gender can empower the poorer and women ... It gives them collective awareness and confidence to confront others and argue their case" (Chamber, 1994:1445).

However, the way these committees were structured illustrates that each group planned to make their own recommendations, and the elders remain at the top to determine which recommendations would be carried out. This structure neither strategically empowers women, who are often illiterate and perceive public affairs as men's responsibility, nor changes much of the traditional male attitudes. Therefore, the fact remains that the PRA team or approach was not prepared to challenge the traditional structure, a challenge that is necessary for the achievement of bringing women to equal decision-making power in the future.

In addition, considering the feminist literature on women and development, women's role at the PRA steering committee resulted only in having more responsibilities placed on women's spare time and unpaid labour. Constant meetings between women and elders did not consider women's complex schedules, especially when the elders was resisting women's involvement in the committee. Would women have the time to incorporate more responsibility on top of their already multiple roles? Would being in this committee change the reality of women's position in the decision-making process?

These questions require addressing strategic gender planning regarding community education on women's rights, literacy and leadership skills. It also involves consciousness raising among women to become active participants in all aspects of life, rather than being passive and obedient participants on within decision-making processes. It cannot be denied that the PRA team had planted the seeds for women's emancipation to a certain extent. Therefore, it is left upto the women to take advantage of the opportunities presented to them, and in the long term this might bring about positive change to women's lives.

Given the widespread weaknesses of gender planning within NGOs, particularly in the implementation process, it becomes evident that it is necessary for NGOs to contribute more effort on gender planning for the emancipation of women.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

True development was viewed as a complete process involving the social, economic, political and cultural betterment of individuals and society itself...betterment in the sense of the ability of the society to meet the physical, emotional and creative needs of the population at an historically acceptable level, and to free human labour time from the incessant treadmill of basic needs production. It, thus involves raising standards of living but not conspicuous consumption, and it implies a form of organization of society which allows for equal distribution of social wealth... (Young, 1993:158).

Development in the 1950s and 1960s was based on economic growth through market-based industrialization and modernization, following in the footsteps of western countries. The measurement of development was by economic growth in terms of gross national product (GNP) and an increase of per capita income. Even though, during that time, the economic trends of many Third World countries had shown improvement in key areas such as life expectancy, maternity and infant mortality rates, concerns emerged in other areas. Poverty, unemployment and the Third world debt crisis had worsened. Women's domestic and social subsistence activities "...were neither recognized nor valued. Benefits of development were designed to reach the household via the male household providers" (Moffat, 1992:9).

In the 1970s, it was realized that traditional development was not working for Third World countries. It never addressed the real interest of the marginalized groups. New debates about this concern began. The women's movement and feminist groups demanded new approaches for development, particularly in the South. New approaches such as Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD), and other parallel perspectives from the South emerged out of these debates.

Conceptualizing these debates within the Somali context, this thesis has examined the position of gender planning within NGOs working in Somalia. It argues that the reason gender planning has not been effectively implemented is due partially to the strongly patriarchal social structures of countries in the South that marginalize women. It is also due to western NGOs' own biases toward women, a factor, that is not given enough attention by many development workers from the West. In order to ascertain the facts of this dilemma, this thesis inductively hypothesized three scenarios. The first hypothesis argued that the conventional societal structures have been responsible for women's marginalized positions. The second hypothesis stated that gender planning is ineffective because of the vague position of the donor agencies, which play a critical role for the development of women in the South. The third hypothesis suggested that gender planning fails because of the lack of accountability and commitment from NGOs. Finally, this thesis analysed each hypothesis separately.

Chapter one addressed the literature of women and development in the South. It explored WID, WAD and GAD approaches. It also briefly presented development policy

shifts from welfare, anti-poverty and efficiency to equity and empowerment; policies utilized by both countries in the North and the South as appropriate paths towards development.

The WID approach, based on liberal feminist theories, attribute women's unequal status and social position to their exclusion from the public sphere, the latter largely due to the sexual division of labour. As Young indicated

It focuses on women and their experience, and places its major emphasis on individuals and their capacity for self-betterment through provision of appropriate technologies, an access to modern knowledge and other resources, through credit programmes, agriculture extension or other training. The recognition that economic development was not benefiting women led to the legitimization of a women only focus, whether in terms of research or delivery of benefits via projects (Young, 1993:129-130).

The women in Development(WID) approach, therefore promotes special projects for women, believing this strategy to be the only way women can achieve economic independence and self-empowerment.

However, WID critics present some weaknesses. They argue that WID ignores gender relations between men and women in the cycle of life. WID assumes that "women can become sole agent of their destiny, without any corresponding change or reaction from men... Yet women's lives are shaped in great measure by their relations with men" (Young, 1993:130). Second, women's private lives were neglected by the focus of moving women into the public sphere and non-conventional employment, and finally, the relationship between women's differential poverty and their subordination was not adequately analysed (Young, 1993:130).

Similar to WID, WAD also emerged in the 1970s. It was influenced by Marxist feminist and dependency theories. It attributes women's poverty, and inequality to the imbalance of trade between the First and Third World countries. WAD concludes that changing women's situation depends on balancing the international market economy, where the developed countries exploit the developing countries. Similar to WID, WAD was criticized for ignoring gender division of labour. WAD places more emphasis on the productive roles than reproductive roles of women. These weaknesses of WID and WAD led to the emergence of the gender and development approach (GAD).

GAD emerged in 1980s and had close relations to socialist feminist theory. Socialist feminists identify the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression and focus on the social relations of gender, questioning the validity of roles which have been ascribed to both women and men in different societies (Rathgeber, 1989:4).

GAD is not concerned with women per se, but with the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities and expectations to women and men, a social construction where women are subordinate to men (Rathgeber, 1989:4).

Therefore, in order to eliminate women's subordination, GAD advocates for changing laws and the systems of religious and political institutions-indeed the very socialization practices (Young, 1993:134-135). However, "not all women agree upon the nature of the structure and process which reproduce women's subordination" (Young, 1993:158).

Scholars in the South, in particular feminists from the Muslim world, give opposing view of women's position in society. The debate about women's position has divided scholars in Muslim countries on the basis of their modern, traditionalist or fundamentalist perspectives. While traditionist perspectives put women in subordinate positions by using teachings from the Quran, modernists, using similar teaching from the Quran conflict with this analysis.

Modernists, while recognizing the inequality between men and women in Muslim countries, place the relationship between men and women as complementary opposites, and attribute the inequality to feudal systems or what Farida Hussein called Pseudo-Islam. Feminists such as Mernissi (1995), Shaheed (1995), and others blame the political leadership and economic crisis more than religion. Similar to GAD advocates, Hussein calls for the challenge of the Pseudo-Islam and reinterpretation of the Quran from women's perspective for the betterment of women (Hussein, 1984). Freda Shaheed, Fatima Mernissi, and others also encouraged international women's solidarity and networking, particularly those in Muslim countries. After examining at women's marginalized position from diverse perspectives theoretically, the discussion shifted to practical realities: NGOs are one of the active actors in development field across the world. Therefore the concept of NGO in general was introduced. After discussing NGOs and their contribution to development field, particularly to women, the discussion was directed to NGO funding, and aid donors role became essential to discuss. Therefore, Chapter Two covered the role of donors regarding their interpretation of gender planning and their incorporation of this into their organizational policies.

The thesis revealed that many aid donors are generous and are conscious to women's issues; many have developed gender sensitive policies. However, their policies are not as effective as needed for the success of women's empowerment. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation (NOVIB) policies were selected as examples, in order to examine aid donor policies on gender planning and donors' relationship with their NGOs partners on the issue.

CIDA and NOVIB have clear policies on gender planning. To access donors' funding, they demand NGOs to adopt gender policies, or incorporate gender planning into their proposal. However, in practice, donors send mixed signals to NGO partners. For example, 30% of NOVIBs members have clear gender policy while 70% do not, and similarly almost half(based on policy review discussed in Chapter 2) of CIDA's members lack gender planning policies. Thus both donors fund NGO partners regardless of gender policies. Moreover, donors have no clear policies on what happens to their NGO partners when they violate the principle of gender planning. This lack of clarity regarding the donors' gender policies illustrates that gender policies remain in name only. Clearly, weak policies are not helpful for the incorporation of gender planning into NGO policies, projects and programs. Exploring the role of donor agencies in gender planning, the analysis shifted to the country of focus: Somalia and its NGOs were examined in Chapter Three.

Before analysing the selected NGO policies, Chapter Three presented the Somali NGOs' background, structure, type of projects and their relationships with the

international community. Local Somali NGOs are a phenomenon of the 1990s. They have fewer resources, and they often lack experience on capacity building, management and accountability. They are completely dependent on foreign aid. Research for this chapter found that women's NGOs are equally active in serving the needy community. The analysis revealed that the three selected NGOs; Somali Women's Concern (SWC), Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC) and Shayma Non-Profit organization indicate no effective gender planning in their organizational policies. In other words, they have little knowledge of gender-oriented policies. However, several women's NGOs did show some commitment to gender planning policies by putting sensitive issues in their policies. These issues included empowering Somali women economically, politically, and socially; eliminating all forms of violence against women including sexual harassment, rape, female circumcision; and overtly advocating for women's rights. The lack of NGO resources, shrinking foreign aid and socio-economic constraints limits the ability of these NGOs to implement effective gender planning policies. However, women's NGOs are always subject to harassment and threat, particularly when they try to raise awareness of women's basic rights. Furthermore, they do not receive support from donors on developing gender equality in policies and projects. Even though local NGO policies were weak in terms of gender planning and donors influence were limited, Somali women's participation within these NGOs as directors and practitioners were strong. As many UN officials suggest, NGOs run by women are very effective perhaps because they are less political, less clan-based and are well managed. They also organized themselves

by establishing the Coalition of Grassroots Women's Organization(COGWO) in order to strengthen their voice and to participate in Somali peace and reconciliation process.

However, regardless of the significant efforts of local Somali NGOs, the reality remains that their policies on gender planning are weak. Therefore, one has to ask, would NGO having no gender policy be able to implement gender-oriented projects and programs effectively?

For this purpose, the diverse stages of five projects and programs were examined. This an overview included identifying, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating of International and local NGOs in Chapter Four. For project analysis, Moser's (1993) tools for constructive gender planning were used. The five projects and programs were The Rehabilitation of Baki Shallow Wells, Small Scale Credit Schemes, The Seeds and Hand Tools project, Somali Women's Farm, and Participatory Rural Appraisal with Somali Pastoralists. However, before examining each project individually, the debates on Women and development in the context of Somali women was discussed.

The thesis discovered that in Somalia regardless of the progressive rights of women as equal beings under Islamic doctrine, women are marginalized, and they are normally subject to the protection and control of male elders in a family. The division of labour in the Somali family is not as rigid as many in other African and Muslim countries. For instance, in times of shortage of labour power, men and women reverse most of their roles in agriculture and nomadic communities. And these roles are seen as complementary rather than specific and rigid.

Somali women also derived considerable benefit from the major changes that the military government (1969) brought for the advancement of women. This government announced new family laws in the areas of inheritance, marriage, child custody, property rights, universal education etc. However, these changes benefited mainly women in urban centers and not the majority who lived in rural areas.

At the national development policy level, the military government, with the support of diverse UN agencies, and multilateral/bilateral organizations delivered various projects and programs focussing health, poverty alleviation, family planning, and literacy skill training. Most of these projects were guided by anti-poverty policies where women's subordination was associated with poverty. Yet women were not given special focus under such policy.

In addition, for the development of the country, the national plan demonstrated the need for the full participation of women in all local, provincial and national spheres of the government. Most women, both from rural and urban areas took advantage of this opportunity particularly within the realm of access to education and introduction in the issues of labour market.

Summarizing Somali women's background in general, this thesis revisited the five projects introduced in the beginning of this chapter. The goal was to explore the impact of these projects and programs on men and women's reproductive, productive, and community roles. As hypothesized, gender planning failed due to the NGOs' lack of commitment and indifference to the issue.

This thesis revealed that gender planning is not a priority issue for the NGOs projects and programs in Somalia. This is partially attributed to Somali society's reserved culture, which has historically marginalized women. Another factor is that Westerners have a negative stereotype of Somali women and view them as isolated, weak, illiterate and powerless. Good examples can be derived from the analysis of the selected projects and programs. The Rehabilitation of Baki Shallow Project, Farming, and credit scheme projects had diverse impacts on men's production and women multiple roles.

In the Baki Shallow project men were involved in the water project for different reasons than women: besides the need for clean drinking water, fetching of water is often done by women and it is very labour intensive. Men traditionally participated in the politics of water management, solving conflicts over water shortages, and generating income by selling it. They also have the power to spend this income without consulting women in the family.

In contrast, women participated in this type of project in order to have clean water. Objectives of the project was geared to practical needs, and it potentially improves women's reproduction roles by improving family health, and saving time for women. Even though this project committed to bring women to the managing committee, socio-economic constraints limited women's involvement. This can be interpreted as a political constraint because women had to move to men's space where they met great resistance. Breaking these traditional roles successfully requires addressing women's strategic needs within the project.

The Small Credit Scale Schemes Project, implemented by the UNDP and local NGOs, had positive impact on men and women, but differently. In this project women were the dominant beneficiaries. It aimed to improve the poor household earnings in three different sites of Somalia. Findings have shown that this project had the potential to improve family households economically. In other words, it improved the productive and reproductive roles of the participating families measured in economic returns. This, however, is not an indicator of women's strategic needs being met. Finding revealed that this project was not launched in order to improve women's strategic needs per se, however it was similar to women's traditional rotating funds called "Hagbad or Shaloongo", and the women integrated easily into this project.

Women's involvement in the decision-making process of this case were limited. Because this project was planned, implemented, and managed, by men only, most women were considered beneficiaries only. There was no encouragement for women's participation at the in decision making levels. Clearly, this weakness was attributed to the lack of constructive gender planning in the project.

Two Farming projects, the Somali Women's Farm and Seeds and Hand tool, implemented by Care International and the Mennonite Central Committee also show similar results. While the Somali Women's Farm Project exclusively focussed on young women, the Seeds and Hand Tools targeted families. Both projects benefited men and women participants by targetting their practical needs. However, similar to the previous projects, women's strategic needs were not addressed in these projects. Further, there was no gender disaggregated data to support their work. Lack of disaggregated data is

interpreted in the literature of women and development as a way of devaluing women's contribution to the economy, in particular in Somali agriculture where equal number of men and women participate.

In addition, findings also demonstrated that across project, NGOs were less concerned with the violation of gender planning. Donors could administer this situation easily without policing NGOs. In addition, prior to project planning, during proposal writing, NGOs require gender-oriented information, such as gender disaggregated data (individual profiles), and other sources about the community under study. However, these NGOs had neither collected this relevant information before the beginning of their project, nor had the capacity or the knowledge to collect such data. Once on site, several NGOs collected data on their own in order to implement the projects. Care International is a good example of this. However, Care's questionnaire had shown no gender profile.

It is understandable that NGOs have technical constraints when collecting data in general. Yet it would be more useful if gender disaggregated data were incorporated into their effort. Without including women's attribution in the research data, women will remain invisible and their empowerment will be left in limbo.

The program that most addressed women's strategic needs in Somalia was the Participatory Rural Appraisal with Somali Pastoralists (PRA) launched by a team of Somalis, European colleagues and the Clark University International Program. While the four previous projects benefited individuals and family households, the PRA program was aimed at strengthening the civil society of Jeded village in North-Eastern Somalia. Women became part of the exercise as participants and practitioners. In the end

of the program, some of the women were selected to participate in committees responsible for solving the issues in the community. These women would not have been part of these committees without the PRA team's recognition of the essence of gender planning, and their commitment to implementing it. After confrontations, walkouts, and resistance from elders, the PRA team had the ability to establish committees of women, youth, and elders in the village. However, the elders' council remained at the top and continued to determine the ultimate decisions of the village. PRA was not prepared to transform the inner cultural fabric of the village, nor to challenge the political constraints that limit women's involvement in the decision-making ranks. Such changes would require long term programs, addressing strategic needs of women including education, leadership training and empowering women to participate in decision-making committees. Otherwise it would be impossible to improve women's positions, and gender planning becomes a lost cause within NGOs in Somalia. To avoid wasting all the effort that went into gender planning, this thesis therefore calls for inclusive approaches where women are in the centre rather than the margins of development process. To achieve this end, this thesis recommends the following points.

First, in the context of Muslim countries such as Somalia, it is crucial that the planners acknowledge the spiritual and moral factors that dictate people's daily living conditions, before initiating the development process. Second, policy makers should design policies that impact on the strategic needs of women, and they must ensure their implementation. Similarly, NGOs must also incorporate strategic needs of women into the project proposals, implementation and evaluation processes. NGOs must learn how

to collect gender disaggregated data and both men and women's contribution must become visible.

Third, aid donors must develop effective gender evaluation guidelines and clear laws of penalty to those who violate gender planning. They must ensure these penalties to be carried out effectively when transgressed. NGOs must improve their work in gender planning and they must be accountable for their flaws. Finally, Women's talent, skills, education, property etc. and their contribution to the household (see appendix B) must be recognized and counted. They must not be perceived as only beneficiaries who have nothing to offer to the development process. They must be encouraged to participate in decision making by providing them with leadership training etc.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

56 Rationale for gender planning in the Third World

Table 4.1 Different policy approaches to Third World women

Issues	Welfare	Equity
Origins	<p>Earliest approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - residual model of social welfare under colonial administration - modernization/accelerated growth economic development model 	<p>Original WID approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - failure of modernization development policy - Influence of Boserup and First World Feminists on Percy Amendment of UN Decade for Women
Period most popular	1950-70; but still widely used	1975-85; attempts to adopt it during the Women's Decade
Purpose	To bring women into development as better mothers; this is seen as their most important role in development	To gain equity for women in the development process; women seen as active participants in development
Needs of women met and roles recognized	To meet PGN in reproductive role, relating particularly to food aid, malnutrition and family planning	To meet SGN in terms of triple role - directly through state top-down intervention, giving political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men
Comment	Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on their reproductive role; non-challenging, therefore widely popular especially with government and traditional NGOs	In identifying subordinate position of women in terms of relationship to men, challenging, criticized as Western feminism, considered threatening and not popular with government

PGN = Practical gender need
SGN = Strategic gender need

Source: Moser (1993), p57

Third World policy approaches to women 57

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Anti-poverty	Efficiency	Empowerment
<p>Second WID approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - toned down equity because of criticism - linked to redistribution with growth and basic needs 	<p>Third and now predominant WID approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - deterioration in the world economy - policies of economic stabilization and adjustment rely on women's economic contribution to development 	<p>Most recent approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - arose out of failure of equity approach - Third World women's feminist writing and grassroots organization
1970s onward: still limited popularity	Post-1980s: now most popular approach	1975 onward: accelerated during 1980s, still limited popularity
To ensure poor women increase their productivity; women's poverty seen as a problem of underdevelopment, not of subordination	To ensure development is more efficient and more effective; women's economic participation seen as associated with equity	To empower women through greater self-reliance; women's subordination seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neo-colonial oppression
To meet PGN in productive role, to earn an income, particularly in small-scale income-generating projects	To meet PGN in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time	To reach SGN in terms of triple role - indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around PGN as a means to confront oppression
Poor women isolated as separate category with tendency only to recognize productive role; reluctance of government to give limited aid to women means popularity still at small-scale NGO level	Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day; most popular approach both with governments and multilateral agencies	Potentially challenging with emphasis on Third World and women's self-reliance; largely unsupported by governments and agencies; avoidance of Western feminism criticism means slow, significant growth of under-financed voluntary organizations

APPENDIX B

"THE LIE OF THE LAND

HOW DO YOU MAKE A LIVING HERE? DO WOMEN WORK?

NO, WE DON'T WORK... WE JUST STAY AT HOME...

... AND FETCH THE WATER, FIND THE FIREWOOD, AND LOOK AFTER THE CATTLE...
... AND PREPARE THE GARDEN AND PLANT THE SEEDS...
... AND DO THE WEEDING, THEN HARVEST THE CROPS, AND SELL THEM IN THE MARKET...

... AND BUY FOOD AT THE MARKET, COOK MEALS, AND DO THE HOUSEHOLD CHORES...

... ATTEND THE WOMEN'S GROUP MEETINGS FOR OUR COMMUNAL TASKS - LIKE MAKING BRICKS FOR THE SCHOOL BUILDING...

... AND WASHING AND MENDING THE CLOTHES FOR THE CHILDREN WE BEAR AND RAISE... THAT'S ALL...

... SO, NO, WE DON'T WORK!

MMM... I JUST WANTED TO CHACK!

APPENDIX C

A Somali nomadic family on the move: even the young
 las has to share the toil when necessity calls.

Women veterinary assistants take a major part in the anti-rind
 prest vaccination campaign for maintaining healthy livestock.

A real partner in life, besides all her other household chores, the
 farmer's wife goes out to the field to help her husband till the land.

Source: The Role of Our Socialist Women .
 1974(Ministry of Information).

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

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