Institute of Social Studies

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

ARE INTENTIONS ENOUGH? REFLECTIONS ON THE GENDER POLICY AND PRACTICE IN SNV/KENYA PROGRAMMES

research paper presented by

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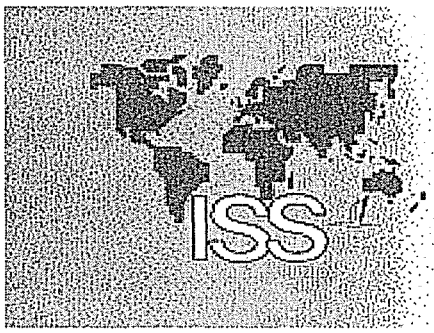

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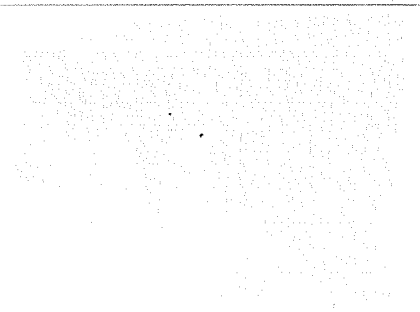

DEDICATION

To the memory of my father, Mburu Ribiro

To my mother, Mary Wairimu

To my son, Jeffrey Mburu

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List of Figures

Figure 1 Definitions of power and empowerment in practice 13

Figure 2 Allocation of Work in Kenya.....22

Figure 3 Sex dis-aggregated data on school enrollment in Keiyo and Marakwet Districts for 1998.....33

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
AWP	Annual Work Plan
CPP	Country Policy Plan
CSW	Creating Scope for Women
GAD	Gender and Development
GOK	Government of Kenya
HDR	Human Development Report
IGA	Income Generating Activity
MCH	Mother Child Health
NDC	Netherlands Development Cooperation
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPEP	National Poverty Eradication Plan
PGA	Participatory Gender Audit
PGN	Practical Gender Needs
PMC	Project Management Committees
POPs	Plan of Operations
RNE	Royal Netherlands Embassy
SARDEP	Semi-Arid Rural Development Programme
SDD	Social Dimensions of Development
SGN	Strategic Gender Needs
SNGE	Strategic Note on Gender Equality
SNV	Stiching Nederlandse Vrijwilligers/Netherlands Development Organization
SNV/K	SNV/Kenya
SPE	Strategic Plan on Education
SPGD	Strategic Plan on Gender and Development
TA	Transect Area
TAA	Transect Area Approach
UN	United Nations
WID	Women in Development

Dedication
Acknowledgements
List of figures
Abbreviations

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE **3**

INTRODUCTION **3**

1.0 BACKGROUND 3
1.1 ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER 4
1.2. RESEARCH PROBLEM 5
1.3 OBJECTIVE 6
1.4 JUSTIFICATION 6
1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY 7
1.6. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 8
1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 8
1.8 METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES 8

CHAPTER TWO **10**

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK **10**

2.0 INTRODUCTION 10
2.1. GENDER 10
2.1.1 Practical Gender Needs *11*
2.1.2. Strategic Gender Needs *11*
2.1.3 Alternative Framework of Needs *12*
2.2. POWER/EMPOWERMENT 12
2.3. PATRIARCHY 13
2.4 GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT 14
2.4.1 Levels of Equality and women's empowerment *15*
2.5 POLICY APPROACHES TOWARDS WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT 17
2.5.1 The WID Approaches *17*
2.5.2 From Women in Development (WID) To Gender and Development (GAD) *19*
2.6 CONCLUSION 20

CHAPTER THREE **21**

SNV/K PROGRAMMES: SARDEP KEIYO AND MARAKWET DISTRICTS **21**

3.0 INTRODUCTION 21
3.1. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF GENDER AND POVERTY IN KENYA 21
3.2 GENERAL OPERATING MANDATE OF SNV/K 23
3.3. SNV/K SARDEP KEIYO MARAKWET PROGRAMME: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS 23
3.3.1. SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet–History of the Area *24*
3.3.2 The situation of women in Keiyo and Marakwet: *25*
3.4. SNV AND WOMEN/GENDER POLICY 26
3.5. SHIFT FROM WID TO GAD IN SNV 27
3.6. GENDER PRACTICE IN SARDEP KEIYO MARAKWET 31
3.6.1 Gender Specific activities: *31*
3.6.2 Gender as cross cutting in the five sectors: *32*

3.7. CONCLUSION **34**

CHAPTER FOUR **35**

HOW CAN WE PUT THE FINGER ON GENDER? **35**

4.0 INTRODUCTION 35
4.1 GENDER 35

4.2 ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORK OF NEEDS IN THE SARDEP KEIYO MARAKWET PROGRAMME 36
4.2.1 Survival Needs *36*
4.2.2 Well-being *37*
4.2.3 Participation *37*
4.2.4 Freedom *38*
4.2.5 Identity *38*
4.3 THE GENDER PRACTICE UNDER WID APPROACHES 39
4.3.1 Welfare Approach *39*
4.3.2 The anti-poverty approach *42*
4.3.3 Efficiency approach: *44*
4.4 FEMALE TIME POVERTY: 48

CHAPTER FIVE **50**

MOVING THE INTENTIONS FORWARD **50**

5.0 INTRODUCTION 50
5.1 CONCLUSION 50
5.2 REFLECTIONS ON GENDER, EQUALITY AND EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN 52

Bibliography
Annexes

Chapter ONE

Introduction

1.0 Background

The United Nations (UN) Women's Decade (1976-1985) firmly put women's issues on the development agenda. From this point onwards, gender[1] issues in the development process has become increasingly important. Policies and initiatives towards gender equality and women's empowerment have been adopted by development organisations. The relationship between gender and alleviation of poverty has played a key role, in stimulating the emergence of increasing numbers of development initiatives that state gender equality among their goals. "Poverty alleviation has gained a more strategic place in policy analysis and formulation, it becomes imperative for advocates to ensure that such critical thinking on the linkages between poverty and gender discrimination is reflected in the policy agendas that emerge from their organizations." (Miller & Ravazi, 1998:32)

Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers[2] (SNV) in English the Netherlands Development Organization is a development organisation that has been engaged with women's issues since the 1960's and 1970's. SNV's development engagement was initially based on charitable assistance, and then on poverty alleviation in the 1980's. SNV's mission statement states that

"SNV is a Dutch International development organisation that flexibly mobilizes expertise in the marginal areas of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe. The experts develop and share knowledge and skills with local organizations with the aim of better equipping them for their work in the area of structural alleviation of poverty " (www.snv.nl/work_method/general.asp)

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[1] The concept of gender bears various definitions: in the paper it is taken to mean the socially constructed relations between female and male and the dynamics of power relations inherent in the construction.

[2] The Head office is in The Hague, The Netherlands. There are field offices in 28 countries. These countries are divided into three regions. These regions are 1) OZ region which comprises of the East and Southern Africa, 2) WF region comprising of the West and Central Africa and Eastern Europe and 3) LM region comprising of Latin America and Asia. "The head office in The Hague has final responsibility for co-ordinating and defining policy" (www.snv.nl). SNV/K falls in the OZ region.

Although the mission statement as formulated in 1998 does not reflect a gender perspective, special policies and initiatives have been put in place to promote and advance women's issues and gender equality. The policy document Creating Scope for Women: SNV Women and Development Policy 1993-1998 (abbreviated in this paper as CSW) and later on revised 1998 in the Strategic Note on Gender Equality (abbreviated in this paper as SNGE), make it visible that gender issues have a place in SNV's mission. As recently quoted, in the Manual Participatory Gender Audit SNV 3rd Draft (2000:3), SNV has been and is constantly trying to develop and implement organizational guidelines for the integration of women and development in all its practices. Over time, gender equality and the empowerment of women have been key features of the policy and practice in SNV.

This paper attempts to describe and reflect on how SNV/K (henceforth SNV/K) has incorporated gender issues in the Semi-Arid Development Programme[3] (SARDEP) Keiyo and Marakwet Districts.

1.1 Organization of the Paper

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter one introduces the research and outlines the research problem and objective, justification, scope and limitations of the study, the conceptual framework, lists the research questions, methodology, and data sources. Chapter two presents the key concepts on which this research is based linking them with the thesis topic and research problem. The development approaches of Women in development/gender and development are presented in this chapter. Chapter three introduces the case study while making a brief overview of the poverty situation, with an introduction to the persistent shortage of time experienced by women in Kenya. Shortage of time is then looked at in the concept of female time

[3] The SARDEP programme is a joint programme between the Government of Kenya (GOK) and The Royal Netherlands Government. It has been in existence since 1979 when the GOK declared its intention to start integrated development programmes in all dryland districts known as the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands programme (ASAL). The ASAL programme has undergone three phases and its name was eventually changed from ASAL to Semi-Arid Rural Development Programme (SARDEP). In June 1998, SNV/K was contracted by the Royal Netherlands Embassy to manage SARDEP as a third party. 90% of the funds for this programme come from the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Kenya while 10% are from the SNV Head office in The Hague, which is funded by the Dutch Ministry of Development Co-operation. (R2 interview)

poverty[4] in Kenya. This chapter also introduces the SARDEP Keiyo and Marakwet Districts and SNV's gender policy.

Chapter four makes the analysis of the case study using the concepts used in Chapter two. It analyzes the practice against the policy and the women/gender and development approaches. This analysis locates the practice within the development context and the challenges that are faced. Chapter five makes a conclusion and reflects on key issues that can be used by SNV/K towards achieving a gender policy that will move forward the good intentions of gender equality and women's empowerment.

1.2. Research Problem

Gender has become a pre-condition that has to be met before development programmes can be funded. Development organisations are required to show that gender is included in their reports and proposals to their donors. The pressure to include gender in development policies, planning, implementation and evaluation processes, leave the development organisations having genuine intentions which at times end up being rhetoric and not reality. On the other hand gender is presented in "carefully tailored training packages, guidelines, analytical frameworks and methodological 'tool kits' for development decision-makers" (Goetz, 1997:4). This shadows the challenges of gender practice in reality as often, it does not fit into the local context or is completely misunderstood and mystified by those who have to implement it.

Harrison (1997:61) observes that the language of gender and development has been widely adopted. An awareness of the differences between practical and strategic gender needs has become obvious in the policy documentation's of most bilateral and multi lateral development organizations. Inspite of this awareness there is still a great tendency of gender planning in development to slip subtly into projects for women. This shifts the relational approach to gender and replaces it with a focus on women, while the male gender identities continue to lie unexamined in the background.

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[4] Thanks to Dr. Irene van Staveren (Faculty ISS: Employment and Labour Studies) for suggesting this.

Mainstreaming gender becomes what Moser calls an 'add on' to mainstream policy and practice (Moser, 1993:5 quoted in Harrison 1997: 61).

Despite SNV's aim "to contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment through all its programmes and activities" (Walters, 2000:1), the organisation has not been able to move beyond its intentions. SNV has good intentions; good instruments and numerous opportunities to move the intentions forward, but these intentions are not translated into the gender practice and have ended up being rhetoric and not reality.

This paper therefore will explore how the intentions are translated into practice. In reflecting on the practice, the paper will identify the factors that have perpetuated the failure of the intentions becoming reality and reflect on the aim of the organisation on gender equality and women's empowerment.

1.3 Objective

To describe, analyze and reflect on the gender policy and practice of SNV/K in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme, with the hope of making a contribution that will be of benefit to SNV/K and other actors dealing with gender issues in Kenya.

1.4 Justification

Kenya is in the process of debating on the Equality Bill[5] which has was successfully tabled in the Kenyan Parliament in December 1999, as "a legal instrument outlawing all forms of discrimination and providing for the equitable distribution of services and resources" (www.nationaudio.com/news/DailyNation). The Bill has generated a lot of discussion on gender issues (among others, race, disability, ethnicity or social origin, age and religion), and how to effectively address them to bring gender equality

[5] The equality Bill seeks to prohibit discrimination and promote equality of access and opportunity for all. It focuses on discrimination in employment, education, health services, health care benefits, accommodation, associations, professions, appointments to public office and the provision of goods and services. Its purpose is to bring to an end the discrimination faced by various marginalised groups, in particular women, children, pastoralists, religious minorities and the disabled. (http://www.nationaudio.com/News/Daily Nation:11/11/2000)

and justice. Therefore the concern of gender equality and the empowerment of women, given this wider context is not only relevant but also timely.

SNV/K follows the general gender policy designed and formulated at SNV head office in The Hague. The general gender policy seeks to mainstream gender equality and women's empowerment objectives in all SNV programmes and organisation. SNV/K is in the process of updating or formulating her country gender policy. In line with the wider Kenyan context on gender issues this motivates me to reflect on the SNV/K gender practice. Though various gender reviews and evaluations have been done on the SARDEP Keiyo and Marakwet districts, no comprehensive study has been done to reflect on the challenges and dynamics emerging from the gender equality and empowerment objectives.

This study is based on an assumption that in reflecting on the gender practice of SNV/K, the factors that are hindering or enhancing the intended objectives will be identified and propositions towards a transformative practice will be made. My hope is that drawn from the experiences of SNV/K, this study will contribute towards gender equality and women's empowerment in Kenya.

1.5 Scope and limitations of the study

This paper investigates the SNV gender policy and practice in Kenya. The paper focuses on the period 1998-2002[6]. This time frame is limited to the period when SNV/K will be implementing SARDEP as a third party contracted by the Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE). The scope is narrow given the fact that out of the four districts[7] within the SARDEP programmes, only the Keiyo and Marakwet districts are selected because enough data was not available for the other districts.

The study is limited to secondary data analysis supplemented with primary data collected through interviews. Not having worked with SNV/K or the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme, I have the limitation of being an 'outsider looking in'. To overcome this, the thesis has examined many policy documents and reports related to

[6] Documents available are based on multi-annual plans
[7] The other two districts are Laikipia and Kajiado.

the SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme, and benefits from my experience of having worked in the ASAL areas.

1.6. Conceptual Framework

The key concepts that are used in this paper are gender; gender needs (practical, strategic and alternative framework of needs), power/empowerment, patriarchy, and equality. A gender and development (GAD) approach will be used in the paper. The GAD approach seeks fundamental explanations for women's subordination, both at the level of broad political and economic forces of ideology, particularly gender ideology. GAD acknowledges the need to understand gender relations on the ground, and to investigate the specific ways gender ideology and relations contribute to women's subordination and the sexual division of labour and power (Papart, 1995: 235).

1.7 Research questions

1. How is gender operationalized in the SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet Programme?
2. What are the challenges faced in operationalizing gender in SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet Programme?
3. Does the practice address gender equality and the empowerment of women in the SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme?

1.8 Methodology and data sources

The central approach to be used in the paper will be GAD approach.

Secondary data: This paper will describe and reflect on the SNV gender policy and practice relying mainly from data obtained from various sources in The Netherlands and from SNV/K. Creating Scope for Women:The SNV Women and Development Policy (CSW), Strategic Note on Gender Equality (SNGE), Strategic Plan for Education (abbreviated to SPE), Strategic Plan for Gender and Development (abbreviated to SPGD), Annual Work Plans (AWP), Plan of Operations (POPs), and other documents that provide the SNV framework will be used for the analysis.

Primary data: Four[8] people were interviewed, who are have been involved with the SNV/K and SARDEP at one stage or another. The four people interviewed formed an important source to provide information about the policy and the practice and clarified some areas that did not appear clear from the outset and also provided data that the documents could not give. Semi-structured questionnaires were used during the interviews (See annexes).

[8]A Country Director, A Sector Specialist on Land –Use Management in SNV/K, A former Programme Director with SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo and Marakwet Programme and a Desk Co-ordinator of the Institutional Development Programme in the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) from the Keiyo District. In quoting the people the following format will be used respondent 1 (R1, R2, R3, R4)

Chapter TWO

The Conceptual Framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will introduce the concepts that will be used in reflecting on the gender policy and practice of SNV/K in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet Districts. This paper will use the concepts of gender, power/empowerment, practical and strategic gender needs, alternative framework needs, equality and patriarchy which are part of the gender and development approach mentioned in section 1.6. Women's empowerment and gender equality in SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programmes are greatly influenced by their gender, needs, power relations and social structure.

2.1. Gender

I chose the concept of gender because I see it is a platform from which one can have a bird's eye view of the relations between men and women. According to me, gender does not stop at the relationship level but probes deeper to the underlying issues that perpetuate the differences that are continually arising between men and women, and suggests an alternative approach to bridging the gap.

Pearson observes that 'in all aspects of social activity, including access to resources for production, rewards or remuneration for work, distribution of consumption, income or goods, exercise of authority and power, and participation in cultural and religious activity, gender is important in establishing people's behavior and the outcome of any social interaction" (1992:292). Pearson's observation can be captured in the social, political, economic, religious, and cultural perspectives of gender. Gender systems, regardless of the historical time period, are "binary systems that oppose male to female, masculine to feminine, usually not on an equal basis but in hierarchical order. These binary oppositions manage to hide much more complex social and cultural processes where the differences between women and men are neither apparent or clear cut" (Conway et al, 1987:xxiii).

Gender in this paper will be taken to refer to the different roles and identities that are socially constructed, depending on whether one is male or female. These socially constructed roles and identities have and create power[9] relations between female and male. It is therefore important to understand the given roles and identities between women and men, in different contexts and to question whether, and how we can change the relations.

2.1.1 Practical Gender Needs

Moser suggests two categories of gender needs, as practical and strategic gender needs.

"Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society" (Moser, 1993:40). The problem I find with practical gender needs is that women have to be first aware that they are in a socially defined role to identify the practical need. To identify the need would require a process of bringing women into cognition of their social role or a scenario where women are collectively organized and already have the initiative. In some situations women are already collectively organized and can identify the practical gender needs but in other situations they are not and development organisations 'suggest' the practical gender needs. In this sense I share the observation made by Wieringa on asking "who actually decides what are 'strategic' or 'practical' gender needs or interests? Planners, or women from the target groups themselves?" (1998:362).

2.1.2. Strategic Gender Needs

"Strategic gender needs[10] are the needs women identify as arising from their subordinate position to men in their society. Meeting these needs helps women to achieve greater equality by changing their position in society" (Moser, 1995:107). In my opinion, Moser's definition overlooks the fact that women themselves have

[9] The concept of power is defined elsewhere in the paper

[10] Strategic gender needs may include all, or some of the following: "The abolition of the sexual division of labour; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare; the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land or property, or access to credit; the establishment of political equality; freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women." (Molyneux 1985a: 233 quoted in Moser, 1993:39)

internalized[11] the sexual division of labour, accepted the responsibility of domestic labour and childcare and the various forms of domination and subordination. Women's internalization of their subordinate position over generations blurs the consciousness that will make women identify and recognize strategic gender needs.

2.1.3 Alternative Framework of Needs

I depart from Moser's practical and strategic gender needs and propose an alternative framework of needs. Practical and strategic gender needs have become vague and misused concepts, placed haphazardly in project reports and proposals to make impression on donors and fund raising. I opt for an alternative framework of needs, which does not become neutralized in the development process.

Galtung (1990:292) proposes four levels of needs. These are survival needs, well being needs, freedom/participation needs and identity needs. This level of needs is self-explanatory and progresses from one level to the next. This progression means that as survival needs are met, the well being of women is not compromised. The end result is that women's identity needs are met where women are able to seek transformation in their lives.

2.2. Power/empowerment

Power connotes ability that can be interpreted from various dimensions. Power as a concept is contested. In this paper, power will be understood to refer to the tangible and intangible ability, and how the ability (ies) can influence or hinder how an individual (s) perceive the world around them. Power and empowerment are related in the sense that "the most conspicuous feature of the term empowerment is that it contains within it the word power. So obviously, empowerment is about power, and changing the balance of power" (Batliwala, 1993:7). Power can be understood as operating in a number of different ways:

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[11] A process where people unquestioningly believe that, aspects of their lives usually passed on from generation to generation are natural and therefore would not think of these aspects as oppressive or subordinating.

- power over: This power involves an either/or relationship of domination/subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance;
- power to: This power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling;
- power with: This power involves people organising with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals;
- power within: This power refers to self-confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how individuals can recognise through analysing their experience how power operates in their lives, and gain the confidence to act to influence and change this.

www.ids.uk/bridge/reports_gend_con_meth.html)

Figure 1: Definitions of power and empowerment in practice

Understanding of power	Implications in practice
Power over	conflict and direct confrontation between powerful and powerless interest groups
Power to	capacity building, supporting individual decision-making, leadership etc.
Power with	social mobilisation, building alliances and coalitions
Power within	increasing self esteem, awareness or consciousness raising, confidence building

(www.ids.uk/bridge/reports_gend_con_meth.html

The various understandings of power embedded in the concept of empowerment carry through into different approaches to empowerment of women in practice. These distinctions are useful in understanding the different approaches towards empowering of women in the development process.

2.3. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a term used to "describe the general situation of male dominance over women" (Walby, 1990 quoted in Pearson 1992:294) Patriarchy is a relationship of

domination/subordination that differs between different societies and is constantly undergoing change and negotiation. (Pearson, 1992:294) Domination/subordination can take different forms through direct or passive discrimination, disregard, control, exploitation or violence. The patriarchal relationship is institutionalized in structures of socialization like the household, religious institutions, learning institutions, and the state. Power is an important factor in patriarchal relationships because to maintain the domination and subordination requires one group to be submissive while the dominant group expresses control. Both groups may not be aware that they are maintaining a patriarchal relationship as Elson notes on male bias. "What perhaps is unique about male bias is that those who are disadvantaged by it live in intimate personal relationships with those who are advantaged by it" (1991:7).

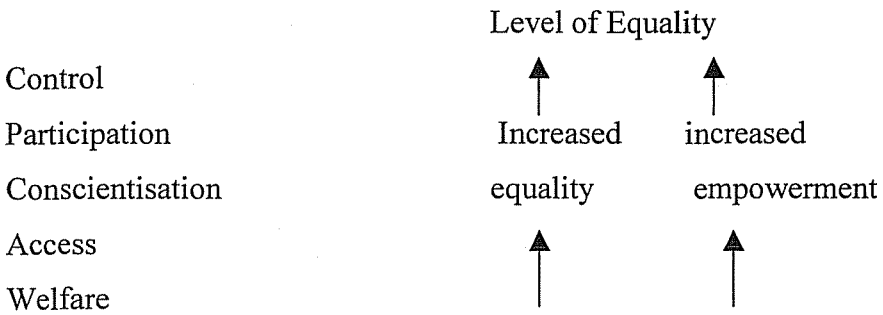
Kandiyoti argues that women strategize within a set of concrete constraints, which she identifies as "patriarchal bargains". Different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct 'rules of the game' and call for different strategies to maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression. (1988:274) Patriarchy can be equated to male bias[12] in the development process. In a patriarchal/male biased system, women's involvement or participation in the development process is seen through male eyes and censored to benefit men. Women's access and control of resources is limited because the management and ownership of the resources are traditionally vested in men. Men will not readily give up their power over the resources or other privileges when patriarchy is challenged but in the process what happens is that women will increase their negotiating and bargaining power therefore bargaining with patriarchy.

2.4 Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment

Longwe introduces five criteria as an analytical framework for understanding women's development. She argues that the "central issue of women's development is women's empowerment, to enable women to take an equal place with men, and to participate equally in the development process in order to achieve control over the factors of production on an equal basis with men" (Longwe, 1991:150). Longwe

identifies five levels as the basis for criteria to assess the level of women's development in any area of social or economic life, which I found necessary to reproduce (1991:151-152) here as follows:

WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT CRITERIA



These levels are in hierarchical relationships, so that equality of control is more important for women's development than equality of welfare. In addition, the higher levels of equality are automatically higher levels of development and empowerment. To understand these levels of equality better more details are described here below:

2.4.1 Levels of Equality and women's empowerment

1) Welfare: The level of material welfare of women, relative to men, in such matters as food supply, income and medical care. This level of equality, is not concerned with whether women are themselves the active creators and producers of their material needs: such involvement would suggest a higher degree of empowerment and development.
2) Access: Women's access to the factors of production on an equal basis with men: equal access to land, labour, credit, training, marketing facilities and all publicly available services and benefits. Here equality of access is obtained by ensuring the principle of equality of opportunity, which typically entails the reform of the law and administrative practice to remove all forms of discrimination against women.
3) Conscientisation: The understanding of the difference between sex roles and gender roles, and that the latter are cultural and can be changed; it also involves a belief that the sexual division of labour should be fair and agreeable to both sides, and not involve the economic or political domination of one sex by the other. Belief in sexual equality lies at the basis of gender awareness, and provides the basis for collective participation in the process of women's development.
4) Participation: Women's equal participation in the decision making process, policy making, planning and administration. Where participation in the

[12] A bias that operates in favour of men as a gender, and against women as a gender, not that all men are biased against women. Male bias in development policy is encouraged by male bias in everyday attitudes and practices and by male bias in analysis, reinforced by male bias in politics. (Elson,1995:3)

development process means involvement in needs assessment, project formulation, implementation and evaluation. Equality of participation means involving women of the community affected by the decisions taken and involving them in the same proportion in the community at large.

5) Control: Utilizing the participation of women in the decision making process through conscientisation and mobilization, to achieve equality of control over the factors of production, and the distribution of benefits. Equality of control means a balance of control between men and women, so that neither side is put into a position of dominance.

In my opinion, Longwe's framework has a shortcoming on the level of welfare. She proposes material welfare of women but material welfare is not enough, because concepts such as time and well being of women are ignored. The material level suggests that women have plenty of free time and inequality exists due to lack of material needs but it does not look beyond to see the consequences.

The access level is based on an assumption that the legal structures will comply with availing the principle of equality of opportunity. Equality of access is coupled with resistance to relinquish the factors of production to women and legal structures deeply institutionalized against accessing them to women. Equality of access then becomes a provision of survival or practical gender needs. The equality of opportunity may be present but not exercised because it is not value free. Who gets what and why, all play to determining the equality of opportunity and therefore equality of access.

Equality of conscientisation needs an addition to include identity and gender relations which will increase empowerment and equality. With conscientisation, women need the space to exercise their agency[13] collectively to challenge their subordination. Equality of participation should not be limited to the number of women from the community, if women's participation lacks transformative potential. Involving women in management does not mean anything if they are figureheads and have no voice, even if their needs were assessed. Women cannot gain equality of control if the conscientisation does not open up avenues for them to have talk about women's rights, to be able to deal with emerging issues as well as existing issues (domestic violence, alcoholism, reproductive rights etc) that work towards re-inforcing their subordination.

Mobilizing women through forceful means to participate in development creates a culture of resistance. Women do not participate out of their own volition but are compelled by forceful factors to participate. Their decisions and voice are therefore borne out of suppression and fear. The factors of production are vested into male hands, with women having limited use rights, for example their labour. Cusack (1999:165) argues that access to and control of resources work together with the authority bestowed on males to enact control over women and children. A myriad of threats is used to realize control.

2.5 Policy Approaches towards Women in development

Moser has identified five approaches that relate to women in development. These approaches are namely welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment.

2.5.1 The WID Approaches

The **Welfare** approach was introduced in the 1950s and 1960s and is the earliest welfare approach dealing with women in developing countries. The underlying assumption was that women were passive participants to the development process. Women's practical needs are met through recognizing women's reproductive role. The welfare approach does not challenge the social structure and operates within the existing gender division of labour. Power relations in the gender relations are not challenged. It is popular because development organisations use practical gender needs as an entry point.

The **Equity** approach is considered the original Women in development approach (WID). It was introduced within the 1976-85 UN decade for Women. The underlying assumption was that women were active participants and the triple roles[14] of women were recognized. Under the equity approach the subordinate position of women was challenged and meeting the strategic gender needs was through holding

[13] Described as the capacity of human beings to ultimately decide what action to take

[14] Triple roles of women- a) *reproductive* work of childbearing and rearing responsibilities, required to guarantee maintenance and reproduction of the labour force, b) *productive* work often as secondary income earners usually agricultural work in rural Kenya and c) *community managing* work centred around the provision of items of collective consumption, undertaken in the local community in rural/urban contexts

the state accountable, to give women political and economic autonomy and therefore reducing inequality with men. Women's issues were gaining momentum against states that 'were' and still are male dominated. Politics has been constructed as the male sphere and men hold the economic resources. The notion of women gaining entry and equity to the male dominated arena was uncomfortable for the male led state and this proved this unpopular as a development policy approach.

The **anti-poverty approach** came up as a "toned-down" version of equity in the 1970s. Toning down the equity approach implies that the anti-poverty advocates made the version in line with male requirements. Women here were seen as poor, and the purpose then was to ensure that poor women increased their productivity. Women become isolated in an anti-poverty approach by being categorized as poor women, which means that the focus is shifted from gender relations and the power structures that perpetuate poverty. Therefore enabling better access to productive resources assumes that the resource holders will give them up without challenging the structure that inhibit access to private ownership. These factors can be patriarchy/male domination, cultural definitions of gender roles and women's weak bargaining and negotiating foundation. The anti-poverty approach has the underlying assumption that women's productivity will solve their subordination through capital accumulation. Productive resources can be commodified and if women have capital through the small-scale income generating activities then they can access the productive resources through the market. Small-scale income generating activities have limited capacity for expansion, and are usually designed around women's reproductive roles and their challenge to the 'global'-male dominated markets are almost invisible. The anti-poverty approach becomes popular through providing income/money to women, giving them a chance to interact and share with others and to therefore break from the routine of domestic chores which adds variation in women's lives. But, women have to invest more time and re-allocate this time to meet all the activities of women's triple roles

The **efficiency** approach is the third and predominant WID approach particularly popular since the 1980s debt crisis. The focus shifts from poor women to women in general. The emphasis is this time placed not on women's productivity but on their

economic contribution that can be seen in a wider context of women as an untapped resource and their "participation is equated with equity for women" (Moser, 1993:68). Women are seen in their own right as potentially advantageous to efficiency and productivity for example in repaying of loans/credit, women organizing for self-help projects than men do in the same activities. The efficiency approach assumes that women have time and expects them to manage or balance all the activities.

The final WID approach is the **empowerment** approach that emerged from Third world women. The purpose of the empowerment approach is to "empower women through greater self-reliance. Women's subordination is seen not only as the problem of men but also of colonial and neo-colonial oppression. It recognizes women's triple role, and seeks to meet strategic gender needs indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around practical gender needs" (Moser, 1995:74) The empowerment approach uses practical gender needs as the entry point and does not take a direct confrontational approach but mobilizes empowerment from bottom-up.

2.5.2 From Women in Development (WID) To Gender and Development (GAD)

Among others Goetz, pointed out that feminist assessments of the WID policy implementation identified two problems with the WID approaches. First was that although the WID policies have improved women's material conditions in certain extents they have not been very effective in improving their social and economic power relative to men in development contexts. Secondly women's views in the development process are persistently marginalized seen especially in institutions such as state bureaucracies and development organizations from multi-lateral organizations to NGOs. (1997:2)

From these critiques emerged the Gender and Development approach (GAD). This was a change not just in terminology but in the 'reassessment of concepts, analysis, and approaches in gender equity policies" (ibid.). The GAD approach recognized that power had to be redistributed, within the social relations and advocated for the direct challenge to the social structure which gave male cultural, social and economic privileges, and would give women an equal share of the resources.

Institutions play a very instrumental role in the development process. Here, institutions refer to the household, the state, development organizations, religion, NGOs, media, schools etc, which are run by human beings. "Recognizing the *human (her emphasis)* dimension in the construction of institutions alerts us to the fact that they are not immutable or 'natural' approaches to organizing human relationships, and also to the fact that all institutions embody a history of social choices by particular groups. A critical analysis of institutions can show how these choices are sometimes socially sub-optimal, not made with either equity or efficiency in mind, but rather made to preserve the power of particular groups" (Goetz, 1997:6)

Institutions make choices to behave in particular manner or not. They institutions can then be held accountable for the choices that they make.

2.6 Conclusion

The concepts defined here help to reveal how women's position and status is still a long way from changing, even after efforts are made towards gender equality and the empowerment of women. The stumbling block is deeply ingrained in the social structures as well as in the institutions.

This paper aims to reflect on the gender policy and practice of SNV/K in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme and to identify ways by which these blocks can be eliminated.

Chapter THREE

SNV/K Programmes: SARDEP Keiyo and Marakwet Districts

3.0 Introduction

A brief overview of poverty in Kenya will be presented to show the structural dynamics involved in gender and poverty in Kenya and the continuing female time poverty in rural Kenya. This chapter will also introduce SNV/K gender policy and the gender practice in the SARDEP Keiyo and Marakwet districts. Different aspects of the Keiyo and Marakwet Districts will be described.

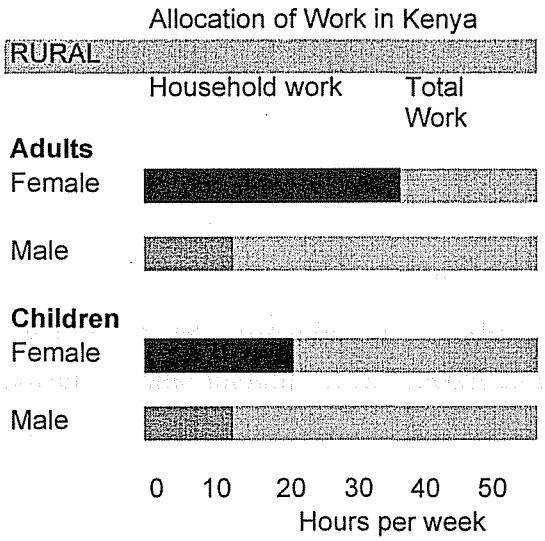
3.1. Brief overview of gender and poverty in Kenya

Gender and poverty in Kenya are related due to the inequality that prevails in the distribution of resources, gender division of labour, discrimination and exclusion of women institutionalized in 'religion, tradition, customs and cultural practices *(that)* have been used to rationalize the oppression and marginalisation of women (PEAP, 1992:243)

In 1999, the Government of Kenya launched the National Poverty Eradication Plan[15] (NPEP), with a view to having a more focused approach to the problems of the poor and disadvantaged. This plan is intended to seek to mobilize resources for helping achieve pro-poor growth and service delivery. At the same time, it will promote consensus for participatory development. The NPEP acknowledges that the poverty of women and particularly rural women require special attention. Findings from Participatory Poverty Assessments done in Kenya show that women are most vulnerable. (1999:14)

[15] A 16-year plan, which provides a national policy and institutional framework for urgent action against poverty in Kenya. The plan presents a vision for the early 21st century, when Kenya hopes to halt the current increase in the incidence of poverty, and then eradicate it step by step. It is also a show of commitment by the Government to addressing the poverty challenge, as a political necessity and moral obligation based on sound economic principles which recognise and acknowledge the critical role and potential contribution of the poor to national development. (NPEP, 1999:xi)

The Human Development Report (abbreviated to HDR) of 1995 identifies time use as one of the leading poverties women experience in Kenya. Based on my own observation and as indicated in various reports, women in rural Kenya do multiple activities at once which makes it difficult to differentiate what is productive and what is household work. "Women in rural Kenya work on average about 56 hours a week, men only about 42" (HDR, 1995:88). Figure 2 below illustrates the work differentiation between female and male in Kenya.



Source: Githinji 1995 illustrated in HDR 1995:92

Women's time in Kenya is taken up in meeting their reproductive role and also for subsistence income. Women are engaged in agricultural activities which, form part of subsistence and income. Children are not exempt from working and the bigger burden goes to the female child. Female children are kept from attending school, as their labour is required in the household to cover up for the mother's time in tasks such as childcare and domestic chores. The boy child rarely goes through the same because the gender division of labour allocates men and boys tasks outside of the household.

Women in the SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme can be located within this wider Kenyan context of long working hours. In the programme heavy workload is usually seen as the problem women experience, but is rarely seen as shortage of time from all the activities that women engage in, which leads to female time poverty.

3.2 General Operating Mandate of SNV/K

The SNV/K office has been in existence since the early 1970s. This was following an official bilateral co-operation programme between SNV and some Kenyan government departments (NDC, 1998:53). SNV/K has three sub programmes namely the Pastoralism Development Programme (PADEP), Semi-Arid Rural Development Programme (SARDEP) and Other Development Projects (ODEP). This focus of this paper as mentioned earlier is on SARDEP.

The SNV/K Country Map (C-Map 2000-2002) explains that the services provided by experts under this mission of SNV/K are of a capacity building nature (advise, counseling) and also include programme and project management, for third parties in line with their product group mandate. SNV operates in the interface of civil society and government and is thus often in a position where it can co-operate with several partners. The services provided by SNV are on demand from the partners.

One of the core activities of SNV/K is the strengthening of partner organisations in their capacity to achieve their objectives. Partner organizations may be governmental departments; non-governmental organizations and community based organizations. Before a partner, organization is selected and before SNV/K enters co-operation with a partner organization, a thorough organizational analysis is carried out. The analysis includes the establishment of mission and vision of the organization, desired outputs, and required inputs, systems and processes, relations with the external environment, internal and external factors influencing the functioning of the organization.

3.3. SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet Programme: General Characteristics

Keiyo and Marakwet districts are situated in the Rift Valley Province in the North-Western part of Kenya that borders Uganda (see maps). The districts have a combined area of 3,053sq. Km. The 1989 census estimated the population to be over 300,000 persons. (Keiyo and Marakwet District report, 1997:2)

Keiyo and Marakwet districts are situated in areas designated as Arid and semi-arid lands that are dry-land eco-systems that cover 88% of Kenya's land. These lands are home to 25 % of the Kenyan population, 54% of the country's livestock and 65% of the wildlife. ASAL's undergo cyclic periods of droughts and floods, which often result in famine and disease epidemics, besides the obvious ravages to human settlements, productive activities, infrastructure and social services.

ASAL's are characterized by some of the lowest indicators of social and economic development. As many as 25-50% of the people have no guarantee to household food security even under normal and favourable weather conditions (POPs, 1999)

3.3.1. SNV/K SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet–History of the Area

The districts are home to two groups of Kalenjin tribe[16] the Keiyo and the Marakwet, who had been pushed to the lower part of the Kerio escarpment as victims of droughts and of more powerful pastoral and agro-pastoral neighbours like the Maasai, the Pokot, the Nandi, and the Tugen. Around the year 1900, the Marakwets had occupied an escarpment zone in the Northern part of the Kerio valley and used a lot of streams coming from the Cherangani uplands for forms of irrigation that were even more ingenuous than those of their neighbors the agricultural Pokot. They had few cattle as constant cattle raids by the Pokots were common, but they kept goats and relied heavily on irrigated sorghum, finger millet, bananas and other fruits.

Around 1900, the Keiyo's were confined to the Southern part of the Kerio valley including the escarpment zone from where the Kerio River originates before it flows northwards towards lake Turkana. The Keiyo's did not develop irrigated agriculture but cultivated sorghum and millet and used the valley floor for cattle, goats and sheep when their enemies were not attacking them. During the British colonization in Kenya, the Keiyo's were labour migrants in the 'White highland farms' and in particular on those of Boer farmers from South Africa.

[16] In Kenya there are over 40 ethnic groups otherwise known as tribes, each with its own culture, tradition and language.

The 1930s saw the Keiyo's settling as 'squatters' on these farms and they started to occupy the forest zone on top of the escarpment. "Climbing the cliff' became a possibility for upward social mobility. The 1970s were characterised with small-scale farmers producing maize, wheat, dairy, pyrethrum and wool. This brought about a lot of migration in the area towards the very productive escarpment zone. In 1976, the southern part of the Kerio valley was transformed rather drastically by the start of a flourspar[17] mine. In the early part of 1980, the northern part was opened up for experimental farms and other activities under the Kerio Valley Development Authority.

Most of the poor people in the area are those that have meager access to indigenous irrigation channels and those living without major remittances from the highlands. Households without a direct or indirect share in the flourspar employment possibilities are very poor. Cattle keeping by the Pokot still occur and pose a serious threat of cattle rustling[18] and therefore cattle herds are smaller and mainly composed of small stock. Zero grazing for cattle becomes a necessary option. The main economic activity pursued by the people in the two districts is livestock and small-scale agriculture. Over 60% of households earn their income from livestock sales, subsistence and commercial agriculture in the highlands.

3.3.2 The situation of women in Keiyo and Marakwet:

"Although the women are now members of the committee, they are shy and cannot speak in the meetings. We have to take decisions for them" (Comments of a male PMC member in Keiyo quoted in the Review of the ASAL programmes, 1997:28)

Women in Keiyo and Marakwet are described as being responsible for most of farming activities and for all the reproductive activities. Livestock herding which is a common feature and is done by both men and women. Men play a bigger part of

[17] Mineral consisting of calcium fluoride

[18] The insecurity in the area has caused the SARDEP programme to withdraw its activities. The East African Standard reported the manager of SARDEP Keiyo and Marakwet saying that it had become dangerous and impossible to conduct development work in the area after two employees of another NGO were shot dead. "It is because of this reason that SARDEP has decided to put on hold its activities in the valley until early July when the situation will be reviewed" (Kaino:14/04/2000)

herding during the dry spells when the livestock has to move greater distances in search of water and pasture. Women remain responsible for the young and weak stock (Review of the ASAL programmes, 1997:28)

Both men and women have access to land for farming and grazing activities. Women control the small harvests used for the family subsistence as well as milk and poultry products. Men on the other hand make the decisions on the use of land for permanent crops or structures and control the income from larger sales of produce or livestock.

Decision making at the community level is the domain of men couched in traditional beliefs and values to justify and reinforce their power of decision making. Chiefs, assistant chiefs and village elders are men. Women do not usually attend meetings and other development activities as they have heavy workloads. (Review of the ASAL programmes, 1997:26)

3.4. SNV and Women/Gender Policy

The objective of the SNV Women and Development policy was to *"Improve the position of women in relation to men and to improve their living conditions"* (1993-1998: 8). This objective expresses the fact that it is not possible to achieve sustainable improvements in the living conditions of women and men (structural alleviation of poverty) without improving the position of women in relation to men. The structural alleviation of poverty has economic, social, and political aspects and involves the emancipation of poor, disadvantaged and oppressed groups of the population" (CSW, 1993-1998:17).

The policy identified three target groups namely women within poor, disadvantaged and oppressed groups of people in third world countries, women as members of an oppressed category within the community and all men in the selected target groups.

The strategy used in the women and development policy is one that seeks to influence and change gender relations with the aim of reducing poverty and creating a basis for sustainable society. Four levels are used in this strategy and they are:

Level 0: Efforts to guarantee a basic level of subsistence

Level 1: Integrated methods using the gender-sensitive process approach or sectoral programmes

Level 2: National development programmes (extending beyond the target group)

Level 3: International activities.

3.5. Shift from WID to GAD in SNV

The SNV Women and development policy was revised in 1998, under the "Strategic Note on Gender Equality". The terminology changed from women and development to gender and development (GAD) to 'gender' in SNV. "In line with the SNV's main objective and strategy at that time, the women and development policy was people-centered and promoted bottom-up development following a process approach[19]" (SNGE, 1998:1)

The current Women/Gender and Development policy has been translated at country programme level in two ways:

- choice of women as a specific target group because of their subordinate position to men
- Formulation of gender equality objectives in the programme objectives in Country Policy Plans.

The strategic note recognises that "where women have been defined as special target groups, leads to women specific activities in larger projects and to 'women's projects. This has the risk of other projects or project activities, not paying attention to gender equality (1998:2). These kinds of programmes are seen to unequally benefit men and women. Women are seen as disadvantaged in relation to men in decision making and their participation does not influence the male domains. Women have limited control and access to and over production factors and income that hinder their economic activities, and their absence from the 'malestream' development excludes the economic interests and activities from the planning process.

[19] "A process Approach is a type of strategy for change which can be described as follows: From a central starting point to link up with local development processes, working according to a process is a way of working that focuses on mobilising, promoting and strengthening the potential of people to understand their own situation better and their own role within it and to increase their capacity to

In the period 1999-2002, SNV needs to mainstream gender equality objectives in its programmes and projects at all levels. The three levels for the mainstreaming strategy are:

- the SNV Organisation: policies, systems, procedures, staffing structures, organisational culture
- the SNV national and supra national programmes: objectives, strategies, activities (projects), personnel and the partner organisations' capacity to contribute to gender equality;
- civil society interacting with SNV: government policies, structures, programmes, economy, non-governmental organisations, SNV's partner organisations, cultural and political spaces, social movements (women's organisations, donor co-ordination etc.

To reach the objectives of SNV's aim to contribute to gender equality to the least developed (rural) areas in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe through the mainstreaming for gender equality and the promotion of women's empowerment, different angles are taken. The elements involved are briefly outlined as follows:

1. Mainstreaming of gender equality and women's empowerment objectives in SNV programmes and organisation. Through this element it will be ensured that the SNV policy formulation and in the formulation of all Multi–Annual Plans[20] at different levels of the organisation gender equality and women's empowerment are fully mainstreamed.

2. Gender equality in Sustainable Area Development and local governance[21]. SNV will include gender equality as objective in all programmes implemented within the framework of sustainable area development and local governance. At the target group level some key issues include:

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realise more effective self steering in policy formulation and implementation within a continually changing context" (A Process Approach: 1997)

[20] Development plans covering 3 years

[21] SNV's activities are streamlined through a focus on fields of interest, two of which are Sustainable Area development and Local Governance

- equal participation of women and men in development activities
- change of the division of labour of men and women
- equal access to and control over resources (land, tools, credit, information, labour, training, etc)
- equal access to and control over benefits of activities (products, income, status, etc)
- strengthening the role of women in decision making on all levels of society (personal life, household, local community, groups, district and national level)

3. Women's empowerment for gender equality: SNV will advocate for women's empowerment as a basis for the realization of gender equality. Where necessary SNV will use women specific activities and strategies that will contribute to gender equality through a process of women's empowerment. The organization will seek to promote men's participation for gender equality and will support men's organizations working on the necessary changes in gender relations, norms and values.

4. Monitoring: SNV developed a gender audit methodology, to monitor progress in the results of mainstreaming gender equality in and by the organisation at programme level. The gender audit depends partially on the progress made by SNV in defining the qualitative and quantitative norms and values with which to monitor progress and at the same time contributes to the development of those standards.

5. Gender Equality Action and Results Programme (GEAR): SNV will promote the mainstreaming of gender equality and women's empowerment through some well focused efforts in order for SNV to realise the objective of this strategic plan.

6. Gender expertise and responsibility at Head Office:

a) to continue having a post of senior gender advisor within the Head Office and/or to employ regional senior gender advisors who can support this process in the regions and ensure communication and synergy of the countries' efforts in this respect.

b) to delegate formal responsibilities for gender mainstreaming to different management levels and staff functions in the organisation.

7. Mainstreaming for gender equality and women's empowerment in relation to the Product groups. SNV activities are grouped in four Product Groups namely: capacity building, project implementation, mediation and service delivery.

A Participatory Gender Audit (henceforth PGA) done in May-June 2000, confirms the emphasis placed on gender equality and women's empowerment. The PGA is a "methodology for self-assessment by SNV programmes. The people that are employed in an SNV programme or are associated to it as partner organisations or donors are considered as empirical experts and able and motivated to assess themselves and their organisation. This is in order to improve the organisation's performance on gender equality and women's empowerment" (Manual Participatory Gender Audit SNV, 2000)

In SNV/K, the gender practice is informed by the policy document "Creating Scope for Women: SNV women and development policy 1993-1998." Earlier this year (2000) the SNV/K head office in Nairobi recommended that the field offices use the CSW as illustrated here. This document is "still valid SNV policy on gender and I should like to encourage all of you to read it and take the contents into consideration during further planning and implementation of activities" (SNV/K Memo on Gender policy: 10/02/2000).

Although the Strategic Note on Gender Equality is the more recent document it "does not serve as a reference as it is not being used as a working document and most of the participants do not know the content of it" (PGA, 2000: 6). However, it appears that there is a lack of clarity between the two policy documents and different components from each are picked up and applied but they are not consolidated in one policy document. Furthermore, the SNGE indicates that the shift was "in terminology only and not in content as the women and development policy of SNV was already based on a gender and development approach" (SNGE, 1998:2). In my opinion, this creates confusion as to whether the SNV/K should continue with the CSW and add on the

new issues from the SNGE like gender equality and empowerment of women, or focus on the policy objectives contents of the CSW.

3.6. Gender Practice in SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet

The goal of SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet is

"To contribute to the sustainable reduction of poverty in the districts of Keiyo and Marakwet, while conserving the natural resource base and enhancing overall gender equality" (AWP 2000, 1999:3.1).

Gender in SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet is operationalized in two ways. Firstly, is through women specific activities and secondly, as a cross cutting issue in all the sectors[22].

3.6.1 Gender Specific activities:

According to the Plan of Operations for 2000-2002 (1999:6.13) three aspects are identified in the strategies to achieving the gender balance objective. These are through addressing women's strategic needs in project appraisal and production/reproduction and through addressing women's practical needs.

In Project appraisals: This is through the recognition that women are under-represented in the decision-making bodies due to cultural beliefs regarding the role of women in the society. The programme recognizes that it is in a good position to trigger changes by providing preferential treatment to projects that reflect gender balance in their memberships and committees. The idea is that the higher the proportion of women in the membership of community groups, and especially in the management of these groups, the more eligible these groups are for funding and support. The expectation is that this measure will induce a swift inclusion of women in projects and project management committees. It is seen that in the beginning women might be a bit reserved in putting forward their case but assumed that after a while women will start to participate more actively. (Annex 2 for project appraisal form)

[22] 1) Community Based Institution Building, 2) Agriculture and Livestock, 3) Safe water supply, 4) Education and 5) Common Natural Resource use

Addressing women's strategic needs in production and reproduction:

No sound strategy has been developed of yet. Several ideas were put forward but none were found to be convincing especially in terms of generating impact in the short or medium term.

Addressing Women's practical needs:

Women's practical needs viewed in terms of involvement in small businesses, making safe water more accessible, improved storage and preservation techniques, knowledge about health and nutrition and reducing the burden of collecting fuel wood are all addressed in the five sectors.

For this reason there is no budget allocated for gender for the period 2000-2002 as "gender has been fully mainstreamed in the other sectors. No separate budget has been reserved for gender." (POPs 2000-2002, 1999:6.13)

3.6.2 Gender as cross cutting in the five sectors:

1) Community Based Institution Building Objective

To establish and strengthen institutions that enable people, men and women equally to participate in the design, decision-making, implementation and evaluation of interventions that impact on their development.

2) Agriculture and Livestock objective

To increase the income and improve the food security of the target group in an environmentally sound and gender balanced way.

3) Safe water Supply

To improve access to safe water in an environmentally sound and gender balanced way.

4) Education

To improve the accessibility, quality of (pre-) primary and special education, equally

for boys and girls.

Figure 3 below illustrates sex-dis-aggregated data on school enrolment in Keiyo and Marakwet Districts for 1998.

	Pre-school		Primary		Secondary	
Districts	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Keiyo	3599	3753	20890	22113	4416	3831
Marakwet	3556	3474	19683	19491	1625	2263
Totals	**7155**	**7227**	**40573**	**41604**	**6041**	**6094**

Source: District Education Office Iten and Kapsowar 1998 (adapted from Annual Work Plan 1999)

The pre-school level is encouraged in the districts as a way of changing the perceptions and attitudes of education. The girls are involved at this stage in child care tasks and are not likely to be released to be enrolled in school. More boys on average attend school than girls due to different factors that have been identified by the SNV/K programme. Although the figures show that school enrolment for girls and boys is not too different, girls tend to drop out more in the higher streams because of reasons attributed to increased domestic chores assigned to girls at home, cultural values and practices that mitigate the education of girls for example teenage pregnancies, early marriages and initiation rites. Also not evident is that boys drop out of school in the higher streams as a result of security and cattle rustling, therefore being called upon to defend their people by becoming warriors.

5) Common resource use

To establish systems for the management of natural resources that ensures that

- future generations can make a livelihood from the land
- no irreversible damage is caused to flora and fauna in protected areas.

3.7. Conclusion

SNV/K programme in Keiyo and Marakwet includes gender as a strong component in women specific activities and as a crosscutting issue. The underlying assumption is that the programmes reduce poverty in the long run and bring overall gender equality. This being the case we have seen that culture plays a big role in the society and influences women's participation in the development process. The SNV/policy has evolved from WID to GAD and has influenced the practice in the field. We have also seen that inspite of a general policy; the documents have not been used in Kenya. In the description of the projects it shows that there is a base that informs the practice although it is not clearly identified.

Even after all the years of gender practice in SNV/K the challenge is still felt. Different kinds of factors at play have limited the SNV/K from identifying the challenges. In the next chapter we try to reflect on the practice in relation to the conceptual framework in chapter two.

Chapter FOUR

How can we put the finger on gender[23]?

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will reflect on the gender policy and practice of SNV/K programme against the general SNV gender policy that informs the design of the gender practices. I will do this from a gender and development perspectives that will highlight the areas that continue to perpetuate the subordination of women in the programme and how this can be changed. The concepts used in chapter two will assist in the analysis and reflection to arrive at a point of putting the finger on gender.

4.1 Gender

The conceptualization of gender is crucial in understanding how gender is operationalized in Keiyo and Marakwet districts, because this understanding is translated into practice in women specific projects or linked to women activities within the sectors as a cross cutting issue. The CSW has concentrated on describing the concept of gender and explaining the social constructions of male and female. The policy gives an indication that power has an important role in the structure of gender but does not go beyond to show how the power relations impact the relations between men and women. The respondents (R1, R2, and R3) took the same approach to what the policy describes for example the gender division of labour and the social roles.

The current conceptualisation of gender in SNV/K makes it a desk issue where by gender is described and "one just has to know the procedures then you can implement them on the ground" (R2: 2000). From the data, I find that gender, as a concept in SNV/K is confusing. The first confusion is that gender is still seen as women's issue and gender efforts are therefore directed towards women specific projects.

[23] Taken from question raised during the interview by R1

The SNGE does not help the people on the ground much to chart a clearer course to this confusion. For example "the case of programmes where women have been defined as special target groups leads to women specific activities in larger projects and to 'women's projects" (SNGE, 1998:2). The confusion leads to contradiction between the policy and the practice because the policy further suggests "the choice of women as a specific target group because of their subordinate position to men" (Ibid).

In practice, greater emphasis is put on sectors and gender is put as a cross cutting issue. Given this confusion, it is not suprising to then find in the reports that "gender has been fully mainstreamed in the other sectors" (POPs, 1999:6.1). No separate budget has been reserved for the period 2000-2002. In an audit done in May-June this year "It was reflected during the audit period that SNV/K had done little in the mainstreaming of gender and women's empowerment in its programme" (PGA, 2000:Introduction)

The contradiction can be explained by the lack of a country gender policy that understands or defines gender within the Kenyan context. Donor pressure to have gender included "project reports because the sector specialists always checked it" (R3: 2000), make it rhetoric instead of reality. Gender as a concept is widely used in SNV/K programme but has not been developed as a unit of analysis. Instruments and mechanisms have been developed[24] for analysis. This is further elaborated in the WID[25] approaches based on the CSW: SNV Women and development policy.

4.2 Alternative Framework of Needs in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme

4.2.1 Survival Needs

The SNV/K programmes address the survival needs of women in the Keiyo Marakwet programme. This is through the provision of water, food, education, credit facilities for women, etc. The survival needs meet the immediate needs and is used as an entry point to reach women. This category of needs is not specific to women only in Keiyo

[24] The pace at which new mechanisms and instruments are introduced into the programme assumes that all the people understand gender, failing to take into account the confusion it creates and resistance both with the organization and the target group.
[25] Discussed later in this paper

and Marakwet because the men benefit from it too. In providing for the needs of women in the survival level, SARDEP has many times noted the increasing workload on women. However, gender analysis into the power relations that dictate for example, water provision in the area is not prioritized. Water is a resource and the control over the use can lead to conflict or co-operation. The result can be advantageous or disadvantageous for women in the water projects.

4.2.2 Well-being

The well being of women in the Keiyo and Marakwet districts is not given focus in the gender practice. On the survival level, material well being of having food and water, ability to earn an income through income generating activities are met. Social exclusion and isolation of female-headed households are parts of well being that the Keiyo Marakwet programme fails to capture in its intensity. The responsibility of including these households in the development process is shifted to women who are assumed to have the necessary skills to deal with social issues. Physical well being of women in the stress and exhaustion that women experience is well documented. The SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme views women as active contributors in the development process which makes well being an important issue in achieving making this contribution fair to all.

4.2.3 Participation

The gender practice has given women the opportunity to participate in the development process as seen in their participation in the PMCs which enables them to be part of the decision making process. When it comes to freedom, this is questionable as "women's involvement (*for example*) in the small scale industries is a culturally acceptable way for women to engage in income generating activities" (POPs 1999:6.6). This means that women do not have the freedom to engage in any activity, as they would wish as they are culturally constrained.

Participation in Keiyo Marakwet can be seen as empowerment of women in the power to level, which relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling. One response that I got from the interviews was the

"women are pushed to join the PMCs". This can be seen as oppressive participation where women have no choice but to attend the meetings and participate in committees. From R4, I learnt that women are expected by their husbands to attend the meetings and report back to them the proceedings of the day. That means that the family is represented in the committees. This does not take into account the other number of duties and chores that the woman has to carry out.

4.2.4 Freedom

To complete this cycle freedom is important to give women the power within which refers to self-confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how women can recognise how power operates in their lives through analysing their experience, and gain the confidence to act to influence and change this. In this power within category, the gender practice is lacking in the sense that the underlying issues that give legitimacy to what is culturally acceptable are not addressed.

The women then are empowered within a limited space already pre-defined by culture (read male). This does not challenge the power base and therefore gender equality becomes an intention. The intention is not enough as it can be equated with power over which is ultimately based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation and it requires vigilance to maintain usually inviting active or passive resistance. It is not a wonder then to see that in the problem tree there are family breakdowns, quarrelling in homes blamed largely on factors pertaining to cultural barriers. These cultural barriers although identified and recorded throughout the documents are not dealt with at least as indicated on paper.

4.2.5 Identity

The SNV/K SARDEP programme does not address the issue of identity of women. Identity comes with collective agency of women and men being able to make a change through building alliances and coalitions. Looking at it within the power with category which involves people organizing with a common purpose or understanding to achieve collective goals. To reach this level the 4 levels have to be dealt with because at this level gender equality can be achieved.

The programmes are initiated with the notion that women have free time and can engage in different activities. The economic productivity encouraged by SNV/K is good because women are empowered but a lot more needs to be done if gender equality and empowerment is to be achieved.

4.3 The Gender practice under WID Approaches

4.3.1 Welfare Approach

Under the welfare approach, the emphasis falls on meeting women's practical needs as recognized through their reproductive role. The gender practice in the SNV/K SARDEP programmes that fit into this can be grouped into three categories of water and sanitation, nutrition and family planning. In water and sanitation, women are involved in construction of water jars and ferro cement tanks, for storage purposes, making of energy saving stoves (for domestic use and income generating), and in sanitation with the hygienic disposal of rubbish. Some projects targeting nutrition are kitchen gardens and fish farming. Family planning is seen in terms of food shortages, the causes given for this problem being "large family sizes, limited knowledge in food/nutrition and increased food spoilage and wastage. The root causes of large family sizes were.....uncontrolled birth rate" (SPGD, 1999:7).

The SARDEP Keiyo and Marakwet programme has met women's survival needs and provided them with an income within their survival needs. "Because the collection of firewood is traditionally women's labour, the promotion of the stoves not only earns income for the group but also reduces both the overall demand for wood and the workload of local women". (K & M Experience, 1999:33) Moser observes that, the gender division of labour within the household gives women primary responsibility not only for domestic work involving child care, family health and food provision, but also for the community managing of housing and basic services, along with the capacity to earn an income through productive work" (Moser, 1995:40).

The welfare approach sees "women as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on their reproductive role" (Moser, 1995:56). Responses received from the interviews corroborated the perception of women in the project area. They are seen in

their traditional, serving, passive, mothers wives and productive roles (R2, R4). The advantage of these projects is that an attempt is made to improve the living standards and empower women.

The solution to family welfare is put in the hands of women, and the projects whether consciously or unconsciously, are designed to make women come out of the development process as better mothers and wives. This, as is standard of welfare programmes, does not challenge the existing gender power relations but re-inforces them. Therefore, they fall short in Keiyo and Marakwet districts of achieving gender equality. Women may be empowered to the extent that their practical gender needs are met for example 'they do not have to walk long distances to fetch water" (R3).

These programmes are designed to maintain and conserve the natural resources and hence the environment in the SNV/K programmes. This relationship with the environment has been seen as a woman's role and
"it is pointed out that women's work involves them heavily in the use and management of natural resources. As hewers of fuelwood, haulers of water and involved participants in agricultural production, women characteristically perform tasks which involve them in close daily interaction with the environment, and for which they are directly dependent on natural resources" (Leach, 1994:24).

Since the Keiyo Marakwet programme puts gender as a cross-cutting component, this overshadows the role of women in the management of natural resources "it might simply add 'environment' to the already long list of women's caring roles" (Leach, 1994:25) a factor that increases the workload of women and has been identified by SNV/K Programme.

Decision making tends to favour men in the natural resource management sector while women are said to have low participation, increased workload and limited know-how (SPGD, 1999:4). These are attributed to culture, limited education, population, politics to name but a few. Women in the programme area do not own land. "Even if a plot of land is not registered, a woman cannot lay claim to its ownership; her husband or father must own it-even if they live elsewhere" (Keiyo and

Marakwet experience, 1999) With no access to factors of production, women suffer from full participation and inclusion into the development process.

In earlier family planning projects some programmes "assumed that poverty could be reduced by simply limiting fertility, to be achieved through the widespread dissemination of contraceptive knowledge and technology to women" Moser, 1993:61) SNV/K Keiyo Marakwet, in justifying the implementation of mobile family planning units a top-down approach, for the reasons given of large families and inaccessibility to family planning services for rural women (SPGD, 1999:13) the project fails to take into account that "this lets men off the hook in terms of their responsibility for birth control, while increasingly placing the burden on women" (Moser, 1993:61).

On the same note the project does not recognise the link between women's autonomy over their own lives and leave women being treated in an instrumental manner in population control programmes. Due to the fact that fertility control is linked to food accessibility and adequacy, the structural issues that perpetuate food inadequacy in Keiyo Marakwet are ignored. Also not addressed is the meaning of large families in the two districts instead it has been problematized. "The assumption behind many of the ideas and recommendations remains that people, or rather poor people, "just breed on" unaware or unwilling to question the consequences for themselves and society". (Keysers, 1994:293) and women bear the brunt of family planning programmes without consideration of the fact that procreation involves both women and men. Dixon-Mueller suggests that policymakers could begin to think more creatively about how to transform the social organization of gender differences that currently supports sexual and reproductive double standards. (1993:279) to achieve gender equality the social responsibility of both men and women must be addressed and the target should not only focus on women.

Issues such as female genital mutilation, teenage pregnancies and early marriages are social issues seriously affecting women, the data did not give any indications of how they would be addressed towards empowering of women in their reproductive rights. However, they are seen as inhibiting factors in the context of education "cultural

values and traditions e.g. initiation rites" (SPE, 1999:5) which affect both male and female in the districts.

In the SNV/K Keiyo Marakwet programme, practical gender needs of women are met under the welfare approach. However, they fall short of fully empowering women or creating gender equality because they are not dealing with the issues that inhibit this process, and they are also not recognizing the potential of using them as entry point to further the women's agenda. The result is that a heavier burden is placed on women than on men, not only on their time but also on their well being.

4.3.2 The anti-poverty approach

This approach sees economic inequality between men and women to poverty. Women are seen as the poorest of the poor. Most of the problems identified in the economic development sector are great inequalities in terms of access and control of/over resources, gender division of labour, unequal participation in economic sector and male domination. "The anti-poverty approach to women focuses mainly on their productive role, on the basis that poverty alleviation and the promotion of balanced economic growth requires the increased productivity of women in low income households." (Moser, 1995:67)

Given this scenario, SNV/K has established various small-scale enterprises and income-generating activities for women. These overlap with the welfare approach because they are centred on the reproductive roles of women. Therefore energy saving stoves, fruit processing, poultry and dairy keeping are some examples of the projects initiated.

The approach also targets "broken families and female headed households, who have little resilience to famine if the harvest is below average" (POPs, 1999:5.2) Apparently these families sell food or labour to pay for school fees leading to food shortages and poverty in these households. These 'poorest-of-the-poorest' (Ibid) are the responsibility of the women who take the burden in their women's network to identify these households 'as women share their miseries more easily than men' (Ibid). Women's community management role is exploited in this context under the

assumption that women can solve the societal issues that arise but "the fact that a household is female-headed cannot be regarded as if it were synonymous with gender vulnerability and poverty, for which it is very often taken as a proxy" (Jackson et al: 1996 quoted in Miller & Ravazi, 1998:33).

Homogenizing of women in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme conceals the fact that among others, polygamy and migration play a big role in creating female-headed households situation. Being polygamous or a migratory household does not make it poor because some families receive out migration remittance and cannot be generalized as female-headed households, and therefore poor and miserable. This in no way attempts to say that there are no female headed households that are not poor. But these households suffer more because the social structure in the districts amplifies their situation by their social exclusionary attitude to female-headed households. "These households are often socially isolated and least likely to respond spontaneously to SARDEP's invitation to come up with project proposals" (POPs: 1999:5.3).

Contrary to the nature of anti-poverty programmes which tend to remain small in scale, one of the SNV/K small-scale enterprises have expanded as witnessed in the Mala Plant[26]. This project was rated as the most positive of the gender practices that SNV has had so far, as it was a fully fledged women's success programme with women's involvement in management/decision-making positions. However, the contradiction is that men are still dominating in the board of the Mala Plant and usurping the management. An example given was that during "official functions, the men took overseeing role and making the introductions and speeches" (R1: 09/2000) also because "at the first indication of success, income generating projects targeting women being usurped by men" (Meertens, 1991:62). This project has economically empowered the women and through their participation it is assumed that "after some time the women gain confidence and now claim ownership to the project" (R2: 08/2000).

[26] Initiative of local women's zero grazing groups making buttermilk, packaging and selling it.

As identified in the Keiyo Marakwet programme, women's productive participation is culturally acceptable. Moser has argued that income-generating activities assume that women have 'free time' often succeed by extending their working day and increasing their triple burden. (1993:69) Women in Keiyo Marakwet 'wake up at five in the morning and go to bed at eleven in the night" (R3: 10/2000) which leaves women overburdened and stressed out.

The gender practice in SNV/K in Keiyo Marakwet leaves the power set-up unchallenged through their anti-poverty approach. Achieving strategic gender needs becomes a challenge although, it is clear from the people interviewed that male domination affects the way the programme is implemented, but the design of the projects does not seek to challenge that. SNV/K fears that directly initiating women projects "might destabilize the social structure and also to avoid resistance from the community. It is difficult to initiate projects because the organization has to gain respect from their partners (read men-my emphasis) (R1, 09/2000).

R4 explained that power politics in the development arena in the districts are very important. Politicians in the area use politics of 'tokenism' of introducing development organisations or NGOs in the area. This ensures them a vote or popular support during their campaigns and the NGOs have to get 'rubberstamped' to earn the approval and acceptance of the community they intend to work with. (R4: 10/2000).

It would then be correct to say that the anti-poverty approach works well within the confines of the male. The women and the projects initiated towards women are seen through the male gaze and the whole development process is then male biased. In failing to tackle the male bias in the development process the projects do not achieve the desired gender equality and they become one-dimensional serving the interests of one gender.

4.3.3 Efficiency approach:

The efficiency approach is by far the most popular in the SNV/K programme. Efficiency is emphasized in the SNV programmes from the outset. The process planning of SNV in its four phases puts emphasis on the experimental phase where

"the efficacy of the intervention is the most important criterion", and on the development phase where "the objective is to increase the efficiency of the intervention". (A Process Approach, 1997:8).

In SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet, "agriculture and livestock are the main economic sectors within the districts, and they constitute the main arena in which women's strategic needs will be addressed. The methodologies used in the development and dissemination of such technologies will carry a specific bias towards the needs of women, the potential to increase their productivity and their capacity to acquire and independently utilize such technologies." (Project Proposal, 1999:29). The bias is on who are considered to be 'the farmer and livestock owner' in the districts. As quoted elsewhere in the paper, women cannot own or inherit land. Women in the district do not actually have the power to sell anything without consulting with their husbands, brothers or uncles (R4: 10/2000).

I agree with SNV/K in stating that these two sectors are the main economic sectors but I would like to look at the dynamics involved. "Women, by virtue of their position as lineage wives and daughters, are entitled to use land for agricultural purposes from which they are expected to feed themselves, their children, their spouses and the extended family." (Okeyo, 1980:37) Without land and livestock to call their own women are at a greater economic disadvantage. As seen elsewhere, women specific income generating activities are 'expected' to counter this disparity. The efficiency approach assumes 'that issues of equity would be resolved as overall growth occurred" (Chowdhry, 1995:33). Bearing this in mind the poor economic performance or productivity of women is seen to be influenced by socio-cultural factors, low level of education or none, political set-up, environment, mobility, culture and religion.

The efficiency approach relies heavily on the elasticity of women's labour in both their reproductive and community managing roles (Moser, 1995:73) In the SARDEP programme women are expected to participate in the project management committees, engage in the small scale enterprises and income generating activities as well as carry out their daily chores. Informed by my experience of rural Kenya, this

leaves women trying to juggle with all the activities that have to be done in a day. This requires women to call on their children and especially girls, to make that happen compromising the age and health of the girls and their chance to be young. Most of this work is back-breaking for instance carrying stacks of firewood or water on their back, or fodder for the animals. Although the practical gender needs are met the initiative can fail to meet the strategic gender needs and become counter productive.

Through the SNV/K efficiency approach women are economically empowered. On the other hand, economically empowering women is seen within what is culturally acceptable to men in the Keiyo and Marakwet districts. Notwithstanding this, women who are economically empowered are 'judged by the society to be going out of their prescribed gender roles. "The more a woman has, the more she becomes strong-headed; answering back their husbands (women are not supposed to say contradict or oppose anything their husbands say) done and this is used against other women to discourage other women to become involved so that they do not get lost" (R4: 10/2000). Emerging gender identities are seen, as a result of women's economic empowerment. Meertens observes that often, men's reaction to their threatened economic superiority is a tighter control over women's contribution to the household's economy. (1991:62)

Identified in the problem trees[27] (see annexes) are detrimental issues that are not addressed by the gender practice, such as alcoholism for both men and women, family break-ups, and domestic violence. At the top of the problem tree for water, housing and environment is limited productivity of women and the objective tree has increased productivity of women at the top. As long as women's involvement in productive activities does not challenge the structural subordinate status of women, and hence exploitation, then it becomes acceptable. Ghvamshahidi argues that in Societies where patriarchy strongly regulates familial and social relationships and attributes little or no value to women's productive roles, women become socio-economically subordinate to men. (1995:138)

Women enter the economic field with unequal perspectives like literacy, access to information, mobility/contact with external world. The business training emphasised by the SARDEP programme are simple courses but they do not go far enough in giving women the necessary skills. The reason being that they already have a low level of literacy whereas the business training are specialised.
One respondent at the interview emphasized on the need for education in the scope of economic development "People fail to take control if they do not have education. Women are being given literacy lessons during their free time usually in the evening" In this context, I see the free time in a relative sense since women are engaged in domestic work in the evenings.

Economic stress in Kenya has been very high in recent years leading to more people depending on the rural areas for survival and as a safety net. This has not only increased the burden on women who have now to deal with extra mouths to feed but have to expend not only their already limited budgets but their time to try and earn an extra income. In SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet districts the economic stress felt in the country, means that the out-migration remittances will no longer be available and this responsibility has to be taken up and usually the women are compelled to do so.

The SNV/K programme has made efforts towards strategies aimed at enhancing the marketing opportunities for agricultural and livestock products. "One opportunity that will be looked into are markets abroad, making good use of the presence of an International Airport in Eldoret a city which is about 40 km from Iten the administrative headquarters of Keiyo district. Fair trade organizations will be approached to become partners in this exercise" (POPs, 1999:6.6). Women's equal participation in the economic development is hindered by women's constrained mobility, language barrier, cultural constraints and literacy. Men are more likely to benefit than women in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme. "Some women were not allowed to go to other districts. Fear of what women could do when they are not in the eyes of the men" (R3:10/2000) Keiyo and Marakwet Districts are far from Eldoret and the marketing initiative would require women to get authority from their

[27] Problem trees are part of the Logical Framework. Logframes are primarily a project design tool used to summarize agreements by project stakeholders about project design after needs assessments,

husbands or male relatives.

The approaches of welfare, anti-poverty and efficiency have been analyzed within the context of SNV/K gender practice, taking empowerment and equity as the bottom line. These approaches have one thing in common and that is they are popular with donor organisations, multi-lateral organisations and NGOs. They are non-challenging and address women's practical needs. They come close to addressing and dealing with strategic needs but always stop short of doing it and this has been found to be the case in the SNV/K programmes.

4.4 Female Time Poverty:

As mentioned elsewhere in the paper, female time poverty refers to the shortage of time experienced by women. Shortage of time leads to female time poverty, which can be seen in absolute or relative terms to men and comes as a consequence of male bias in the development process (I.van Staveren, lecture notes 2000).

The data analysis showed that SNV/K has acknowledged that women in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme have heavy workload. Heavy workload in the programmes can be seen in the context of the various unpaid activities that women perform. Childcare, domestic work, fetching firewood, water, taking care of the sick and disabled and the subsistence production that women do, imply that women's labour is utilized while women pay opportunity costs and make use of scarce resources such as time, natural resources, effort. Narayan, Chambers et al, observe that " the increasing burdens of their expanded roles are driving many women deeper and deeper into physical exhaustion. These burdens also expose them to 'time poverty' meaning that they have little or no time to rest, reflect, enjoy social life, take part in community activities, or spend time in spiritual activities" (2000:34). Data analysis showed that the excessive workload, stress, tiredness are experienced by women in Keiyo and Marakwet. However, the magnitude or the implications seem to have been overlooked because it is looked at in terms of women's productivity (see annexes and 4 problem/objective tree). To be taken into consideration is that women's

problem definition, or market analysis (Sartorius, 1991:139).

productivity is invested in their bodies. "Their body is their main or only asset. It is uninsured" (Narayan, Chambers et al, 2000:34)

Women in Keiyo and Marakwet are caught up in a web of powerlessness and vulnerability brought about by the patriarchal structure, which is re-inforced through male-bias in the development process. The PGA recommends that "SNV-K develop its gender policy" (May-June 2000:6) but only a policy that takes into account the magnitude of female time poverty can be the basis for gender equality in SNV/K programmes. The gender practice is done with no bad intentions of increasing the workload of women but the end result is female time poverty.

Chapter FIVE

Moving the Intentions Forward

5.0 Introduction

Chapter five summarizes the activities and conclusions of this paper. Section 5.1 summarizes the findings and conclusions based upon the reflections made on the gender policy and practice of SNV/K. Section 5.2 reflects on the concepts of gender, equality and empowerment of women while making propositions based on the findings of the study.

5.1 Conclusion

This study set out to describe, analyze and reflect on the gender policy and practice of SNV/K in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme. The notions of equality and empowerment which are key in the gender practice of SNV/K were reflected upon using the welfare, anti-poverty and empowerment approaches and the concepts defined. This was done using a gender and development perspective which brought out the key limitation to the SNV/K gender practice. Power is the main challenge that the organisation faces and is not able to 'put the finger on gender'. Power structures remain intact and therefore unchallenged. The policy describes the concept of gender but does not use it as a unit of analysis towards tackling power relations in the programme. Gender equality and the empowerment of women is therefore an area that SNV still has to work on because the level the organisation intends has not yet been realised.

In summarizing the findings, the study finds that the root of the problem lies in gender as a concept. Gender was found to be confusing both in the SNV/K policy and practice. The confusion has led it be imposed on the projects due to donor pressure and through misconception within the organisation and hence in the implementation. The policy describes the concept but does not give space for gender as a unit of

analysis, for the good intentions to be translated to reality. This confusion leads to the adoption of the development policy approach of WID. WID approaches are not very clear in themselves. The intention of SNV/K is the implementation of a gender practice that brings gender equality and empowerment of women but the practice in welfare; anti-poverty and efficiency appear contrary to this intention. The practice meets the survival needs of women but does not go out of its way to transform the existing power structure.

The power structure is culturally reinforced in the patriarchal relationships. The policy documents describe many times over that power relations create inequality but there are no projects working specifically towards challenging the base of inequality in the two districts. As the pattern of the practice revealed SNV/K works within the existing social structure, expecting that the communities will effect the necessary changes and transform themselves. The domineering and subordinating nature of patriarchy does not give room to deal with the challenge from a distance and it has to be confronted if equality is to achieved. Male bias in the development process will not benefit the beneficiaries in the long run. The institutionalized male bias means that women's gains in equality and empowerment will be gradually thwarted.

Female time poverty then becomes of great consequence in the SARDEP Keiyo Marakwet programme. The gender division of labour is rooted in the culture of the Keiyo's and the Marakwet's but it can be challenged and has been challenged. The data revealed that time poverty has existed for a long time and is well documented in the reports. So when women are assumed to be gaining on one side for example in participation in the PMCs, they are losing on the other side because their workload increases and they have shorter time for themselves. Coupled with the fact that women's identity is conceptualized around the male gaze participation and contribution to the development is seen in the same way. Therefore patriarchy is a force that has to be tackled in Keiyo and Marakwet districts.

SNV/K has good gender intentions, good instruments and mechanisms to move the intentions forward. However, the intentions are not enough and the instruments and mechanisms are not useful if they do not transform the gender inequality in SARDEP

Keiyo Marakwet. Having said this, I propose a framework on gender, equality and empowerment of women, that will be useful for SNV/K to further reflect on their gender practice and to come up with a gender policy that "will not simply seek to channel resources to women within the existing framework, but may require men to give up certain privileges and take on certain responsibilities in order to achieve greater equity in development outcomes" (Kabeer, 1994:81)

5.2 Reflections on Gender, Equality and Empowerment of Women

Holzner (2000) observes that views on gender, depends on the understanding of gender whether its potential for analysis transformation is used; a poor focus on roles without addressing relations and structures of power has a de-politicizing effect -and makes gender acceptable to everyone (Unpublished lecture notes November 2000)

Gender can be seen in a descriptive or prescriptive manner. On one level gender can be seen as a separative horizontal where men and women are on the same level and the status quo is maintained. The interaction is a distant exchange but the power relations are not clearly evident. The separative vertical level is a hierarchical level with one group dominating the other. Patriarchal systems fall under this level and public institutions (family, religion, school, media, state) are used to re-inforce the vertical structure. The prescriptive levels are transitive and multi-level. On the transitive level there is a flow of exchange and interaction where the relations overlap for the general benefit of all the people. This level has a high transformative potential. The multi-level accommodates various identities of male and female which are inter twined to give a whole, thus bearing the greatest transformative potential.

For SNV/K it is not clear at what category gender is viewed. By identifying at what category the organisation views gender, SNV/K will be in a better position to know whether the view they hold has a transformative potential or a de-politicizing effect. The scope of this paper is limited to a desk study that does not give me the time or space to identify the category and for it to be most useful, it would require a field level study. The perception, attitudes and knowledge of the Keiyo and Marakwet on the concept of gender, would provide a much-required step towards initiating dialogue

on the social structure. El-Bushra argues that gender "being a highly specialised word, is poorly understood by the average English-speaker, and few words exist for it in other languages" (2000:56). A study on the time spent (time-use) by women in Keiyo and Marakwet to do the various chores is necessary for policy implications on female time poverty, and gender equality. SNV/K has a strong background in gender instruments and mechanisms as well as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools that can be used to achieve such a study. This would require a willingness and commitment from the management and a budget allocated for gender study and research at the field level (Keiyo and Marakwet Districts).

Turning my attention to gender equality and empowerment of women, I propose Longwe's framework on women's equality and empowerment that has been detailed elsewhere in the paper. The framework is of importance within the SNV/K programmes because it addresses different dimensions of equality and empowerment and is not restricted to economic empowerment of women. It is also a framework that would allow SNV/K to have a yardstick to take into account given the main reflections of this study in chapter four.

At the moment the gender practice of SNV/K appears to be at the welfare level with minimal presence in the levels of access, conscientisation and participation. The control level has not been reached yet. Taking the wider Kenyan context of the debate on the Equality Bill, I see the Bill having an impact on the way gender practice will be conducted in the country. It will be of help for SNV/K to have already defined their view on gender to be able to benefit from Longwe's framework. Patriarchy is a challenge that SNV/K and the wider Kenya will have to confront if gender equality is to be achieved. This confrontation can be through building strategic alliances with men and structures that perpetuate the re-inforcement of patriarchy in Kenya. Women's ability to negotiate and bargain with patriarchy could be greatly enhanced.

SNV/K is already in an advantageous position through their operating mandate of capacity building of local organisations. This is a key leverage position from where the organisation can initiate and influence change. I say this from the perspective of

SNV/K as a development organisation that is an agent of social change and is committed to gender equality and the empowerment of women.

The above cannot happen without a country gender policy that is specific to Kenya. This is taking into consideration that what is termed as equality in the policies designed and formulated in The Hague might not be applicable to the Kenyan context and cannot be tailored made to fit into a mould. This would not move the intentions of SNV forward from rhetoric to reality.

This section does not in any way attempt to claim to have all the answers and solutions but hopes to initiate dialogue on the concepts of gender, equality and empowerment of women, and how the development policies are impacting on women in relation to the intended goals and objectives, as the key towards a gender policy and practice that ensures gender equality and the empowerment of women.

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ANNEXES

List of Annexes

1. Interview Questions
2. SARDEP Project Appraisal Form (sample)
3. Problem Tree for Water, Housing and Environment
4. Objective Tree for Water, Housing and Environment

SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONS USED DURING THE INTERVIEWS

How does SNV Kenya conceptualize women in the field level?

Does SNV Kenya have a specific gender policy and how is the policy formulated and by whom?

How is the gender policy operationalized in the field?

Are there any examples (a) a positive practice and (b) a negative practice where the gender policy worked and why?

If you would assess the policy would you think it is consistent with the practice?

What is unique or special about the SNV gender policy and practice?

One of the main goals of SNV Kenya is "to contribute to the sustainable reduction in poverty while conserving the natural resource base and enhancing the overall gender equality". How does the SNV link their gender policy to structural poverty alleviation? How far is SNV Kenya autonomous from the Dutch Embassy in Nairobi?

semi arid rural development programme

Project Appraisal Form for Income Generating Projects

SARDEP

Keiyo & Marakwet

Project name:.....

Transect: ..... **Division:** .....

Location:..... **Sub-location**.....

Total score..... **Ranking**.....

Is this a project that has started already with SARDEP support? Yes/No

Observations .....

.....

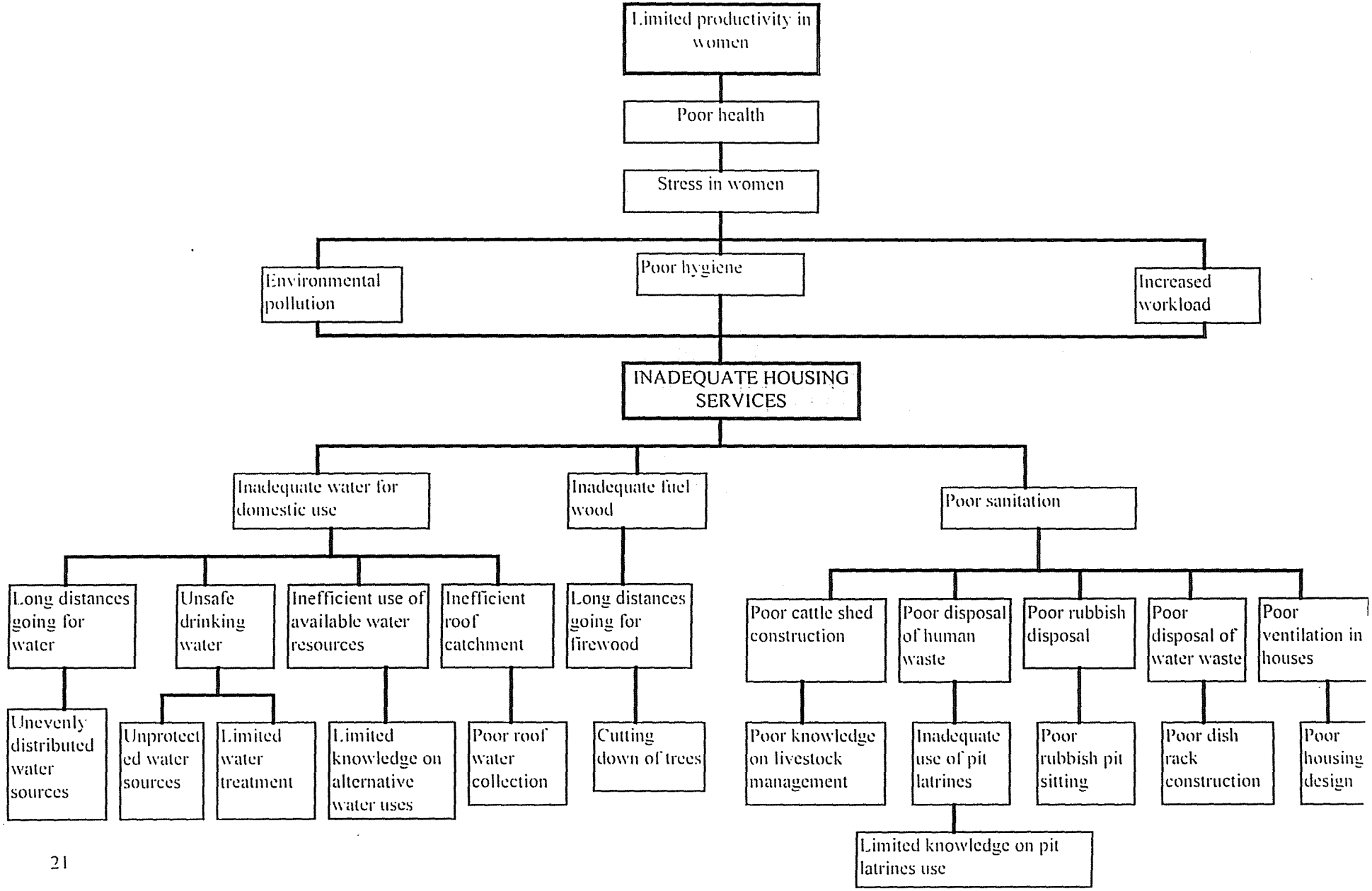
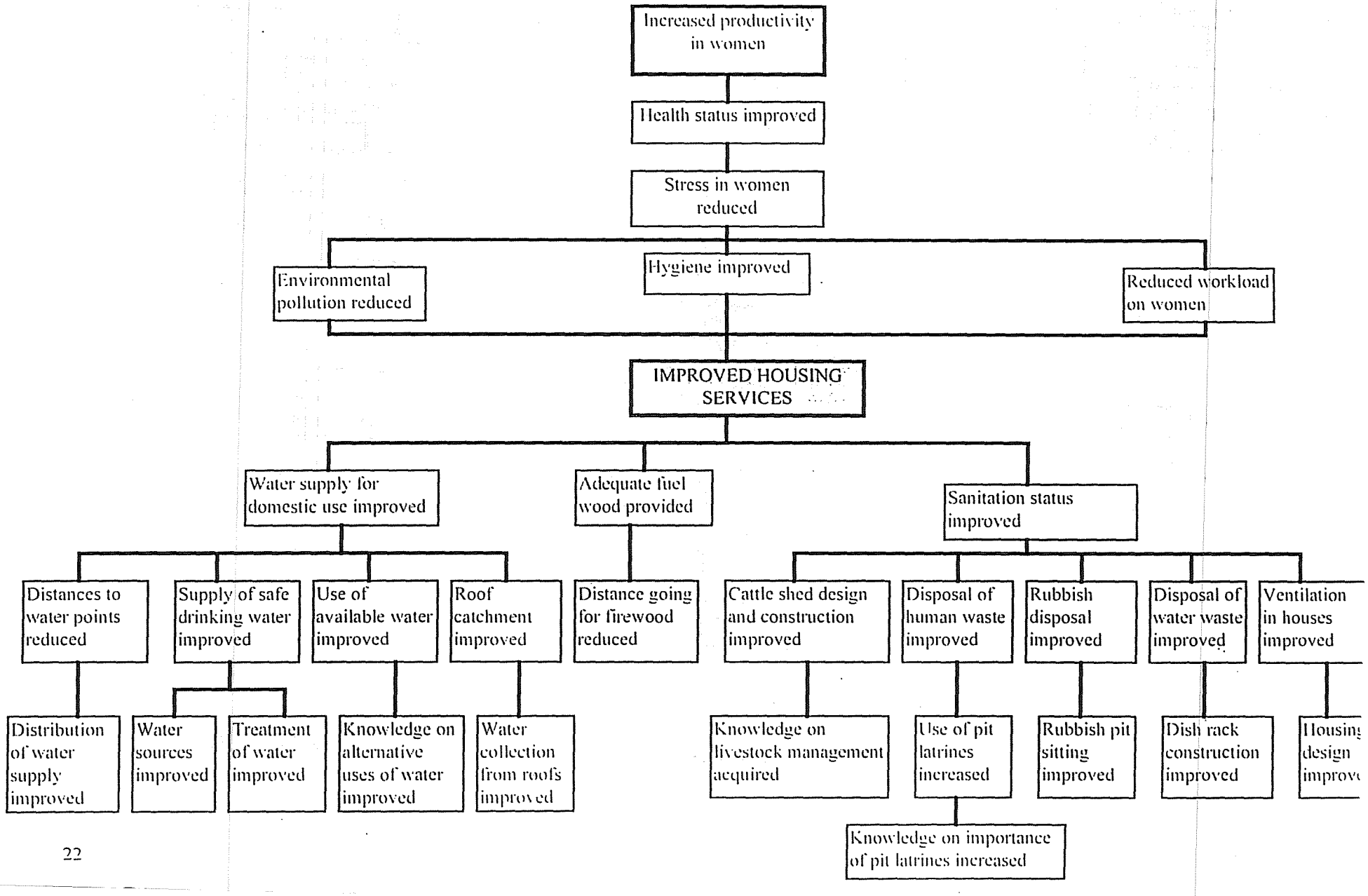
.....

.....

Instructions for filling the appraisal form

- As a general rule, if a certain piece of information is missing, do not fill that item
- Item 2. If the number of male/female members is not filled, assume that female members constitute less than 40% of the membership
- Item 3. If the chair person, treasurer and secretary are all men, assume that the female members are less than 40% of the PMC membership
- Item 6. This item refers to the total SARDEP investment per member regarding for the project from start to finish. Since some projects take 2, 3 years or more this information is often not provided in the project form. In that case, make a calculated guess after consultation with the TCs and TAC
- Item 8. Percentage of community contribution refers to the % community contribution in 2000 only (and not for the whole project from start to finish)

Appendix 5a: Problem Tree for Water, Housing and Environment



Appendix 5b: Objective Tree for Water, Housing and Environment