



2010:2

UTV Working Paper

Charlotte Örnemark
Pauline Nyamweya

Gender Equality in Swedish Development Cooperation

Annex V: Kenya Country Report

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Sida

The consultants Charlotte Örnemark (Partner, Nordic Consulting Group – NCG) and Pauline Nyamweya (Associate partner, IntermediaNCG) would like to thank the staff of the Swedish Embassy in Nairobi who contributed to this process – in particular Annika Nordin Jayawardena and Josephine Mwangi, as well as the programme officers for the programmes reviewed, Alex Tameno and John Ndritu – for generously making themselves available and contributing with personal insights, reflections and background documentation.

The team would also like to thank other key informants (see Annex 1) who contributed with their time and insights, as well as implementing partners who accommodated the team during rural site-visits and who provided useful information on the day-to-day management of programmes.

Finally, the team is most grateful to those women and men, as well as their local representatives, who shared their views and personal stories during focus group discussions in the communities visited.

Authors: Charlotte Örnemark, Pauline Nyamweya.

The views and interpretations expressed in this report are those of the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida.

UTV Working Paper 2010:2

Published by: Sida, 2010

Department: for Policy, Team for Gender Equality in collaboration with Secretariat for Evaluation.

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Date of final report: February 2010

Printed by: Edita, 2010

Art.no.: SIDA61261en

URN:NBN: se-2010-19

ISSN 1401-0402

This publication can be downloaded/ordered from www.sida.se/publications

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List of Abbreviations

AWC	African Woman and Child Feature Service
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
GoK	Government of Kenya
GJLOS	Governance, Justice, Law and Order Sector
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
KERRA	Kenya Rural Roads Authority
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
KIHBT	Kenya Institute of Highways and Building Technology
KTC	Kenya Training Centre
MANIAC	Mainstreaming in Action
MoPND	Ministry of Planning and National Development
NALEP	National Agriculture Livestock and Extension Programme
RBM	Results-based management
RAPP	Rich and Poor Project
SID	Society for International Development
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency

1 Introduction

This country note is an extension of a first mapping of gender approaches across Sida's Kenya country programme undertaken in August–September 2009 and summarized in the Phase I report for this evaluation. Some of the issues raised in that mapping were further tested and discussed during the Phase II institutional survey of Sida practices and lessons for gender mainstreaming.

Based on findings from Phase I and Phase II, and in consultation with the Sida reference group for this evaluation, one large bilateral programme (Nyanza Roads 2000) and one small Embassy special project (the Rich and Poor Project) were selected for more in-depth study during the field work in Phase III. This was done in order to identify examples of good practice and lessons from different approaches to mainstreaming gender equality. The programmes were selected based on a number of pre-defined criteria in order to get a wide spread of lessons and practices recorded between the two focus countries for this evaluation (Kenya and Ethiopia), and do not necessarily represent the 'best' country cases for gender mainstreaming.

This country note focuses largely on the findings from the cases studies selected for Phase III, with reference to some issues raised in earlier phases. Field work took place between October 26 and November 6, 2009 and covered interviews with implementers, Swedish Embassy staff and site visits in three districts in Nyanza to interview labourers, contractors and community members around the roads programme (see Annex 1).

Overall, the lack of gender segregated baseline data was a limiting factor, or the lack of follow-up on such data through regular monitoring in the cases where it existed. A particular challenge in relation to RAPP, which ended in 2007, was to get hold of relevant interviewees as many of the influential 'drivers of change' in civil society and in government shifted after the elections¹. The recent elections and the post-electoral violence that erupted in its aftermath also seem to have changed key informants' perceptions somewhat to earlier assessments of RAPP which were less critical regarding the

1 Elections were held on Dec. 27th, 2007.

political risks involved. However, it goes beyond the scope of this evaluation to determine the true cause for this change in perceptions and to what extent it can be linked to the project.

2 Country Context

The Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) undertaken in 2006 found that there are slightly more females than males in Kenya, with the former constituting 50.5% of the total population. Poverty in Kenya also has gender dimensions, and although the overall poverty incidence declined from 56% in 2000 to about 47% in 2005/06, the poverty headcount was higher among women in both rural (50% as compared to 48.8% among the males) and urban (46% as compared to 30% among the males) areas.

However, despite the fact that females constitute 51% of the population, they constitute 8% of Members in National Assembly; 6% of Ministers; 13% of Assistant Ministers; 0% of Provincial Commissioners; 3% of District Commissioners; 21% of Permanent Secretaries; and 28% of Ambassadors and High Commissioners. There is no female judge in the Court of Appeal, which is the highest court in Kenya and 27% of High Court Judges are women. Although the participation of women in modern sector wage employment has risen since independence from 12.2% in 1964, 29% in 1999 to 30.3% in 2006, there are gender disparities in levels of participation. For example, in job groups U, T, S, R, Q which are the top most levels in the public service, there is 84% male representation against 16% female representation. At the bottom, most job groups i.e. A,B,C,D,E,F have a 74% female representation and 26% male representation².

These glaring gender disparities in major decision making institutions can be attributed to various factors:

- i) negative stereotypes and socio-cultural attitudes reinforced with strong patriarchal family systems that work against women,
- ii) lack of societal capacity to accommodate and appreciate women in leadership positions,
- iii) limited financial base of women to sustain competitive campaigns
- iv) physical and emotional intimidation threatening personal security of women in leadership positions,

2 Source: National Commission on Gender and Development, Strategic Plan 2008–2012, October 2009, p.14

- v) low education levels among majority of women, and
- vi) lack of interest in political issues among most women.

Although Kenya has committed to gender equality through international law and is party to many key international conventions on the status of women including the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), this has not translated into domestic law. Though under section 82 (1) the Constitution of Kenya (the supreme law of the land) outlaws any form of discrimination, subsection (4) of the same section legitimises the application of personal law in matters of marriage, divorce, burial and devolution of property among others. Personal law is the area of law where women most experience discrimination as customary law, which is founded on social, cultural and traditional practices and norms, applies to deny women various opportunities to effectively participate in production systems. Most Kenyan cultures still regard the place of a woman as being in the kitchen and raising children as part of the reproductive role.

This kind of socialisation makes it hard for many men to fathom the idea that they can share the same platform with a woman. Consequently, women are locked out of political representation and hence locking them out of participation in decision making forums. Moreover, some traditional practices governing land and livestock ownership, access and control over land, and benefits accruing to land produce tend to favour men compared to women. This to a large extent disadvantages women in accessing credit especially when collateral is required. In 2004 only 1% of land titles in Kenya were held by women and 5–6% was owned jointly³.

The national HIV & AIDS prevalence is 5.1% and is higher among females (6.7%) compared to males (3.5%). To a larger extent, women are more susceptible than men to infections in any given heterosexual encounter due to physiological reasons and gender norms in many communities allow men to have more than one sexual partner which exposes women to more risks of infection. Gender based violence in many communities also prevent women from negotiating safer sex. The preliminary results of the 2008/2009 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) indicate that domestic violence is still prevalent in Kenyan society with 39% women reporting hav-

3 See Institute of Economic Affairs, **Profile of Women's Socio-Economic Status in Kenya**, June 2008

ing ever been physically or sexually assaulted by their husbands or partners during their lifetime. In one year (April 2007–March 2008) the Gender Violence Recovery Centre based at the Nairobi’s Women Hospital recorded a total of 2,750 survivors of sexual and domestic violence⁴. Sexual and gender based violence was one of the traumatising human rights violations that occurred during the post-election violence in 2007–2008. Women and girls were subjected to rape, gang rapes, sexual assaults and sodomy as a way of punishment by warring ethnic communities.

There have been policy developments and enactment of key legislation has been undertaken in the recent past geared at gender equality and protection. Kenya’s development blueprint (Vision 2030) recognises that women have been disempowered at the household, community and national levels; are disadvantaged in accessing labour markets and productive resources; are under-represented in social and political leadership and that the capabilities of women have also not been developed to full potential due to limited access to capital, education, training and health care. Vision 2030 proposes to mainstream gender equity in all aspects of society by making fundamental changes in four key areas, namely: opportunity; empowerment; capabilities; and vulnerabilities as follows:

The two flagship projects in Vision 2030 are to increase funds and training available to women entrepreneurs; and increase women representation at the executive level in all branches of Government and the private sector. To support the implementation of the above-mentioned flagship projects, the Government will pursue two initiatives:

- Gender mainstreaming in Government policies, plans, budgets and programmes; and
- Affirmative action for 30 per cent representation of women at all decision making levels.

The Kenyan government has institutionalized its commitment to addressing gender inequalities by creating a National Commission on Gender and Development and a Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services in 2004, as well as initiating Gender Desks in various ministries. There is also a Presidential Decree of 30% affirmative action in terms of formal appointees to public posts and

4 Fida Kenya, “Advertisers Announcement on 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence Campaign”, The Standard, November 24, 2009

a Women Enterprise and Development Fund has been established as an initiative towards reducing poverty through economic empowerment of women. Key legislation passed includes the passing of the Gender and National Development Act and Sexual Offences Act. The Harmonized Draft Constitution which is to be subjected to a referendum in early 2010 also has extensive provisions on women's rights.

Vision for 2030 Men and women enjoying a high quality of life and equal opportunities			
Strategic thrusts			
	Opportunity and empowerment	Capabilities	Vulnerabilities
Goals for 2012	• Increase estimated earned incomes (purchasing power parity) of Kenyan men & women from \$1,242 and \$1,037 respectively to \$3,000 for both men and women; • Increase proportion of women in Parliament from 7% to 30% and implement 30% representation in recruitment, promotion & appointment of women at all decision-making levels; • Decrease from 50% - 38% the proportion of people traveling more than 5Km to the nearest social amenities	• Reduce infant mortality rates and under five mortality rates as per the targets identified in the health sector; • Increase level of access to family planning methods from 39% - 70%; • Double number of births attended by skilled health personnel from 42% - 84%; • Increase adult literacy rates of men and women as per the targets identified in the education sector, and employ additional	• Reduce gender-based violence; Reduce the rate of high-risk sex through increased access to safe sex methods (e.g. use of condoms for men and women from 47% and 25% respectively to 70%); • Reduce the population below poverty line for men and women from 48% and 50% respectively in rural areas and from 30% and 46% respectively in urban areas to 25% for all
Strategies	• Increase employment opportunities • Implement affirmative action • Increase social amenities and improve quality of services	• Improve access to healthcare • Train more nurses, doctors and community health workers • Expand adult literacy programmes	• Increase the capacity of the Police to handle cases of violence against women • Eliminate retrogressive cultural practices (e.g. FGM)
Cross cutting issues	Operationalise gender divisions in all ministries		
	Domesticate, implement and enforce all international resolutions related to women, the youth and vulnerable groups		
	Generate gender disaggregated data for all socio-economic indicators and conduct a national baseline survey		
	Build capacity of government technocrats on gender mainstreaming		
	Affirmative action to achieve 30% representation in all decision-making processes		

Source: Government of Kenya, Kenya Vision 2030:
A Globally Competitive and Prosperous Kenya, October 2007, p.137

3 Sida Country Program

Swedish development cooperation in Kenya for the 2004–2008 strategy period had the primary objective of poverty reduction, with a focus on four pillars:

- Pro-poor growth;
- Social development;
- Sustainable management of environmental resources; and
- Democratic governance.

Democratic governance and human rights, gender equality and popular participation in decision making are a specific requirement in all the focus areas. Sida's implementation strategy in this regard is three-fold:

- 1 Dialogue at all levels - political and within programmes,
- 2 Mainstreaming democracy and human rights concerns in all programmes, and
- 3 Direct support for measures promoting democratic governance with the aim of strengthening access by the poor to their rights and promoting needed reforms⁵.

Sida's focus was informed by pro-poor and power analyses⁶ which found that lack of democratic governance is the root cause of poverty in Kenya and an obstacle to sustainable equitable growth and social development. The analyses concluded that improving governance and strengthening the democratic culture in Kenya was crucial, large scale investment in physical infrastructure and social services which is sustainable from an environmental standpoint was urgently needed, and efforts were needed to reduce the glaring socio-economic disparities between regions, and between men and women, and to allow poor young people greater participation in the decision-making processes.

5 See The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, **Country Strategy for Development Cooperation: Kenya – January 2004–December 2008**, Government Offices of Sweden, Stockholm;

6 Betty Maina et al, **An Analysis of Power in Kenya and Implications for Pro-Poor Policy and Swedish Support to Kenya**, 2003; and Susanna Lundström and Per Ronnås, **An Integrated Economic Analysis for Pro-poor Growth in Kenya**, Country Economic Report 2005:8, Sida October 2005

Sida provided support to the following programmes during the evaluation period: In the focus area of pro-poor growth support was provided to the National Agriculture and Livestock Extension Programme I & II; the Nyanza Roads 2000 Programme; the Public Sector Reform Programme; the Public Finance Management including support to the Integrated Financial Management Information System (IFMIS). In the social development focus area the Health, HIV/AIDS, and Water and Sanitation Programmes were supported; while the Environment programme is the flag-ship in Sida's support in the focus area of sustainable management of natural resources. The Integrated Land and Urban Sector Programme and the Democracy, Human Rights and Good Governance Programme were the programmes supported in democratic governance. The Democracy, Human Rights and Good Governance Programme has three distinct parts: support to the Governance Justice Law and Order Sector Programme, support civil society organizations working in human, women and children's rights (through partnership with UNDP, UNIFEM and UNICEF and bilateral support), and support to civil society organizations working in civic education through support to the National Civic Education Programme (NCEP II). (See Annex I for the Programmes' Objectives)

The agreed budgetary allocations for the programmes were as follows:

Table: Indicative Programme Budgetary Allocations

Programme	Agreement Date/Period	MSEK
National Agriculture and Livestock Extension Programme II	2006	49
Nyanza Roads 2000 Programme	2005–2008	130
Environment Programme	2006–2011	85
Water and Sanitation Programme	2005–2009	190
Integrated Land and Urban Sector Programme	2004–2008	48.5
Health	2006–2007 (Bridging phase)	13.9
HIV/AIDS Programme	2004–2009	48
Public Sector Reform Programme,	2006–2008	40
Public Finance Management Programme	2006–2008/9	100 US \$
IFMIS	2006–2008	22

Programme	Agreement Date/Period	MSEK
Democracy, Human Rights and Good Governance Programme		
(a) GJLOS	2004–2009	127
(b) Support to CSOs	2004–2007	164

Source: Embassy of Sweden Kenya, Sida Country Report 2006: Kenya, 2007, Report for the Mid-Term Review of the Swedish Country Strategy 2004–2008 for Development Cooperation with Kenya, 2006

Sida support has been through various two main modalities: sector support (GJLOS. Health, Water, Environment, and Land Programmes), and through bilateral programme/project funding (Roads, HIV/AIDS, Urban Development and NALEP programmes and support to some CSOs). A majority of Sida's assistance is channelled through government structures, and Sida also contributes to donor basket funds in GJLOS, part of NALEP, Public Service Reform, Public Finance Management Programme and support to CSOs. No budget support is currently provided by Sida. An assessment of the government financial control system noted significant risks associated with budget support and also concluded that the political will to curb corruption is not sufficiently strong to consider this type of support.

3.1 OVERALL GENDER APPROACH

Sida's overall conclusion is that gender equality is crucial in the fight against all aspects of poverty, and that is the reason it is a specific requirement in all programmes. Gender equality, with special focus on women's right to participation, land, property and other productive resources is also a specific dialogue issue for Sida. In its power analysis, gender is identified as a key determinant in whether or not one has individual power and in respect of the choices made vis à vis one's life. The analysis notes that the constitutional and legal framework existent in the country perpetuates gender-based discrimination, and that there is clear gender imbalance in respect of political power. Men dominate decision making at national, local and household levels. The gender imbalance in formal political power is also reflected in economic power; women own less than 5% of registered

land and face several institutionalised and legalised barriers in respect of their property rights.

Other findings in the analysis are the fact that despite women and girls constituting the majority of the country's population all human development indicators are lower for women than men and when there is crisis they suffer the impact worse. The incidence of poverty is higher amongst women than men. Women and girls are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS with the incidence of infection amongst girls in the 15–19 year age group being five times that of their male counterparts.

Sida Kenya's strategy for mainstreaming gender issues is by integrating the Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA) in all sectors it supports in Kenya, which rights perspective emphasizes the principles of non-discrimination, participation, openness and transparency, responsibility and accountability. Equality between men and women and the rights of the child are thus central components of the HRBA. Sida Kenya uses various mechanisms to implement this strategy. Firstly it initiated the Mainstreaming in Action (MANIAC) project in 2003 to build capacity and analytical skills on mainstreaming the principles of the HRBA in all its programmes.

Knowledge and information on HRBA was shared among stakeholders including training of Sida, CSO and Government officials, and strategies for the implementation of HRBA developed. Training of trainers in HRBA was undertaken and mainstreaming workshops for each of Sida programmes held to identify the gender and children rights issues in each programme, and discuss the integration of the principles of democracy, gender and human rights into the programme strategies. The objectives of gender mainstreaming during this process were as follows:

- To make women more visible in all programmes (through analysis and integration)
- To include women in the programme processes (through dialogue and participation)
- To ensure outputs and outcomes were measured to have positive and sustainable effects on women (through accountability, transparency and the rule of law).

Partnerships between Sida, CSOs and UN agencies was the second strategy employed by Sida Kenya to source HRBA and gender expertise during the mainstreaming project and thereafter.

Organisations that have provided critical input include UNIFEM,

FEMNET, The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), Federation of Women Lawyers – Kenya Chapter (FIDA-K) and CRADLE – children’s rights CSO. Thirdly, a gender focal point was established within Sida to provide gender expertise, support and follow-up on gender mainstreaming in Sida’s programmes. Sida Kenya also made use of the resources such as the gender manual and gender help desks provided by Sida Stockholm.

Finally Sida has ensured that there has been on-going dialogue on gender and inequality issues. The Rich and Poor Project (RAPP) was established by Sida in 2004 and implemented jointly with the Ministry of National Development and Planning and the Society for International Development, and was instrumental in putting the issues of poverty, inequality and growth on the public agenda. Inequality reports, which also highlighted gender inequality, were published⁷ and disseminated through a comprehensive media strategy and a national conference on inequality. A series of workshops were also held at district and national level to disseminate and discuss poverty mapping result. Sida also continuously underscores the need for gender equality in all dialogue and development fora with partners, policy officials and donors, and opportunities in this respect have arisen during the periods Sweden was lead donor for the Gender and Governance Programme, GJLOS and other sector programmes.

3.2 INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

(a) Complementarities of policies

There is political will and commitment to achieving gender equality and there is unanimity that the HRBA approaches (implemented through the Mainstreaming in Action – MANIAC – programme) adequately address gender mainstreaming, especially in the non-discrimination and participation focus of the approaches. There was however no universal knowledge of the specific requirements of gender mainstreaming as outlined in Sida’s gender policy, and a few staff members were not aware of its existence and materials developed to aid implementation. The need for constant training and dialogue on HRBA and gender mainstreaming was also emphasised, and this was evident from programmes formulated or supported after the MANIAC process was completed were gender issues are

7 Society for International Development: **Pulling Apart-Facts and Figures of Inequality in Kenya**, October 2005

not prominent (the Public Sector Reform and Public Finance Management programmes).

b) Follow-up and support

The gender focal point has not been able to effectively follow-up mainstreaming efforts due to too much workload and responsibilities, including dealing with other duties unrelated to gender mainstreaming. There was also the perception among some staff members that gender mainstreaming was a one-off activity during programme formulation, and as a result they do not request for follow-up support, neither do they follow-up on implementation of the same, especially with partners. The support given by the gender desks (in Sweden) was said to be completely out of context and not relevant in the instances it had been sought, and preference was voiced for more context-specific gender support.

c) Learning processes

There was a lot of sharing of experiences and lessons learnt from the MANIAC process both locally and at regional fora, but since then the learning episodes have been less structured and infrequent. Such learning episodes should also include partners, and this is already happening in some programmes through joint review meetings. While staff members were aware of the Sida learning networks, it was felt that there is no particular obligation on staff members to actively interact or consult the networks, and their benefits largely depend on one's interest and initiative. It was suggested that an effective communication strategy be developed for dissemination of IEC materials.

d) Differentials in priorities

This has been a challenge mostly in sector programmes and has arisen with regard to Government and development partners who do not rank gender equality as a priority in their development cooperation. This has led to ineffective gender mainstreaming in some sector programmes, key examples being GJLOS, the Public Sector Reform and Public Finance Management Programme. In contrast gender mainstreaming has been most effective in programmes where Sida is providing bilateral support (Nyanza Roads 2000 and NAL-EP) or in basket funding dedicated to gender equality programmes (GGP), and one of the reasons for this success is precisely because gender equality is a priority issue to Sida.

3.3 IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

a) Moving from rhetoric to practical action

In programmes where gender mainstreaming in programmes has been minimal, it was suggested that there is need for more practical actions by partners to implement gender mainstreaming strategies. The current situation in some programmes – where gender mainstreaming only exists on paper but no implementation is taking place – is as a result of various factors. Firstly was the fact that some partners include gender mainstreaming in programmes as strategic measure of gaining Sida support, and have no real commitment or will to see it through to implementation. For other partners it was an issue of lack of knowledge and capacity and it was advised that gender expertise was needed for each programme. It is noteworthy that successful mainstreaming occurred in programmes with HRBA or gender expertise such as the Nyanza 2000 roads programme, NALEP II, the HIV/AIDS programme and support to CSOs through UNIFEM.

b) Results and Indicators

All the programmes have a clear hierarchy of goals, objectives, outputs and activities; and they are all results-based. It was however proposed that more guidance may be needed on the specific results and indicators to measure effective gender mainstreaming. Most indicators on gender mainstreaming tend to be input- or process-oriented (number of women participants or number of gender mainstreaming activities carried out) rather than outcome oriented related to actual strategic and practical changes in the lives of women, men, girls or boys.

c) Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation is uneven across programmes. Baseline surveys have been undertaken in some programmes (Roads, HIV/AIDS, NALEP) but not others, and while gender indicators exist in most programmes, the regular collection of gender-disaggregated data still remains a challenge for some of the programmes. The two main reasons for this phenomenon are firstly, weak monitoring and evaluation frameworks in some of the programmes – and especially so in sector wide programmes; and secondly, lack of capacity in partners to undertake the monitoring and collection of data.

4 Case Studies

4.1 NYANZA ROADS 2000 PROGRAMME

Brief programme description

The overall objective of the Roads 2000 Nyanza programme is to contribute towards poverty reduction and promote sustainable livelihoods of disadvantaged rural populations through improved road access. The programme has four main components:

- Roads Improvement and Maintenance
- Soil Conservation
- Training and Awareness creation
- Capacity building

The programme has identified specific gender issues – improvement in road accessibility is particularly beneficial to women whose roles require them to use the roads often and road works also provide a source of income for women who often have little access to cash generating employment.

Gender analysis and approaches

The main gender strategies in the programme is the targeting of men women, girls and boys in the labour based construction and improvement of roads. There is also human rights based approach training of the project managers – the project coordinator and roads engineers – and training of road contractors on gender concepts and issues. Specific indicators in this regard are:

- 750,000 worker-days of employment generated in establishing a cost effective road maintenance system, of which 50% go to marginalised groups, women, disabled and the youth.
- 40% of the unskilled work force for improvements and maintenance of roads are to be from marginalised groups i.e. women (30%), disabled (5%) and children of working age (5%)

- 50% of trainee contractors are to be from marginalised groups i.e. 30% women, 10% disabled and 10% children⁸
- 50% of small-scale improvement contractors trained on improvement and maintenance of roads to be women, disabled and youth

The responsibility of achieving these targets was on the project managers, the road contractors and community-based road committees that were established to overseeing the construction and maintenance of each road. A review of the programme conducted in September 2009 found that these quantitative gender objectives were largely met. It was however difficult to obtain gender-desegregated data and the report noted that the roads engineers were not effective in getting this data.

Sida civil society partners were called upon to comment on the strategy during the design phase, but were currently not very aware of how the implementation process and/or achieved results. Generally, women's groups interviewed seemed less interested in working with Sida on effective mainstreaming in the sectors, and more interested in carrying out their own more targeted lobbying and advocacy initiatives. This can also be due to the fact that it was the large national or regional women's organisations that were involved, as opposed to more localised structures.

Further lessons related to the gender analysis and approaches were:

- The quality of gender analysis:
The baseline survey was quite rigorous and identified the gender differentials in participation in, and effects of roads in Nyanza province, as well as key socio-economic indicators for monitoring the gendered impact of the roads. The gender-specific data collected during the monitoring was however mainly on numbers, and not on the outcomes at social or economic fronts. There was therefore opportunity lost to address and/or redress some of the factors negatively affecting impact and sustainability early on in the programme.
- Implementing the Quotas:
The process of achieving the set quotas in the selection of the workers in the roads programme was by firstly segregating the

8 When we the team inquired about children working on the roads and whether this was not an infringement of their rights, it was explained that as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the incidence of child-headed households was high in the province and that this was suggested as one way of assisting these households. Such children were to be identified by the roads committee.

women from the men, and then separate balloting by the women and men for 30% and 70% respectively of the available jobs. In effect the required minimum number then became a maximum number for the women. Two lessons here are that while quotas can really boost women's participation as will be seen in the results, they should also not be a limitation of women's potential efforts to reach a real gender balance and a shift in mentality (attitudes, behaviour) around gender equality issues. Secondly the ability of the implementers to deliver on gender equality targets is critical, especially in terms of their awareness on the gender outcomes that are sought – not just in applying a more mechanical approach to fulfilling quotas and requirements.

*“The women ballot for 30%
and men for 70% of the jobs, and we only employ
additional women for the jobs the men reject.”
(Implementer)*

- *Gender objectives focused on input targets rather than output/outcome targets:* In relation to training women contractors, there was a focus on “making training opportunities available” rather than “ensuring their successful outcome in winning roads contracts”. As a result, many women contractors who were trained did not succeed in getting road work contracts beyond the trainee period when it came to open bidding. The competitive tendering was used as the selection method, and the women contractors indicated that it proved difficult to compete with men in a heavily male-dominated profession.
- *Gender equality awareness – training the right people at the right levels:* The training on gender was at two levels – training on HRBA undertaken by a Sida consultant and later on by Kenya National Human Rights commission, and which mainly targeted the project implementers in the Ministry of Roads. This was supposed to be a training of trainers, and its effectiveness was limited by two main factors: firstly the heavy workload of road engineers left no time for such training, and eventually the responsibility of implementing the cross-cutting issues was then given to district social development officials from the Ministry of Social Services.

Furthermore, community roads committees were established on a voluntary basis by community members to help in identifying vulnerable groups and monitor the implementation of cross-cutting issues (including gender). However, these supporting structures did not have any direct access to training, facilitation or incentives to carry out the tasks. It then became very dependent on the District Roads Engineer on how to involve them, which information to share with them etc. A more systematic approach to their capacity development and involvement in sensitising the wider community – especially on cross-cutting issues (gender, environment, HIV/AIDS) could have been more effective. The same was the case for other programme structures at district level. Efforts of involving national institutions, like the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights in district level trainings were seen as positive, but was not well coordinated with implementing officials, causing some tension in the programme implementation.

The second level of training was undertaken by the Kenya Institute of Highways and Building Technology (KIHBT) at the Kisii Training Centre and targeted the road contractors and site supervisors. The road committee members were however not trained. The trainers were trained on HRBA, and the training included a two-hour module on gender which mainly covered definition of gender concepts and gender stereotyping and the need to implement the quota of women workers. The training curriculum is now being revised to make it more context-specific, and specialists on cross-cutting issues including on gender, are now being trained to facilitate implementation and monitoring of these issues. However, this comes very late in the programme.

- *‘Acceptability’ of gender equality concepts by implementers:* A key lesson related to the training is that of capacity to instil gender awareness in addition to knowledge on how to apply gender guidelines is essential. Such training needs to be done repeatedly and with capacity building and sensitisation of partners as well as supporting structures. The review noted that the approach and guiding documents, including the guidelines for implementation to contractors, do not mention gender, gender equality or any more strategic aspects of involving and employing women. As a way of “selling” the concept, it puts more emphasis on women’s ability to carry out the tasks well and to be good workers. However, women are referred to as a “vulnerable group” throughout, without mak-

ing reference to what exactly is meant by that term, or the fact that there may be varying degrees of vulnerability among different categories of women (e.g. between women contractors and labourers).

Development results and gender outcomes

a) At the strategic level

(i) Policies: The programme has operationalised and contributed to the successful implementation of the national roads sector policy on 30% women participation in road construction and maintenance. This has been replicated in the rural roads sector in other provinces by both the government and other development partners. The programme has also initiated the development of a gender policy for the roads sector. This is important in facilitating the operationalisation of the national policy, especially at implementation level. As noted in the foregoing there is however the need for positive affirmative action for women road contractors to build the required critical mass.

(ii) Institutionalisation: Gender issues and particularly the requirement of women's participation are now required to be addressed by the players in the sector, starting with the Director General of the Kenya Rural Road Authority to regional and district road engineers in their performance contracts. It has also been institutionalized in the contract documentation for road contractors, where the 30% quota for women workers is a specific requirement. Road contractors are also contractually required to raise awareness on gender and other cross-cutting issues. However, there has been no monitoring or assessment of whether this approach is successful, and is likely to vary between different contractors. Communities and beneficiaries need to be more actively involved themselves in identifying and monitoring the social aspects of roads construction and maintenance work. The role of Roads Committees needs to be enhanced in this regard.

(iii) Transformed relations: There was observed change in attitude towards, and respect for the women workers and road contractors, and increased self-confidence and self-esteem among the women who participated and benefited from the programme. As a result, women took on a more active role in local decision-making committees (e.g. in the Constituency Development Fund Committee, the Local Authority Transfer Fund committee and in HIV/AIDS Control and Anti-corruption committees). There was also recognition

and appreciation of women's high quality work as contractors and labourers. Instances of conflict were also evident, and especially in the case of the women road contractors were seen as a threat both politically and also at the household level. At the household level some women had to cede control over their resources as one way of managing these conflicts.

*“The women contractors are more diligent,
finish their work and pay their workers
(as compared to male contractors)”*
— male roads engineer

*”Women can do the work just as well as men
— even better.”* — woman roads engineer

*“The women can also now do difficult jobs
like building roads”* — male community member

*“We are no longer ashamed of doing manual and
dirty work on the roads”* — woman community member

*“I am now respected and recognised
in the community”* — woman road contractor

*“Women could never speak at meetings like this one,
but we can now speak and contribute”*
— woman road contractor

*“We are no longer beggars and do not
nag our husbands for money.”*
— woman community member

*“We are happy
when our wives look and live better”*
— male road committee member

b) At the practical level

(i) Access to income: There were increased income from earnings from the road works for women, men and youth in the districts, and this enabled them to meet their day-to-day household needs in terms of food, shelter, school fees and also enabled some to engage in more productive ventures. Difference in use of increased income was not recorded for men and women, but contains important differences

with women covering more household expenses and with some negative gender outcomes for men spending more on illicit brew and fundraising for political candidates. Access to income has also made it possible for women to access microfinance and loans (they are considered credit-worthy) and they are able to engage in other income-generating projects – mainly trading in farm produce.

(ii) *Access to facilities and opportunities:* The roads have now made it possible to access to health services including maternal and child health services, access to schools for children and teachers. There was also a perceived decrease in maternal mortality due to better access. Easier mobility for women has led to new economic activities such as retail and commodities trading in markets and small entrepreneurial businesses in markets and towns that are now more accessible (e.g. hair salons).

*“Before, our husbands did
not allow us to go to the market
because we would come back late and
it was not safe to go through the bushes.
Now we can go because it is easier
and quicker.”*

— Woman community member

Increased mobility by service providers has also improved provision of services to the communities – for example by the police and which has provided increased security. There was however also negative results from this accessibility, particularly sexual harassment and violence of women and girls, some which is perpetrated by security agents looking for suspected criminals in homesteads.

(iii) *Decision-making over expenditure:* The women were largely able to decide on what to spend their income on; however this was largely on consumption goods and household expenditure. They spent their money on food, household goods such as furniture, utensils, beddings and clothes, and school fees for their children. The men in most cases spent their income on consumption (alcohol) and some indicated they had engaged in productive investments (buying land, motorcycle taxis and livestock). Therefore in cases where women had control over decision-making, sustainability is constrained by their inability to engage in more productive ventures.

(iv) *Possible decrease in domestic violence – or a potential ground for HH disagreements:* Women stated that the income had brought “love and peace to the home” (indicating possibility of violence in the event that there is no income or where the income is not given to the husbands). In Gucha District the men resent the fact that wives refused to share their income.

(v) *Managing additional roles and responsibilities:* There was gender sensitive allocation of tasks in the road works, with same pay, and especially women road contractors were sensitized on this need, and demonstrated understanding and changed perspectives on gender roles and stereotyping. There were however isolated instances of gender-stereotyping in the allocation of tasks (“women carry clean drinking water to the men workers”) by some male contractors. In Kuria district there were instances of men performing some household responsibilities so as to create the time for the women and girls to undertake their allocated tasks in the road works. In Gucha District however the men were categorical that they would not perform women’s tasks, indicating wide differences in views from district to district, calling for the need of a tailored approach to sensitising communities.

“National policy frameworks are important. But it is here, in the local communities that women will grab the chance to improve their lives if they are given the opportunity ... The impact is potentially huge just from their involvement in public works. It is just unfortunate that these amazing results are not visible or documented!”
(implementer)

Sida institutional issues

In addition to providing funding for road construction and maintenance, Sida provided technical support in the form of consultants on HRBA training and site supervisors. Sida also supported capacity building on HRBA and the development of the sector gender policy. As indicated above, this capacity building support was generally well received. However, it did not go deeply enough into the supporting

structures for implementation (community roads committees, community key informants, district level working group members etc.). The reliance on ‘training of trainers’ does not seem to have worked so well in a government sector (Ministry of Roads) where strategic gender concerns are not a high priority or perceived to be an area of interest for the project.⁹

Another limitation was the felt need to align programme indicators with the national sector policy, in which only the indicator of 30% women’s participation features with more limited explanations as to why, for what purpose, what other impact indicators would be important to monitor to justify this labour-based approach as having maximum development impact. Sida could have spearheaded the development of sample indicators and a meaningful monitoring framework for the social dimensions of the roads programme (cross-cutting issues), using localised and participatory methodologies and direct capacity building and training support to supporting implementation structures. Having a flexible fund to address cross-cutting issues in the programme (either carrying out studies or doing targeted trainings/interventions) would also have helped to maximise development outcomes as well as gender results.

4.2 RICH AND POOR PROJECT (RAPP)

A particular challenge to the evaluation team in relation to RAPP was to get hold of relevant interviewees as the main drivers of the programme at the Swedish Embassy¹⁰ and the Ministry of Planning no longer were in office. Many activist and ‘political’ civil society participants who were actively engaging and using RAPP evidence at the time (2005–07) also ended up in government, or changed positions after the 2007 elections.

Another complication was the general lack of substantive planning documents and baseline data, coupled with the fact that views were very varied in relation to the relevance, effectiveness and lasting impacts of the programme. Finally, the evaluation team noted that assessments of the programme undertaken before the 2007 elections in general were more uncritical and single-handedly positive about the approach of focusing on inequalities and RAPP’s contributions to various policy processes, whereas the views of key

9 Respondents often stated that the long-term impact on gender relations emanating from this approach was “beyond the scope of this programme”.

10 Notably Ambassador Bo Göransson.

stakeholders and implementers in retrospect were more cautious and focused on the political risks involved.

Due to the political nature of the project, and its unusual composition (where Sida was one of three implementing partners in the original agreement between Sida, Ministry of Planning and National Development and the Society for International Development), more time was spent by the evaluation team on trying to understand the context in which it was operating and the potential influence it had on later developments – both in terms of policy initiatives and the evolving inequality discourse. In comparison, less time was spent on trying to identify contributions to wider development results since this was impossible to determine, given the fact that no baseline data, no detailed planning document or milestones were identified, and overall objectives of the programme were vaguely formulated in terms of ‘facilitating national public debate on inequality’.

Brief programme description

The Rich and Poor Programme gradually evolved 2003 onwards from the perceived need to move the poverty debate in Kenya in the direction of growth and inequality. This had also been pointed out in the pro-poor power analyses which informed the focus of Sida’s country programme.

When RAPP was being designed, the following objectives were agreed upon:

- 1 to elevate the visibility of inequality as a special development question
- 2 to facilitate national public debate and discussions on inequality, poverty and growth and mobilize key stakeholders around these challenges,
- 3 to generate and publish knowledge and information on poverty and inequality
- 4 to assess the impact of previous poverty reports
- 5 to evaluate, design and consider appropriate policy responses to the problem of poverty and inequality.

The inequalities targeted were defined as income inequality, regional inequality and gender inequality with decision-makers, civil society, donors and the media¹¹ as primary target groups. Against these objectives, several studies and internal documentation have noted

11 Through media, by extension, the public at large – but more specialised audiences were identified as primary targets.

the undisputed success of the project, which used strategic design, a relatively small group of like-minded partners, “reform champions” within and outside government coupled with the ‘rhetorical weight of the Swedish ambassador’¹² as well as channelling funds through SID – a newly established international NGO in Kenya – to decrease red tape in using government procedures for channelling funds to the Ministry of Planning and National Development. In the later stages of the project, Action Aid International was engaged to help gather views and disseminate data at local levels, and the African Child and Feature Services were hired to manage the media campaign (again without any detailed risk analysis or results-framework in their proposal).

This meant that the project could move quickly and flexibly to both tap into current political debates and media discourses, as well as to push these debates to e.g. introduce and enhance an inequality focus including also gender inequality and other forms of inequality. The project was also done at relatively low cost.¹³ RAPP was also said to facilitate the mainstreaming of cross-cutting issues in Sida’s other sectoral programmes by introducing a renewed inequality angle, putting vulnerable groups at the centre of development efforts.

It is undisputed that the main outputs of the programme – the publication of *Pulling Apart: Facts and Figures on Inequality in Kenya* (by SID, 2005), together with the newspaper op-eds written by the Swedish Ambassador and the extensive media coverage sparked a hot public debate on the issue of inequality, including gender inequality – much due to the political events taking place in the country at the time¹⁴. Another output of the programme was a series of seminars for the dissemination of the Ministry of Planning & National Development’s poverty which visualised regional inequalities down to district level (*The Geographical Dimensions of Wellbeing*, Vol. I). This was followed by a second volume showing inequalities down to constituency level (of political importance in relation to Constituency

12 Adam Smith International, Review of Planned Communications at Swedish Embassy, Kenya, Dec. 2005.

13 Total budget for the first year of operations (2004–05) was around 6 million SEK.

14 These included the national referendum on the proposed new Constitution (2005), which split large parts of Kenyan society including the NARC government. These divisions turned out to be fundamental for the upcoming elections in 2008, and remain the main elements of the Kenyan political landscape to date.

Development Funds for the 2007 elections) and a major National Conference on Equity and Growth.

The 2007 SID publication *Readings of Inequality: Sectoral Dynamics and Perspectives* sought to provide a deeper and more nuanced academic analysis of the causes of inequality (complementing the earlier publication of statistics in *Pulling Apart*) with different chapters exploring different aspects of inequality, including a chapter on “*Ethnic Chauvinism, Xenophobia and Gender Inequality in Kenya*”¹⁵. These studies have been widely referenced and used in Universities as reading materials.

Gender analysis and strategy

An assessment of the project’s contributions in general, and towards sustainable gender results in particular, was made difficult by the lack of a comprehensive planning document or envisaged results-framework. Despite a couple of external reviews, there were also diverse opinions about the project and its influence. The following strengths and areas of improvement were noted about the gender analysis and dialogue, the two main gender strategies utilized in the programme:

a) Gender Analysis

The gender analysis approach was strategic, riding on ongoing initiatives and efforts to produce updated poverty statistics as a basis for future development interventions, and raising gender inequality along with income inequality and regional inequality in the initiative. This strategy succeeded, and the gender discourse, which had been around for a while got a new boost from being framed as one of the glaring inequalities affecting Kenya’s development.

A chapter is dedicated to gender inequalities in the *Pulling Apart* publication, mostly covering basic national statistics on income distribution by gender, gender disparities in employment opportunities, number of unemployed by gender and age groups, parliamentarians by gender, local authorities composition by gender, women’s candidature and election by region and post, administrative and diplomatic ranks by gender, composition of judicial service and legal sector by gender, literacy rates, HIV prevalence, gender-related development by provinces and gender violence and perceptions by region. Most data sets are from 1999 with two data sets being from 2002

15 By Atsango Chesoni.

and 2003. No data sets have a break-down further than to Provincial level.

Representatives from the women's movement and civil society confirmed the usefulness of having all the relevant (national) gender statistics 'gathered together in one place' and referred to it actively in their lobbying initiatives.

The evaluation team has identified some lessons from the data collected and gender analysis:

- *Data without interpretation at the right level can lead to ambiguity:* In other words, the much debated data in *Pulling Apart*, which used only secondary sources, did not necessarily provide for a complete or even (in most cases) updated perspective on gender equality to accompany the MoPND Geographical Dimension of Wellbeing maps, probably due to the unavailability of secondary data sources. Moreover, there was no gender analysis made of the findings, or even any effort to point to these glaring evidence gaps. The purpose of this publication was merely to "present the fact and to inform", and to let others do the interpretation. However, putting some of these facts into a bigger gender perspective would have been helpful. Instead some findings are presented in an ambiguous manner, with a key finding related to gender violence stated as: "On the overall, two-thirds of both men and women agree that some selected factors can provide justification for wife beating."¹⁶
- *Actionable vs. historic data:* A criticism of the gender analysis was that gender inequality featured separately in a short chapter in publication on *Pulling Apart: Facts and Figures on Inequality in Kenya* rather than being a mainstreamed topic throughout the publication, and that gender disaggregated data was not being used in the other, more extensive chapters on land, regional inequalities and economic inequalities. In the other main publication produced by the programme, *Readings on Inequality in Kenya*, a different approach altogether is adopted, tracing "misogyny, sexism, racism, and gender inequality" back to "racially segregationist settler colonialism ...entrenching gender inequality in Kenya's policy and legal framework." The study concludes that "addressing gender-based inequality is key to Kenya's economic development" but does not point any specific policy proposals for a way ahead, despite giving some general recommendations¹⁷.

16 *Pulling apart: Facts and Figures on Inequality in Kenya*, p 46.

17 Such as: "Develop strategies to address lack of political will towards addressing gender inequality in Kenya..."

Nevertheless, it gives a thorough historic-to present day overview of gender inequalities in Kenya, and Kenya's international commitments for a specialised or academic audience. Accessibility of these essays/sectoral studies to the more general public is, however, limited. This raises the key issue about knowing and targeting the right audience as a part of the dialogue.

“If you start from a platform that is unequal, it is counterproductive to just speak of inequalities and who has been unjust. Rather ask: Where are the service gaps? Where are the access gaps? What are the enabling factors to close them”

(Key informant)

b) Dialogue

The programme expertly and effectively used diplomacy in dialogue to raise the profile for gender issues: The op-eds of the Swedish Ambassador refers to gender inequalities across any topic treated, which appears to have been a good strategy for raising the profile of the gender discourse and making it part of the inequality drive – something that generally was highly appreciated among representatives of civil society/women's movement in Kenya. The ‘frank and personal style’ of those opinion pieces, underpinned by statistics, was referred to as positive.

African Women and Children's Feature (AWC) used a more popular approach to record and write stories for the press on inequality, often featuring gender inequalities and individual women's stories. These were sometimes picked up by the press, but were often overshadowed by stories with a regional/ethnic slant in the lead-up to the 2007 elections and around the 2005 referendum. Trainings of editors and journalists contained a minimal element on gender inequality. This somewhat undermined the otherwise good practice of training editors and journalists in advance of releasing the Pulling Apart report.

The *key lessons identified* from the dialogue around gender inequality were:

a) *Managing political risks:*

- Critics remark that the *design was political from the outset*, and with the departure of the Minister and Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Planning and National development, it was branded a “project of the opposition”. In addition, once the SID publications were published, the press highlighted the ethnic/regional angle with headlines like: “*Ethnicity main cause of inequality*”¹⁸ and “*Detailed study on inequality raises queries on State gains – Tribalism deeply entrenched in Kenya, funds not allocated fairly to provinces*”¹⁹ ... Headlines which in retrospect appear “very dangerous”²⁰ knowing the outcome of the 2008 elections and the ethnic cleansing, rape and sexual violence that followed during the post-election crisis.

*“The inequality focus
really introduced a new dimension
to the poverty debate and invigorated the debate ...
But we were also seen to be the guys pushing a dangerous
agenda. When the post-electoral violence broke out,
I heard reactions like ‘told you so’ ... ”*

(Programme implementer)

*“Issues tend to be victims
of political discourse. They are sacrificed
for ethnic identity.”*

(Key informant)

- This may have been symptomatic of the fact that even the ‘*women’s movement*’ suffered from noticeable ethno-political divisions during this time and failed to collectively defend and protect gender issues, e.g. in relation to the contentious clauses addressing women’s access to land in the draft constitution.²¹

18 Standard, May 16, 2007

19 Daily Nation, May 16, 2007.

20 Quote from key informant from civil society.

21 Although there is wide consensus that the main criticism of the draft constitution related to failure to restrict presidential powers. Civil society and gender activists interviewed retrospectively agree that gender issues suffered major set-backs during this time by being misused in the debates around the proposed new Constitution.

- When integrating gender equality across a wide range of issues there is always the risk that it is *overshadowed by other, more controversial inequalities* like regional and ethnic inequalities in this case. In some news stories, gender inequalities were brought up, but instead of tracing it back to cultural and legal barriers, there was a tendency to bring in issues of regional character to explain the destitution of women, linking into the more ‘politically hot’ side of the inequality debate.
- There is also a risk in coming in as an outsider and appear to point to very harsh statistics without sounding too prescriptive (“Kenya must ...”). In such cases, *referring more to good practices in Sida-supported sector programmes, or to raise joint accountability issues* could be helpful. Referring back to international commitments was also mentioned as good practice during institutional interviews in Sida HQ – a card that could perhaps have been played more forcefully by donors in Kenya when the inequality debate took an ethnic and political spin. An overall dialogue strategy for the Sida country programme would be helpful to steer the dialogue and better connect it to existing examples in Sida supported sector programmes, connecting high-level political dialogue to real examples and good practice in the sectors.

b) Dialogue vs. dissemination:

- Despite intentions in the overall objective to create a national dialogue on inequality, focus was more on *dissemination of information than on creating platforms* at different levels on policy options.
- In fact, by using existing data, rather than involving communities in their own fact-finding and interpretation of findings in order to find solutions, *evidence was not socialised at levels where it was actionable*. I.e. instead of leading to positive and unifying outcomes, it took a regional/ethnic spin with the risk of increased public frustration and ‘anger’ without any established mechanisms in place to channel it into positive social change.

c) Framing the message:

- This assessment also picked up many lessons around the framing of messages – *using very divisive language around ‘inequality’ as opposed to the inclusive language promoted through HRBA* – and the way that the media campaign was executed. A good strategy, particularly in relation to setting clear objectives and coming up with policy proposals, is necessary in this regard.

- A study of the coverage of poverty and inequality in the Kenyan newspapers (Nov 2005–March 2006)²² also found that of the 162 newspaper articles on inequality during this period, most concentrated on one single aspect of the phenomenon (often the regional/ethno-political angle) even if other inequalities such as gender were used as examples. A large majority were also problem- rather than solutions-oriented. Others were politically biased and or used slant expressions, e.g. “Women’s leadership in this country carries itself like a petrified mouse faced with a fat cat” (Daily Nation) and in reference to poor people as “down trodden” (Kenya Times) “third class citizens” (People Daily). Although this justifies the programme focus on extensive media training, it should have considered drawing up a *risk mitigation plan in relation to the media campaign* – something which was lacking in programme proposals and documentation. Training modules on ethical reporting and the risks of reporting on inequalities could also have gotten more focus.

Packaging and unpacking of statistics matter ...

A common and widely repeated message in RAPP’s public debate was that Kenya is “among the most unequal societies in the world” (see article: “**Swedish envoy decries inequality in Kenya**”, **Kenya Times, April 26, 2006**) and “... one of Africa’s most unequal countries.” (**The Nation, March 2004**). Yet, strictly according to the Gini coefficient estimate of 2008 – the index that measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country – figures show that the US is even more unequal than Kenya. Moreover, inequality is worse in 17 other African countries, than in Kenya. This does not say anything about human development, however, where Kenya is ranked as the 147th of 182 countries in 2009 (148th in 2004), with the US being placed as the 13th from the top. Although these statistics is more recent, the inequality and human development patterns are not likely to have changed dramatically since 2004.

Sources: The CIA World Fact Book, and the Human Development Index 2009

d) Development results and gender outcomes:

The *lack of detailed planning*, with a wide range of views²³ from stakeholders recorded in such planning, it is difficult to assess the development results and gender outcomes. However, a range of issues, lessons and good practices emerged that can be noted in relation to development results and gender outcomes:

- At a strategic level, the RAPP programme *succeeded in creating renewed interest in gender inequality* by placing it in the context of other apparent inequalities (regional, income). This may have had a positive influence on increased allocations for gender equality in the 2007 year's budget (e.g. in relation to reproductive health), and the institutionalisation of representation of women in CDF committees etc. The raised public attention may also have contributed to the creation of e.g. the Women's Enterprise Fund. However, since €no specific policy proposals or initiatives were targeted in RAPP, it is difficult to make these linkages with confidence. A *better defined results framework*, recording gradual behavioural or attitude changes among stakeholders would be helpful.
- There was little evidence of the project influencing *local level decision-making* due to the lack of actionable evidence at that level.
- The lack of a *comprehensive planning document*, baseline data, and continuous monitoring, makes it difficult to link RAPP to more concrete proposals for policy options, or even to changes in attitudes or behavioural patterns of policy makers beyond the political spin. None of the existing evaluations carry out any deeper political risk analysis, which in retrospect feels highly relevant following the 2008 post-electoral violence that ensued.
- Women's organisations used the data in Pulling Apart and other *knowledge generated* in the project in their lobbying activities. Publications are also widely referenced by researchers, advocacy groups and politicians to this date, and continue to influence the political landscape in Kenya, according to key informants. However, data used from secondary sources were not always detailed enough to illustrate the more complex dynamics of gender relations or to act on in the local (sub-national) context. A more detailed plan on *whom* to communicate with and when, using *what level of information* was missing.

23 The programme was criticized for having a narrow group of people involved in the set-up of the programme, and an almost excessive sense of 'ownership' among a few key individuals – not among communities or a wider stakeholder group.

- Despite a project focus on dialogue and strengthening the grass-roots voice, information activities outside Nairobi was mostly about dissemination of information rather than giving communities a voice and a *channel to feed that voice* into policy-making.
- Strategically, RAPP is a good example of *Sida using its leverage position effectively* as a donor – primarily through the public profile and regularly featuring op-eds in the newspapers by the Swedish Ambassador at the time. “Being hard-hitting without meddling in internal Kenyan matters is a skill,” informants remarked.
- Sida guidelines on dialogue and strategic communication in development cooperation also stress the fact that *staff increasingly have to be both “technicians and politicians”* in negotiating sector programmes. This is a role that has taken on increasing importance in light of the new aid effectiveness principles. Staff interviewed expressed a desire for more targeted training and coaching in strategic communications.
- Detailed *strategic planning to identify what issues to raise and what issues to leave out* is also important in order to avoid being too closely drawn into internal political wrangling or to be ‘pulled off message’ in media interviews. Continuous monitoring of the effects of dialogue and risk assessment is key.
- Largely thanks to RAPP, Sida has ‘*carved out a niche*’ of pushing the inequality agenda, including gender inequality. This may have helped mainstreaming gender in the other sector programmes, but true ownership of such efforts are unclear as it risks being seen as an “externally driven agenda”. Whereas most other donors appreciated Sida taking on this role, it could also cause some tension as Sida appeared as a ‘lone ranger’ in pushing for an increased inequality focus (as opposed to pursuing a more coordinated approach e.g. through existing gender coordination mechanisms and baskets).

e) *The role of men:*

- The op-ed pieces in the main newspapers by the Swedish Ambassador nearly always included gender specific statistics or references, including a whole piece on the role and responsibilities of men – an issue that is generally less openly discussed or debated in gender fora in Kenya. However, this focus did *not yet seem to have a corresponding programmatic focus in the gender mainstreaming efforts* in the sectors (e.g. the Roads programme). Other respondents also remarked that “Kenya is still operating in the logic of Women in

Development, and not out of a genuine interest in gender mainstreaming”.

- Even the report from the RAPP sponsored National Conference on Equity & Growth noted that the gender discussants used a “rather narrow definition of the concept, focusing more or less exclusively on the circumstances of women as if it was unnecessary to explore the possibility of inequalities impinging on men”²⁴.

“To achieve gender equality we often talk about the empowerment of women and the need for actions for women. That is all very good, but we run the risk of missing half the target: discrimination of women is at least as much an issue of the role of men! Men make most decisions on the house-hold incomes. In fact; men own most houses! Men beat women. Men commit most violent crimes. Men dominate most societies and are hence influential in deciding what should be expected from men and from women.

“(Swedish Ambassador Bo Göransson, April 2005 newspaper op-ed The role of men: Don’t blame our genes!)”

24 Working Group Discussions, National Conference on Equity & Growth, 22–23 May 2006.

5 Other Good Practices

Other programmes in Sida

(a) Achieving results in gender mainstreaming by using local level strategies

NALEP is considered to be a model for gender sensitive agricultural extension work because it has focused at the local level when undertaking baseline surveys, using participatory processes, emphasizing non- discrimination and gender equality and equity in service delivery, focusing on the poor and vulnerable, empowering women by promoting farming as a business and capacity building. It has also used gender sensitive technologies and organised farmers and stakeholders in common interest groups and stakeholder fora, creating awareness on human rights including the rights of women and children and developing government institutions through training, making them more accountable. This is in contradistinction to programmes whose activities are centralised (an example being GJLOS) where gender mainstreaming has not been able to have an impact.

(b) Achieving focus and implementation through sector gender policies

In the water and sanitation programme the gender analysis has been taken a step further with the development of a draft gender policy that addresses all the key aspects of gender mainstreaming, and which will be a key reference in guiding implementation. It may be prudent to consider sector gender policies as one of the means of effective gender mainstreaming, especially in terms of achieving commitment, focus and implementation.

6 Conclusions

The following table illustrates a summary of the good practices in the case studies, and how they can be maximized to achieve developmental outcomes for women, men, girls and boys.

Good practice	Ways to maximise lessons for improved development results and gender outcomes
Involvement of gender expertise in baselines and design	Ongoing gender dialogue and support during implementation, involving beneficiaries and all implementing structures. Gender 'experts' should play a facilitative role, however, to nurture and stimulate societal learning around 'what works' for gender mainstreaming in that particular context. A more detailed segmentation and differentiation between different groups of women is also important (avoiding tendency to lump all women into the group of 'vulnerable' populations).
Setting clear gender indicators and targets	Continuous monitoring on both quantitative and qualitative (social, economic and political) outputs and outcomes. A shift towards routine monitoring of all potential gender outcomes as a result of a development intervention or of particular gender mainstreaming strategies.
Maximising direct impact on the livelihoods of people in rural areas, especially women by creating opportunities for participation	Linkages with awareness raising and other social and economic empowerment programme to ensure sustainability of positive gender outcomes
Institutionalisation of participation of women in male-dominated sectors at both vertical and horizontal levels	Affirmative action for women in male-dominated sectors is necessary at all levels – policy, institutional and community levels

Good practice	Ways to maximise lessons for improved development results and gender outcomes
Creating strategic partnership to visualise gender issues	There is need to extend such strategic partnerships to key policy makers for more sustainable results, as well as making effective use of local structures in fact finding and in socialising/sense-making of findings that contextualise data and make it actionable at different levels.
Using effective leverage as a donor in dialogue, while steering clear of internal politicisation of issues	Careful planning of an overall dialogue strategy with accompanying results framework to complement the country programme. Provide communications and media training to staff, including how to communicate strategic priorities on gender – dare to choose, not covering all aspects at all times, which can muddle the message.
Creating dialogue fora about facts at different levels of planning, channeling energy and proposals into identified policy processes	There is a need to involve local structures in gathering and interpreting relevant facts that they can act on locally, and to ‘aggregate from below’ instead of feeding national (or aggregated) data downwards which can be disempowering and reinforce a sense of marginalisation and frustration.
Inequality focus mainstreamed across sector programmes, linking/picking up on HRBA approach	Use enabling instead of divisive language in talking about inequalities. Carry out thorough risk mitigation studies and strategies and train journalists in ‘socially responsible reporting’. Link messages or communication approaches more clearly to the desired outcome by the group to be influenced.
Documentation of lessons from dialogue	Monitoring of advocacy is possible if a rigorous planning process takes place and flexible/adapted RBM tools are used. Close monitoring is critical for communications approaches, packaging of messages, and for activating risk mitigation strategies.

Annex I: List of Persons Interviewed

Name	Designation
Annika Nordin Jaya-wardena	Development Counsellor, Sida
Anna Tufvesson	First Secretary, Programme Officer, Water Sanitation & Humanitarian Assistance, Sida
Camilla Redner	Programme Officer, Governance and Democracy, Sida
Josephine Mwangi	Programme Officer, Civil Society, Gender and Child Rights Sida
Lucy Mathenge	Programme Officer, Sida
Alex Tameno	Programme Officer, Roads Programme Sida
John Ndiritu	Programme Officer, Land and Urban Development Programme & RAPP, Sida
Japhet Kiara	Programme Officer, NALEP, Sida
Karin Kronlid	Programme Officer/Economist Sida
Jane Ndirangu	Project Manager, Roads 2000 Nyanza, Kisumu
Samson Gekombe	District Roads Engineer, Kuria District
PeterMwachai	Regional Roads Engineer, Gucha District
E. Matagi	District Roads Officer, Gucha District
Ephraim Opuge	Kenya Institute of Highways and Building Technology – Kisii Training Centre
Elijah Nyakoe	Kenya Institute of Highways and Building Technology – Kisii Training Centre
Rosemary Okello	African Women and Child Features
Jane Onyango	GTZ (also formerly with Fida Kenya)
CarylIn Hambuba	FEMNET
Zebib Kavuma	UNIFEM
Dr. Regina Karega	National Gender Commission
Duncan Okello	SID
John Mukoza-Kifuse	Technical Adviser Roads 2000, ILO
Asfaw Kidanu	Technical Adviser Roads 2000, ILO
Patricia Munayi	CIDA
Siv Catherine Moe	Norwegian Embassy

DESCRIPTION OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD) PARTICIPANTS

Category	Gender	Kuria East District (No.)	Kuria West District (No.)	Gucha District (No.)	Total (No.)
Road Committee Members	Female	4	5	3	12
	Male	11	11	11	33
Road Contractors	Female		4	6	10
	Male	1	2	3	6
Labourers/ Community Members	Female			10	10
	Male			15	15
Total		16	22	48	86

Total Female Participants = 32

Total Male Participants = 54

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SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

Address: SE-105 25 Stockholm, Sweden.

Visiting address: Valhallavägen 199.

Phone: +46 [0]8-698 50 00. Fax: +46 [0]8-20 88 64.

www.sida.se sida@sida.se

