GENDER AND DRYLANDS GOVERNANCE:

EMPOWERING WOMEN FOR CHANGE

Thematic Paper 2 in the series 'Women's empowerment in the drylands'

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALRMP	The World Bank-funded Arid Lands Resource Management Project
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DDC	The Drylands Development Centre of the UNDP
DGNR	Decentralised Governance of Natural Resources
GPC-Nairobi	Global Policy Centre for Resilient Ecosystems and Desertification
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development, UK
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MENA	Middle East and North Africa region
NARS	National Agricultural Research Systems
NGO	Non-governmental organization
REFAMP	"Reseau des Femmes africaines Ministres et Parlementaries" or network for African ministers and parliamentarians
SAGA	Social and Gender Analysis
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UN	United Nations
UNCCD	UN Convention to Combat Desertification
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
VGGT	Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure
WB	World Bank
WCA	World Census of Agriculture

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Governance refers to decision-making by a range of stakeholders, including individuals, both in formal positions of power and 'ordinary' citizens, households, communities and organizations. Each stakeholder brings different interests, leverage and power to governance, in the process of establishing who decision making is 'by' and 'for'. An active and empowered citizenry is essential to good governance, and vice versa, including the participation of those that are asset-poor and marginalized.

In the drylands, governance is characterized by a diverse array of hybrid forms of governance, encompassing different combinations and variations of: customary systems for the management of resource sharing and mobility between groups, state institutions, and a range of civil society and development organizations. This results in shifting, and sometimes overlapping, patterns of authority over a specific territory. These complex patterns of governance each generate their own forms of 'micro-politics' as they operate at the local level. Thus, dryland governance is diverse and specific to the local context.

This study investigates women's participation and opportunities for empowerment within this context of complex dryland governance. The research was commissioned by the UNDP Global Policy Centre on Resilient Ecosystems and Desertification (GPC-Nairobi) and the UN Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD), in order to explore issues of dryland women's governance. It is a series of reports on Dryland women which includes Land Rights (Thematic Paper 1), Governance (Thematic Paper 2) and Resilience (Thematic Paper 3).

The historical exclusion of many dryland communities from state governance processes, has contributed to their sustained poverty. State policy in the drylands, or lack of policy, has reflected strong myths about dryland zones, for example, that the drylands are unproductive areas with resources of limited value, and that the livelihoods of drylands people, largely pastoral communities, are inefficient and do not contribute to economic growth. Additionally, processes of socio-economic change, such as changes in land tenure, large-scale investments in agriculture and continuing sedentarization, are in some cases further fracturing and demobilizing communities, and weakening their capacity to interact effectively with government. Dryland governance is further constrained by growing demographic pressures on the state, low levels of local governance capacity and accountability, conflicting stakeholder interests, and poor opportunities for dryland citizen engagement.

Dryland women face additional constraints to participat in governance due to their dual spatial and gender marginalization. Their needs and interests can often be overlooked in policy making, and in the provision of state services. Even where gender-equal laws have been put into place, entrenched inequalities, discriminatory social norms, harmful traditional practices, as well as dominant patterns of economic development can undermine their implementation and positive impact. In addition, different governance institutions, including the state and international rights frameworks, customary and religious authorities, can contradict each other, particularly in the drylands.

This can result in the recognition of women's rights falling at the centre of a conflict between a particular group's (e.g. pastoralists') efforts to achieve self-determination and recognition, and the authority of the state on the other. This complexity, together with competition, requires the dis-aggregation of locally-gendered patterns, to avoid inaccurate assumptions about the nature of governance for a particular group and their potential inequitable results in terms of rights and resource distribution. Notwithstanding, there are a number of common themes of women's exclusion from dryland governance occurring along the lines of gender justice:

- Lack of **recognition** of women as equal 'members' of communities and as citizens, with rights to make and influence decisions and be active agents of change. This is related to institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value that are embedded within different and diverse dryland governance systems, which led to processes of entrenchment of male privilege and inadequate representation of women at different levels of decision making and governance in the drylands. In some cases these values can prevent women's active participation in decision-making. These exclude women on the basis of a fundamental de-valuation of their roles and contributions, along with the spatial and political marginality of drylands in general.

- Lack of women's **representation** in the drylands, from household to international level, is related to the lack of recognition, despite progression in policy promoting women's participation. Challenges, such as the lack of access to adequate education, healthcare and assets, prevent women's participation in more formal positions of government and civil society.

- **An unequal distribution** of rights in the drylands, as a result of the lack of recognition of women and their consequent weak representation in decision making at different levels. This contributes to gender inequality in access to and control over resources, which is increasingly constrained by the changing climate and environmental pressures, along with demographic transitions such as male migration. It is also the case that dryland women experience unequal access to key government public services.

Despite these challenges, there are a number of opportunities emerging exist for facilitating women's empowerment in dryland governance. This includes tackling inadequate representation and recognition of women in dryland governance and a redistribution of resources, in the broader context of supporting processes of democratic governance and the associated values of participation, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and equity. Effective channels that can be used to support gender justice are: growing investment in dryland governance, informing contemporary trends in the drylands towards democratization and decentralization, supporting current processes for new spaces for dryland citizen engagement and opening spaces for greater participation of women in governance. However, activities will need to recognise both the overall marginalization of communities in governance processes and their need for greater self-determination and the specific marginalization of women and other excluded social groups within those communities.

A number of important lessons can be found in the literature on women and dryland governance. Civic education and participatory awareness raising activities with a focused investment in outreach activities are important for increasing women's participation in governance and building more inclusive cultures. Capacity strengthening is also vital for women leaders for policy change. Furthermore, it is necessary to increase engagement and understanding between dryland stakeholders to challenge socio-cultural norms and practices.

Additionally, quotas can improve women's representation in governance structures, though quotas alone are not enough, and capacity building for women and broader civic education initiatives is needed. Gender mainstreaming in policy, planning and budgeting can reform governance to support transformative change, but requires effective local capacity for effective implementation.

Experience demonstrates that needs assessments and greater women's leadership and participation can improve service delivery for women. Mobile services, and joint services (veterinary and human health), have also be found to be successful to reach dryland communities and in particular women. But, accountability of service delivery is also important: Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) can provide opportunities to facilitate higher levels of accountability. Social protection, without conditionality, and increasing women's workloads, can be effective in improving development outcomes for women. As such it needs to be prioritised in national budgets and by donors. Civic education and awareness-raising campaigns targeting excluded groups in the drylands and tackling gender barriers to participation can improve political participation. Supporting women's organisations can assist in peace and stability in dryland countries. An active and gender balanced media can provide greater transparency and accountability for governance.

Recommendations

The study details a range of strategic actions to build an enabling environment for women's empowerment in the drylands with respect to governance.

Policy actions

1. National governments to support a policy and implementation review to ensure women are represented in governance across all policies, such as those related to the economy and poverty reduction, environment and agro-ecology: with attention to territorial and agro-ecological differences and intersecting inequalities.

2. National governments to mainstream gender equality policies within democratization and decentralization initiatives in the drylands.

3. National governments to ratify and implement international conventions and agreements for women's rights and empowerment, good governance and environment in national policy.

4. Local and national governments, with the support of donors and CSOs, to review institutional barriers to women's participation in governance, such as education or literacy requirements in order to run for elections, funding for election campaigns, or the need for identification for voting privileges. These barriers will need to be identified through a comprehensive review of women's participation at local to national levels with specific recommendations to be addressed and monitored.

5. National governments to adopt redistributive policies through progressive taxation and social protection to direct greater resources to service provision for dryland women.

Institutional Actions

6. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to promote women's rights, empowerment and participation in local, regional and national governance, including support to women's groups in civic awareness and voter registration.

7. National governments to establish an inter-ministerial working group on women and governance, including territorial representation, with adequate budget.

8. National governments to institute quotas for women's participation in governance from local to national levels, supported through a capacity strengthening programme for women and awareness-raising initiatives with men.

9. National governments to create a citizen-led approach to improving government accountability at the local level through the development of accessible mechanisms for post-2015 development agendas, including implementation and monitoring of these initiatives.

10. National statistics offices to direct effort to improve administration systems to collect gender disaggregated data on women's participation in governance processes and in accessing services in the drylands in a systematic and comparative way.

11. Ministries of education, with the support of donors, CSOs and research institutes, to review gender issues in education (including adult education) and develop a targeted strategy in the drylands.

12. Academic institutions to seek support for research on gender and governance in the drylands for local-level information to inform policy.

13. National governments to facilitate high level policy dialogues with academics and CSOs to increase evidence-based policy making towards improving the recognition of gender issues and women's rights issues in the drylands.

14. Media outlets to support the advancement of female journalists and provide greater exposure to issues of women's rights, particularly in the drylands.

Capacity strengthening actions

15. CSOs to support gender justice through capacity strengthening for communities in gender awareness and discriminatory practices, participatory dialogue, and civic engagement. This should be complemented by activities working with existing local leaders and supporting new female leaders to support women's land rights.

16. CSOs, academic institutions and the media to increase awareness of gender, pastoralist and environmental sustainability issues in the drylands, and the implementation of policies in practice. This awareness raising should target decision makers in order to address issues of gender justice in these areas, and seek to counter the negative stereotypes of dryland areas to culturally revalue them and women's knowledge and equal rights in particular.

17. Donors to direct investment, as a priority, to strengthening the capacity of local governance structures, state and customary, for gender justice.

18. National governments to couple the establishment of quotas for women's representation with capacity strengthening on land rights governance, gender issues, and the intersection of these issues, targeting both men and women in activities.

19. The international community, national governments, research institutions and CSOs to identify and share good practice (internationally and locally) on pathways for greater gender justice in governance in dryland areas.

1 | INTRODUCTION: WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN THE DRYLANDS

L. Forsythe

1.   Introduction: Women's empowerment in the drylands

This policy research assignment has been commissioned by the UNDP Global Policy Centre on Resilient Ecosystems and Desertification (GPC-Nairobi), and the United Nations (UN) Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD). The partnership recognizes that globally, drylands are important and that women play an important role in drylands development, managing land, crops, forest and water resources, which affect the livelihood options of families. They also recognize that there are new opportunities for women to actively contribute to and benefit from sustainable drylands development if they are supported. However, there is widespread discrimination, inequality and stereotypes that prevent women's participation and realization of their human rights. Gender equality rooted in human rights is thus both an essential development goal on its own and vital to achieving sustainable and inclusive drylands.

The objective of the study is to propose strategic actions in the policy, institutional and capacity spheres to advance the gender equality and women's empowerment agenda in the drylands, in three thematic areas: land rights, resilience and governance. These reports are targeted at policy makers, but it is also of relevance to other drylands stakeholders including civil society, political leaders, traditional authorities and dryland communities and women.

This study presents findings from a review of peer-reviewed and grey literature relevant to women, the drylands and land rights, governance and resilience. Literature was identified through academic journal databases, internet search engines and targeted searches of development practitioners' publication depositories. Searches were conducted based on search criteria derived from the conceptual framework. Literature was also sourced through professional networks of the Natural Resources Institute. Due to the considerable gap in literature that examines the nexus of drylands, gender and social difference, and each thematic area (resilience, governance, and land rights), literature from developing countries more broadly was used to identify possible lessons and geographically-relevant examples, as well as broader thematic literature, for which gender implications have been analysed. In researching these themes, the generic marginalization of the drylands was considered as well as the specific types of discrimination affecting women. Furthermore, a human rights-based approach was adopted with a view to seeking ways of overcoming discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power.

Our conceptual framework for analysing the literature explores the three dimensions of gender justice as identified by Fraser (2008); representation, recognition and redistribution. Gender justice is achieved at the intersection of all three, i.e. it requires women's empowerment in all spheres. The analytical framework includes the intersection of gender-related inequalities with other forms of identity-based discrimination and delineates the desired roles of duty-bearers and rights-holders in different strategic actions (policy, institutional and capacity-focused) for dryland women's empowerment.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework for the study

DRYLAND ZONES

Challenge: Forms of discrimination common in dryland societies

HORIZONTAL DIMENSION:

Spatial marginalization of Dryland Zones

- Economic, Environmental, Political and Cultural, including devaluation of dryland communities, especially pastoralists

VERTICAL DIMENSION:

Discrimination against individuals & households

- Gender discrimination
- Discrimination along lines of age, class, ethnicity etc.

DUTY BEARERS

Governments, private sector, NGOs, local leaders, communities, individuals

(Accountability)

Fulfil responsibility towards

Claim rights from

RIGHT HOLDERS

Drylands Women & marginal groups

(Participation)

A process of negotiation between rights holders & duty bearers

Strategic Actions on the 3 dimensions of gender justice
- Recognition
- Representation
- Redistribution
– needed by specific actors

Desired Outcome: Achievement of gender justice & women's empowerment in dryland zones

1.1 Gender and drylands governance: Empowering women for change

This paper explores issues of dryland governance in relation to gender justice. The structure of the report is as follows:

- Section two provides a brief introduction to the key concepts of governance, drylands and gender and the inter-relationships between them, as well as explaining the conceptual framework for this study.

- In section three, the key challenges in dryland zones are presented with respect to gender and governance, exploring both the generic challenges of spatial marginalization of drylands and the specific challenges for drylands women.

- In section four opportunities are identified emerging for dryland women's empowerment, particularly with respect to overall international development trends and processes and emerging from field insights and practice.

- In section five, lessons are presented from experience in development programming in drylands zones.

- In section six priority strategic actions are set out for key stakeholders.

2 | DRYLANDS, GOVERNANCE AND GENDER

This section provides a brief introduction to governance and the concepts and definitions employed in this paper, before setting out governance issues in dryland regions. We conclude the section by explaining the gender justice dimensions of drylands governance.

UNDP

2.1 Governance

Governance is a complex concept that can be conceptualized in multiple ways, and has no single definition (see Box 1). However, it commonly refers to decision making by a range of interested people or stakeholders, individuals and groups, including those in formal positions of power and 'ordinary' citizens (Brody, 2009). It includes different levels and institutions, including the household, community (e.g. CSOs), local and national government, and global institutions (e.g. United Nations and the World Bank) that are becoming increasingly interlinked (Ashworth, 1996; Brody, 2009). These stakeholders have different interests, leverage and power, which influence the processes of and outcomes from decision making, essentially establishing who decision making is 'by' and 'for'.

Box 1: Definitions of Governance and Good Governance

Institute on Governance (2015): *Governance* determines who has power, who makes decisions, how other players make their voices heard and how account is rendered. Ultimately, the application of good governance serves to realize organizational and societal goals.

World Bank (2013): *Governance* is the rule of the rulers, typically within a given set of rules. It is also the process by which authority is conferred on rulers, by which they make the rules, and by which those rules are enforced and modified. *Good governance* is defined in terms of the mechanisms thought to be needed to promote it. For example, in various places, good governance has been associated with democracy and good civil rights, with transparency, with the rule of law, and with efficient public services.

UNDP (2013): *Democratic governance* is defined as a set of values and principles that underpin state–society relations, allowing people – in particular the poor and marginalized – to have a say in how they are governed, in how decisions are made and implemented. It also means that people's human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected, and that they can hold their leaders to account, thus aiming to make governing institutions more responsive and accountable, and respectful of international norms and principles. Countries that respect democratic governance values and principles also ensure that mechanisms are in place for people to be protected from arbitrary action by state actors, as well as powerful corporations. Hence, democratic governance is not synonymous with a particular system of government; it is a way of governing that can be practised in a variety of political systems.

The importance of good governance and the link between governance and development outcomes, economic growth, social justice, human rights and gender equality, is articulated in the work of key international institutions, such as the United National Development Programme (UNDP, UNCHR)[1]. In addition, an analysis of Millennium Development Goal (MDG) achievements have highlighted governance as one of the missing links in the MDG results (UNDP, 2012) and is now currently featured in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly goal 16: "Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels".

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1   The UNDP Strategic Plan (2014-17) has included 'Building and Strengthening Inclusive and Effective Democratic Governance' as one of its three priorities, and "assist countries to maintain or secure peaceful and democratic governance".

Box 2: Definitions of Governance and Good Governance

SDGs build on the foundation laid by the MDGs and respond to new, global, challenges. The SDGs will be accompanied by targets that will be further elaborated through indicators developed with extensive consultation with international civil society.

The importance of addressing issues in the drylands is highlighted particularly in Goal 15, from an environmental perspective. Goal 15 aims to "Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss". This includes in the drylands (15.1).

Additionally, governance features in Goal 16: "Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels". Particularly relevant indicators are:

- 16.3. Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all
- 16.5. Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms
- 16.6. Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels
- 16.7. Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels
- 16.8. Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance
- 16.9. By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration
- 16.10 Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements
- 16.a Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime
- 16.b Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development

The governance narrative among the international community associates good governance with democratic values and forms of governance, which are particularly important for the realization of women's rights (Goetz and Jenkins, 2015). Democratic governance essentially entails the popular control over public decision making and decision-makers, along with equality between citizens in the exercise of that control (UNDP, 2006:5, Box 1). Characteristics of democratic governance give rise to a number of mediating values that help provide a basis on which good governance can be operationalized. This includes: participation, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and equity (see Table 1).

However, this rhetorical support for good governance may or may not be supported in practice, where there is continuing support for strong states that can get development done but may fall short of being democratic (Leftwich, 1994). In addition, governance processes are complex and can require trade-offs between different values of democratic governance. For example, the efficiency of government to make decisions can be reduced with greater participation and consultation in decision making. This is important to note that what is defined as good governance is also a political construct representing outcomes from negotiations of different political stakeholders.

An essential element to current understandings of governance is the importance of an active and empowered citizeny, including those that are asset-poor and marginalized, to engage with governance processes (UNDP, 2006: 2). Therefore, citizen empowerment is a critical concept with respect to democratic governance (see Box 3).

Box 3: Definitions of empowerment

The term 'empowerment' has different meanings in different contexts, leading to a range of definitions, and also refers to both a process and an outcome. For example, for Sen (1999), the concept of empowerment refers to an expansion in an individual's agency i.e. expansion in one's ability to act and bring about change, whose achievement can be judged in terms of her or his own values and objectives.

Empowerment can also be broken down into specific, but interrelated components relating to economic, social, political and cultural empowerment. For example, political empowerment entails the capacity to analyse, organize and mobilize, which results in collective action that is required for collective change (Luttrell et al., 2009). It is often related to a rights-based approach and the empowering of citizens to claim their rights and entitlements (Piron and Watkins, 2004). However, political empowerment is related to cultural empowerment, which requires the redefining of rules and norms and recreating of cultural and symbolic practises (Stromquist, 1993 in Luttrell et al., 2009).

In contrast, international organizations, such as the World Bank, use other definitions which may emphasize more economic empowerment, focusing on assets and capabilities, while linking this with wellbeing, development and governance:

> **Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives"… and requires the removal of formal and informal institutional barriers that prevent them from taking action to improve their wellbeing - individually or collectively - and limit their choices**
>
> *(World Bank, 2002:4).*

Good governance has a two-way relationship with empowerment: it promotes empowerment, and empowerment enhances good governance. When individuals are empowered, it means that empowerment can contribute to less corruption, social cohesion, trust and general effectiveness of government. However, governance also affects the empowerment of people, such as their access to justice (World Bank, 2002). Moreover, empowerment is required for participation in democratic governance, which is reflected in a number of international agreements, such as the UNCCD which commits governments to addressing desertification. However, for this to occur it requires opening up new and alternative spaces for citizenry to interact with, and shape, governance institutions, for the realization of human rights and development goals. In particular, less powerful actors need to be empowered to claim new opportunities, moments and channels to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests (Gaventa, 2006).

2.2   Drylands and governance

The inherently variable and uncertain ecology of drylands has implications for local and national governance. Dryland customary institutions, which govern rights to common resources, mobility etc., require flexibility to enable communities to cope with and adapt to environmental variability and risk. This means that norms and rules are continually reinvented with changing environmental, economic, social and political pressures and changes (Odgaard, 2012). These rules are largely unwritten and flexible, and dependent on social relationships as they are generally acquired through negotiations with group power holder(s). As a result, customary institutions can be preferred over state institutions, as the former are perceived to be more effective in facilitating be more complex patterns of resource use (Diarra and Monimart, 2006).

A key feature of customary dryland governance is in the facilitation of mobility for people and livestock, particularly among pastoral communities in West Africa and Central Asia, to gain access to water and forage resources (Dyer, 2013; ILC, 2012:13; Hua and Squires, 2015) (see Thematic Paper 3: Resilience). This results in shifting, and sometimes overlapping, patterns of authority over a specific territory.

Communal rights are also important in the drylands, as they regulate and control the use of natural resources, such as land and water resources, among and between group members. In some areas, particularly among pastoral communities, these resources are often held in common, meaning that ownership resides with the group and is shared between members, but with authority vested in lineage heads, usually male, according to customary practices (Bruce and Holt, 2011). Access to resources is provided through group membership, where rights can vary according to factors such as age, gender and marital status (see Thematic Paper 1: Land rights).

However, the spatial marginality of dryland regions and misconceptions about the rangelands and pastoralism has historically led to the exclusion of dryland communities from state governance processes, which in turn has led to inappropriate policies resulting in sustained poverty. State policy in the drylands, or lack of policy, has reflected strong myths about dryland zones, that the drylands are unproductive areas and their resources are of limited value, and that the livelihoods of drylands people, largely pastoral communities, are inefficient and do not contribute to economic growth (Davies et al., 2012; Nlamir-Fuller, 2005). Furthermore, conflict in regions such as Darfur, western Sudan, has not only been caused by exploitation of drylands people, injustice and political struggle, but essentially and more importantly, by the state's failure to form an effective form of regional governance (Morton and Kerven, 2013).

National governments may be represented in the drylands in various ways. Post-colonial states in the drylands have differing systems of local government, with differing numbers of tiers and population coverage. However, there is a tendency in many anglophone countries for the 'district' or equivalent to be a very important tier of government for practical purposes. Post-colonial states in the drylands also vary greatly in the extent to which local government can take devolved decisions on development issues, and on the relationship between elected local governments and the local representatives of sectoral ministries. There are also differences in the extent to which local governments have assured financial resources, either through the right to raise local revenues, or through recurrent grants in aid from central government.

There are considerable differences in governance characteristics and trends in drylands regions. In recent decades there has been a trend towards a more genuine decentralization of government in African countries such as Mali, Kenya, and especially Uganda. In Brazil, including the dryland areas of north-eastern Brazil, by contrast, the most important form of local government, the municipio, is too small in population and resources to be effective, and there is no formal intermediate level between the municipio and the state. As a result, there is experimentation on

how municipios, while maintaining their formal status can be grouped into 'territories' and how those territories can be defined (Favareto, 2009; Favareto et al., 2012; Quan et al., 2012).

These national systems often run alongside traditional, local customary systems at the community level, along with institutions and organizations set up for economic or social development. This leads to a diverse array of hybrid forms of governance (Morton, 2010) which each generate their own forms of 'micro-politics' as they operate at the local level. Any of these institutions may influence important decisions made at the local level in response to natural resources management and in a context of a variable and changing climate.

For example, in Gujarat, India, organizations with the legal form of parastatal companies have become important players in the development and the governance of pastoralists. Both the Gujarat Sheep and Wool Development Corporation Ltd and the Gujarat Gopalak Development Corporation Ltd. function as institutions relevant to pastoral development, the latter working in turn through local co-operatives (Sharma and Tilala, 2005). Donor-funded projects, such as the World Bank-funded Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP) in Kenya, may grow to the point they become major parts of government presence in particular areas. As well as economic institutions, 'quasi-judicial entities' such as Botswana's Land Boards (Werbner, 1980), may become part of governance institutions. Beyond state institutions, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) may become sufficiently large and deep-rooted to be considered de facto part of governance. In north-eastern Brazil, 'territorial development' is not only a matter for formal local government, but involves its networking with rural trade unions and social movements, churches, and the private sector (Quan et al., 2012, 2011; Leite, 2010; Leite and Delgado, 2011).

Traditionally, the governance in the drylands has been centralized in nature, based upon a one-size-fits-all approach to policy and regulation and a particular notion of citizenship, which may not be representative of dryland people. Frequently, those whose livelihoods are based upon some form of mobility, including cross-border mobility, along with lacking a permanent residence, are not seen as members of society with entitlements that accompany citizenship in the same ways as other rural and urban communities and are often seen as difficult to 'govern'. As a result, entire groups of dryland peoples have been excluded from decision-making institutions and processes, along with being subject to detrimental policies such as sedentarization policies which aimed to reduce the mobility of communities and increase productivity (see the 'challenges' section in this paper and Thematic Paper 1: Land rights) (Odgaard, 2012; Monimart and Tan, 2006; Hua and Squires).

Currently, a counter-narrative of a 'new pastoral development paradigm' is gaining traction in international policy circles. This new paradigm incorporates acceptance of livestock mobility, with devolution in rangeland management authority to local groups. It emphasizes communal management and ownership of the rangelands, which is better adapted to climate variability along with pastoral mobility (see Thematic Paper 3: Resilience). Efforts are underway to challenge some of the dominant myths about drylands, showing their social, economic and ecological value, with progressive initiatives. The Pastoral Codes and Charters of the Sahelian countries, which give quasi-constitutional recognition to key rights to mobility and to collective resource management, are an important example (Hesse and Thebaud, 2006).

The experience in various countries of parliamentary groups, formal or informal, to promote appropriate policies for pastoralism has been broadly positive (Morton et al., 2007). Large donor-funded projects, such as the ALRMP in Kenya noted above, can be important vehicles for the establishment of local resource management and disaster risk management institutions. Furthermore, the establishment in Kenya of the Ministry for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands, with some key staff drawn from projects and NGOs, was important

in shifting policy debates (Elmi and Birch, 2013) and, although now abolished, has paved the way for effective decentralization to county level in Kenya.

However, progress is uneven. The so-called paradigm shift has so far been incorporated into policies, laws and discourse more by some governments than others. Additionally, processes of socio-economic change, such as changes in land tenure, large-scale investments in agriculture, continuing sedentarization, are in some cases, further fracturing and demobilizing communities, preventing them or weakening their capacity to interact effectively with government (Galaty, 2011; Hesse and Thebaud, 2006).

2.3   Gender and drylands governance

This section sets out issues around gender and governance, how women's rights have been recognized in governance and where there are gaps, and applies the gender justice framework to drylands governance.

2.3.1 Gender and governance

Governance processes and institutions are fundamentally gendered, and mean different things for different individuals and social groups. The situated knowledge of women, related to their roles and responsibilities that give rise to different perceptions, knowledge, and experiences (Hartsock, 1998; Smith, 2014), need to be reflected in governance structures and policies. However, feminist scholarship and practice has highlighted issues around equity and power relations in governance processes and decision making, how this structures institutions and the ability of citizens to participate along lines of gender, class and race from local to international levels (Moore, 1988; Brody, 2009). This scholarship has identified the widespread male-bias that is inherent in many prevailing ideas and practices of citizenship and participation that often exclude women as participants in governance processes, along with their needs as a result of their gender (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003).

In the 1990s, with the expansion of democracy, growth of social justice movements and women's movements, issues of rights and justice began to feature in international debates, and women increasingly engaged with the state as activists and participants in government. The movements for gender justice that received prominence in this period allowed new demands to be articulated and debated, such as the international UN conferences on environment, human rights, population and women (Mukhopadhyay and Singh, 2007).

However, while democratization, which can enable greater citizen voice and participation has taken place in a number of countries, the extent to which states advance or curtail women's rights is still variable (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003; Goetz and Jenkins, 2015). A number of deep-seated challenges remain for the recognition and representation of women in governance processes. Some of these challenges include discrimination at different levels of governance, double burdens of reproductive and career responsibilities, lack of or different networks or connections, lack of financial capital along with lower education and health levels. Addressing these barriers for women often involves an overemphasis on women's representation in government, without attention to the full spectrum of women's exclusion from governance processes s (Brody, 2009).

Table 1 sets out how the requirements of the different mediating values for pro-poor and gender-sensitive democratic governance and provides examples of the institutional means for realizing them. This matrix is useful for providing a schema of governance, and pro-poor and gender-sensitive dimensions. However, it is generic in nature and what we consider in future sections of this paper are the specific issues for drylands women's empowerment on these different aspects of democratic governance and what institutional changes are needed for dryland women's empowerment.

Table 1: Realizing democratic values in a pro-poor and gender-sensitive manner

Mediating values	Requirements to be pro-poor and gender sensitive	Institutional Means of realizing these requirements
Participation	• Women/men and poor/non-poor enjoy and exercise the same rights to participate • Women/men and poor/non-poor possess the capacities and resources to participate • An inclusive participatory culture exists which encourages women and the poor to be active politically	• Civil and political rights are enforced and safeguarded for all citizens • Electoral quotas for women and groups experiencing severe social disadvantage e.g. scheduled castes/tribes in India • Civic and voter education programmes targeted at women and the poor
Representation	• Parliamentarians at national and sub-national level articulate the concerns and priorities of women and the poor • Civil service is representative of social composition of the electorate, including women and the poor	• Political party quotas for female electoral candidates • Anti-discrimination legislation and equal opportunity policies in the civil service • Affirmative action policies
Accountability	• Clear and effective lines of accountability (legal, financial, administrative, and political) to safeguard judicial integrity, and to ensure honest and efficient performance by civil servants in the delivery of public services to women and low income groups	• Speedy and low cost access to law courts, administrative tribunals and Ombudsmen by the poor • Existence and enforcement of legislation against domestic violence • Anti-corruption programmes • Procedural initiatives to strengthen budgetary oversight by National Parliaments with support of Auditor General and Accountant-General • Public Expenditure Tracking of spending on health and education • Robust political parties, CSOs and pressure groups to promote the interests of women and the poor
Transparency	• Government decision making in areas of particular concern to women and low income groups should be open to legislative and public scrutiny	• Freedom of Information legislation • Independent media allowing journalists to report on gender and poverty issues • Gender-sensitive budgeting at local level • Benefit incidence analysis of major items of public expenditure

Table 1 (continued)

Mediating values	Requirements to be pro-poor and gender sensitive	Institutional Means of realizing these requirements
Responsiveness	• Accessibility of government to advocates of pro-poor, gender sensitive policy formulation, implementation and service delivery	• Systematic and open procedures of public consultation on issues of particular concern to women and the poor • Effective legal redress for women and members of low income groups • Local governments' policy agenda and decisions includes local priorities of the women and the poor
Efficiency	• Goods and services provided by the public sector at least cost and in the quantities/qualities desired by citizens	• Procedural initiatives to strengthen budgetary oversight by National Parliaments with support of Auditor General and Accountant-General
Equity	• State redistributes entitlements through taxation and public expenditure in accordance with a democratically-expressed social welfare function	• Progressive system of taxation and expenditure • Use of targeted welfare programmes

Source: UNDP (2006: 7)

2.3.2 Women's rights and governance

Due to the work of social movements and international organizations, there has been significant progress in greater human rights and women's rights (Molyneaux and Razavi, 2003). This includes progress in three important development indicators including reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market, summarized in the composite Gender Inequality Index, which reflects inequality in achievements between women and men. Trends show improvement globally and for dryland countries. This indicates that women's rights are increasingly being addressed by governance structures and services, reflected in the measurements and indicators for ongoing monitoring of women's rights issues (UNDP, GII Index).

However, the realization of women's rights is far from straightforward in reality. The translation of equality before the law into equal outcomes is not automatic. Even where gender-equal laws have been put into place, entrenched inequalities, discriminatory social norms, harmful customary practices, as well as dominant patterns of economic development can undermine their implementation and positive impact (UN Women, 2015). In addition, different governance institutions, including the state and international rights frameworks, customary and religious authorities, can contradict each other, particularly in the drylands. This can result in the recognition of women's rights falling at the centre of a conflict between a particular group's (e.g. pastoralists') efforts to achieve self-determination and recognition, and the authority of the state on the other. In addition, the interaction of women's rights narratives with neoliberalism in the 1980s and 90s which promotes decentralized power and state retraction, has been contradictory in nature, leading to varied impact in development outcomes with respect to gender equality (Molyneaux and Razavi, 2003).

Part of the difficulty lies with the representation of women, where international rights rhetoric of advancing female participation does not match representation on the ground. A wide range of evidence from dryland literature suggests that women lack decision-making power and influence at the local level, within households and their

communities. The lack of women's decision-making power over land and its resources has considerable negative impacts, particularly where male outmigration on a permanent or seasonal basis is occurring and there is increased incidence of female household headship, which requires women to manage increasingly scarce resources, often without the transfer of rights, such as land ownership and decision making, and recognition.

Women's representation is also lacking at the national level, for example, nationally, only 22 per cent of all national parliamentarians were female as of January 2015, a slow increase from 11.3 per cent in 1995 (IPU and UN Women, 2015). Levels of underrepresentation of women between dryland and non-dryland countries are largely similar (see Appendix A: W). However, there is a substantial degree of variation among dryland countries: Bolivia ranks second in the world to Rwanda for the highest number of female representatives in parliament, in contrast to Ethiopia, which ranks 139 out of 140 (IPU, 2015). Variation can be related to policy strategies such as quotas for female representation; however, women are found in government areas traditionally perceived as 'female roles' in social affairs, such as education, family, youth, health and gender (Sherif, 2013). Women's voting rates are also lagging behind men in dryland countries, similar to developing countries more generally (IDEA, 2014[3])

Therefore, it is necessary to create new spaces and opportunities within political processes for human rights and social transformation that recognises both the overall marginalization of communities in governance processes and their need for greater self-determination and the frequent dual or triple marginalization of women and other excluded social groups within those communities.

2.3.3 Applying the Gender Justice Framework

To understand issues around gender inequality in governance in the drylands, the concept of gender justice is useful. Essentially gender justice emphasizes the political nature of gender equality and draws attention to locations where struggles for equality are taking place (Mukhopadhyay and Singh, 2007). This paper uses Fraser's (2008) model of gender justice, which includes three interrelated dimensions: representation, redistribution and recognition. This has been interpreted in the following way:

Recognition: Recognition involves the recognition and value of women's roles in the drylands, as primary providers of water, food and energy at household and community levels, and needs that arise from those roles (UNEP, 2013). This means that dryland women are equal 'members' of communities and citizens with rights to make and influence decisions and be active agents of change. This is related to institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value that are embedded within different and diverse dryland governance systems, leading to processes of entrenchment of male privilege and inadequate representation of women at different levels of decision making and governance in the drylands. In some cases, these values can prevent women's active participation in decision making and exclude women on the basis of a fundamental devaluation of their roles and contributions, along with their spatial and political marginality of drylands in general (Diarra and Monimart, 2006).

Recognition is examined in the challenges and opportunities sections, where specific locations are identified as sites of inequality or potential sources of equality, for dryland communities and women within these communities. For example, in the past, the mobile, sometimes cross-border nature of pastoralism and the geographical remoteness of dryland zones has led to pastoralists being seen as somehow hard to govern and not full members of the national state. At the same time, the lack of recognition of women's rights in some dryland contexts affects their access and control over resources and participation in decision making and governance.

Although customary systems have continued to have a major role in dryland governance, which can provide more effective and sustainable governance over communities, and land and natural resources, in many societies, they also reflect entrenched traditional patterns of male privilege and decision making. In some pastoralist societies,

2   http://www.idea.int/gender/vt_by_country.cfm#india

for example, social relations are often patriarchal and patrilocal, meaning that women have limited bargaining power to influence and participate in decision making within households or the wider community. In other contexts, gender inequalities may have been exacerbated or introduced through colonization, or commercial and development investments encouraged and supported by governments that tend to exclude women (see Thematic Paper 1: Land Rights). This reveals socio-cultural assumptions about gender roles, relations and knowledge that are context specific. At the same time, inappropriate state policies have been detrimental to dryland communities in terms of contributing to exclusion and poverty, while also furthering the exclusion of women or diminishing women's existing status.

The recognition of dryland women involves acknowledgement of women's experience of multiple inequalities that contribute to deprivation, on the basis of their membership of dryland communities and as women (see Box 1 for the definition of multiple inequalities). Additional inequalities can also be experienced for certain groups of women within dryland societies on the basis of socioeconomic status, geographic location, race, caste and ethnicity, sexuality, or disability that limit women's and girls' opportunities and life chances (UN Women, 2015). The intersectionality of these different factors require context-specific unpacking to understand the dynamics of identity and power relations and how this may affect governance.

Box 4: Multiple inequalities and social exclusion

Throughout the world, certain groups of people face systematic social exclusion as the result of multiple inequalities that constrict their life chances. Multiple inequalities are related to multiple identities which can be discriminated against, taking place in a number of different areas, including:

- Cultural inequalities: forms of discrimination and 'de-valuation' that assign members of these groups lesser status and worth than others
- Spatial inequalities: such groups frequently live in places that make them harder to reach, or easier to ignore
- Economic inequalities: these groups are often disadvantaged by an unfair distribution of assets and opportunities
- Political inequalities: they are deprived of voice and influence on the critical issues that affect their lives and their communities

Each of these inequalities is a source of injustice, though the intersection of different inequalities reinforces the persistence of social exclusion over time.

Source: Kabeer (2014)

Representation: The lack of recognition of women's rights and their membership of dryland societies has led to processes of entrenchment of male privilege and inadequate representation of women at different levels of decision making and governance in the drylands. Women are frequently marginalized within dryland households and communities, and the extent of this marginalization can vary. Gender relations are complex and can be changing. However, it is also very important not to over-generalize what can be complex patterns at the local level.

Dryland women are also frequently marginalized and isolated from governmental structures and processes from local to national level due to misrepresentation, despite progression in policy promoting women's participation. Challenges such as a lack of access to adequate education, healthcare and assets, prevent women's participation in more formal positions of local and national government. Analysis is needed of dryland women's representation and participation in policy making, the extent to which such policies tackle dryland gender issues, whether national and local policies and implementation are transparent, who has access to information, etc.

Dryland marginality has also encouraged a proliferation of quasi-governmental agencies, projects, boards and the like, and of CSOs, assuming some of the functions of government, but with very ambiguous patterns of accountability to local people, including local women. Governments' abdication of their responsibilities of governance in favour of 'traditional' or quasi-governmental institutions can itself set up complex dynamics affecting women. Dryland women also can be excluded from civil society (e.g. social movements, CSOs, religious bodies and companies). Therefore, disaggregation of locally-gendered patterns is necessary rather than making assumptions about the nature of governance for a particular group – identifying the place-specific extent of marginalization/inclusion of the entire dryland society and the specific marginalization/inclusion processes for women is important.

Redistribution: There are a number of negative consequences related to the multiple marginality experienced by dryland women. The lack of recognition of women and their consequent weak representation in decision making at different levels as outlined above perpetuates harmful and discriminatory gender-based practices and means that development outcomes for women in the drylands can be poor.

While there is variation amongst women in their experiences and their access to resources, there are commonalities in their lack of influence in households and community decision making. This means that dryland women may have less decision-making influence over the use and management of natural resource use and management, despite the fact that they are often the primary users (e.g. water, firewood etc.). In addition, 'participatory' approaches based in and on public spaces may be gender- and caste-unequal, creating or entrenching gender inequality in local communities (Mosse, 1994). It is also the case that dryland women disproportionately have unequal access to key government public services. Therefore, there is a strong need to redistribute rights towards women in the drylands by reconceptualizing what it means to be a citizen and a member of dryland communities and the state.

3

KEY CHALLENGES

This section discusses the challenges in the drylands with respect to gender and governance on two levels: firstly, the generic challenges of the drylands governance – as both causes of poor governance and challenges to governance in the drylands – and secondly, the specific challenges faced by dryland women.

L. Forsythe

3.1 Generic governance challenges

3.1.1 The relationship between environmental degradation and poor governance

While there is considerable resilience in dryland systems, there are significant climatic and ecological challenges largely related to lack of water resources and drought (IPCC, 2014; Neumann et al., 2015). Strained resources and the lack of alternative livelihoods contributes to tensions, competition and conflicts over land and natural resources in the drylands, placing further pressure on resources and adding to the complexity of governance processes (see Thematic Paper 1: Land Rights and Thematic Paper 3: Resilience. Particular challenges regarding governance in the drylands involve sustainable resource planning and management within the context of decentralized governance (UNEP, 2007 in Adam et al., 2014). In addition, the absence of strong CSOs and institutions in the drylands and means for communities to participate with them, further exacerbates environmental degradation (UNDP/DDC, no date; UNDP, 2011).

Environmental issues are gendered. Men and women have different relationships arising from different patterns of use and control rights over different natural resources specific to context, and subsequently they are affected differently. These complex interactions between socio-economic context, multiple inequalities and poverty, along with weather and climatic events, creates an ever-shifting context of risk (Olsson et al., 2014). However, due to the lack of recognition and representation of women in research and decision-making processes on climate change, these aspects are often excluded from global discussions on climate change and adaptation (Joto, 2011). Furthermore, the increasing need to use national finance for climate-related issues is directing funds away from public expenditures in other areas, particularly for social protection which is an important source of support for dryland women (see Box 1 below).

Box 5: Public expenditure and climate finance

A study on public spending patterns in 128 developing countries found that following the financial crisis in 2008–2009, most developing countries made considerable reductions in budgets and expenditures. In 2012 for example, 91 governments cut spending. Nearly one-quarter of developing countries have cut expenditures below pre-crisis levels (Ortiz and Cummins, 2013).

These austerity measures have a significant impact on women and children. In some developing countries, a decline or cap on public sector wages for teachers and nurses may be instituted, disproportionality affecting women, as these jobs are one of the sources of formal employment for women. The decline in fuel, electricity and food subsidies along with social safety nets also causes challenges for vulnerable groups, such as those living in the drylands. (Ortiz and Cummins, 2013).

In addition, increased expenditure on climate change adaptation and mitigation, taking place mainly in dryland countries, has caused further reductions in spending on public expenditures. For example, from 2008–11, Ethiopia committed 14% of its national budget to climate change, which equates to almost half of expenditures on primary education. Meanwhile, Tanzania spent 5%, which is close to two-thirds of its health spending. Greater transparency is required to increase the confidence and effectiveness of climate finance, with support from international donors.

(Bird, 2014)

3.1.2 Managing demographic pressures on the state

Demographic trends of population growth, migration and the growing cohort of youth in the drylands, particularly in Africa and Asia, presents a significant challenge to governance. Urban migration in particular, which occurs due to a number of interrelated factors including poverty, disease, food insecurity, and environmental degradation and conflict, including over natural resources, has a greater prevalence and significance in the drylands due to a long history of spatial and socio-economic marginalization.

Urbanization is due to a number of factors but in the drylands it is notable that high population growth, conflict, poor land tenure, lack of livelihood opportunities and environmental constraints are contributing factors. Increased migration to urban areas in particular has led to a number of governance challenges related to providing effective governance and service provision for an increasingly diverse and fragmented populace. In unplanned settlements, services and infrastructure may be absent or insufficient (Sisk, 2004). Managing diversity and inter-group conflict is also a challenge for urban governance where ethnic tensions can arise in these contexts (Sisk, 2004). Effective governance is key to addressing these complex issues.

Box 6: Urbanization Trends in the drylands

Seven out of the top ten countries with the highest rates of projected urbanization from 2014 to 2050 are dryland countries (see Table 1 below). Of the top five countries expected to experience the highest rate of urbanisation, three are countries with a large proportion of drylands: Uganda (2.0), Ethiopia (1.9) and Niger (1.8) (UN, 2015).

Table 2: The ten fastest urbanizing countries or areas 2014–2050

Country	Rate of urbanization 2014–2050
Burundi	2.2
Uganda *	2.0
Ethiopia *	1.9
Nepal	1.9
Niger *	1.8
Eritrea *	1.8
Rwanda *	1.8
Malawi	1.7
South Sudan *	1.7
Burkina Faso *	1.6

* countries with dryland areas or that are predominately dryland countries

Source: UN (2015)

Migration trends in the drylands are also gendered. Seasonal and permanent migration in dryland areas is mainly practised among men, but this is not always the case (see Box 7). In cases of male migration, women are essentially the land users, though ownership and decision-making rights often remain with men (FAO, 2003). This presents a challenge for women in making decisions and investments in land and natural resource-related activities.

Box 7: Women and migration in Mali

Migration is also undertaken by women in the drylands. For example, a study focused on seasonal migration of blind beggars from Mali to Senegal and the Malian girls and young women who accompany them as guides. However, the study found that female migrants are ignored and missed in policy and support provision, as they do not fit the prevailing social constructions of 'children' and 'gender' upon which current migration and human trafficking agreements and support in the region are based. Various recommendations are made to better align such policies with the experiences and needs of this group of female migrants.

Source: IDRC (2013)

3.1.3 Inappropriate policies and their consequences for governance

Government policy in the drylands has often been based on myths and negative stereotypes of drylands people which have had detrimental effects for customary institutions, along with trust and confidence among dryland populations in state institutions. Myths have stereotyped drylands people as unproductive, with environmentally unsustainable practices, who are difficult to govern. Sedentarization and land privatization policies in dryland areas in sub-Sahara Africa, the Middle East and Asia have reduced the mobility of pastoral communities to fixed spaces through land titling and demarcation decreasing access to communal resources and undervaluing pastoral ways of life (Davies et al., 2012; Kanoun et al., 2014; Niamir-Fuller, 2005). These policies have been developed alongside the promotion of intensified economic activities on defined spaces, which ignored indigenous knowledge and local management practice that has led to the unsustainable management of rangelands (Davies et al., 2012). Such policies led to increased conflicts, migration, as well as processes of displacement and relocation. However, as mentioned earlier, new counter narratives have begun to recognize customary and communal forms of governance inherent to many dryland areas, particularly among pastoral communities.

3.1.4 Lack of local governance capacity

A significant and fundamental challenge for governance is the weak capacity of dryland institutions (UNDP, 2011:27). Poor capacity has been brought about by a history of a lack of transparency and political interest in the drylands, poor funding, along with dryland myths and stereotypes that have influenced policy, as discussed above. Moreover, dryland institutions are increasingly strained by difficulties with migration, conflict and competition over natural resources and climate-related disasters (UNDP, 2011:17).

Weak institutions have resulted in poor service delivery to dryland communities in healthcare, education, and livestock services (Morton and Kerven, 2013). Dryland communities are often distant in location from of centres of power and decision making, which contributes to their political isolation along with exclusion from services such as education, healthcare and veterinary services. This is also related to the provision of services that is based on broader policy assumptions of sedentary, fixed residences which further marginalize pastoral communities. Discriminatory and paternalistic attitudes and behaviours in dryland governance structures and staff due to lack of awareness of equality issues also lead to poor development outcomes for women (IFAD 2006; UN, 2013).

Spatial challenges also make it difficult for the organization of the population and territories into constituencies, as it often entails covering vast land spaces with varying population sizes in rural areas, along with migratory and cross-border populations (Morton et al., 2007). In Mali, large constituencies have led to problems with revenue collection, stretched capacity of local authorities, and partnerships with customary and village institutions. The distance and dislocation of local government structures from communities in rural Mali meant that local authorities were not considered important and representatives were viewed as lacking capacity and knowledge (Diarra et al, 2004).

Box 8: Pastoral violence and governance in Isiolo, in Northern Kenya

The changing political economy of pastoralism in north-eastern Kenya, coupling competition and contestation for access to economic resources (particularly land) with devolution politics, has shaped inter-communal relations in Isiolo. Traditional structures have often been ill-equipped to cope with issues and the government has been criticized for laxity in security enforcement. There is considerable misunderstanding of devolution and the government's economic development plans, which has fed into tensions between different ethnic groups in Isiolo. This has led to ethnicity-based conflicts and violence in the area, which has taken on distinctive characteristics from past pastoral conflicts that were primarily based around competition for pasture and grazing land.

Other factors such as climate change, competition over declining grazing lands and water resources as a result of increased human settlements and emergence of zoned wildlife parks/conservancies; and politicization of communal relations, have created added tensions. Additionally, due to weakened traditional governance systems, breakdown of intercommunal social contracts, elders' loss of control over the youths, cultural ideals of warlike behaviour for teenage and young adult men, and politicization of peacemaking processes, pastoral conflicts have become quite intractable. Porous borders coupled with insurgency and counter-insurgency forces supported by neighbouring states add a regional security dimension to Kenya's conflict situation.

Source: Sharamo (2014).

3.1.5 Implementation of decentralization policies

Decentralization can create new opportunities for greater authority and empowerment for dryland communities (UNDP, 2006). For example, in the Sahel, the semi-arid region of North Africa, governments reformed existing legislation and enacted new laws to allow a greater involvement of CSOs in the management of natural resources. However, there is a lack of information of the success and impact of decentralization, with examples indicating that these processes have been problematic, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (IDEA, 2004; UNDP, 2006). This is related to problems with only some authority being transferred to the local level, but not the other more necessary powers for effective governance (Hesse and Trench, 2000). The confusion and conflict between different lines of authority is another challenge, often due to ill-defined roles and unclear responsibilities (Sharamo, 2014). In some contexts, decentralization has eroded the capacity of traditional customary structures with the introduction of new government structures. This situation existed in Mali, contributing to conflict between local elites and government (Beeler, 2006). However, in Niger, customary structures remain, preferred and favoured among communities over local governance institutions (Diarra and Monimart, 2006). In addition, decentralization has risked continued marginalization for groups with less influence and power (Sharamo, 2014, see Box 1 in the previous section). Therefore, decentralization processes require long term support to adapt cultural attitudes, democratic practices, along with power relations at the local level (UNDP, 2006).

3.1.6 Conflicting stakeholder interests and lack of accountability

In addition to the different sources of governance authority – statutory, customary and in some cases religious systems – there are a growing number of new stakeholders in the drylands, including private sector, conservation agencies and CSOs contributing to increasing competition and demand for land and resources (Borras et al., 2011; Ossome, 2014; Galaty, 2011). Differences in interests and sources of influence and authority made effective, democratic and equitable governance difficult (Alden Wily, 2011; ILC, 2012: 18).

With local institutions that lack capacity, these issues also open greater scope for the interests of new actors with greater financial and political clout and without the 'duty' implied with elected officials, to be met over and above the needs of dryland communities. Further, the dearth of investment in the drylands has led to democratic deficits as money is sourced from donors who have limited accountability to local citizens. The multiplicity of quasi-governmental agencies, projects, boards, and NGOs which has arisen in this space, have assumed certain government functions undermining direct accountability to local people in certain instances. This is particularly apparent in Somalia, for example, where there has been complete state failure, and where aid agencies have to play a role in service delivery (Morton, 2010). In this context, development organizations are also working to improve the capacity of local leaders and communities, including women, in playing a larger role in governance for peace and stability, such as in Sudan.

Box 9: Engaging women in natural resource management and conflict resolution processes in South Kordofan, Sudan

Decades of violent civil war followed by fragile peace have disrupted traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and left numerous localized conflicts unsettled. In South Kordofan, a province of the Republic of Sudan situated along the country's southern border, tensions related to grazing lands and water access remain high, as it has historically, particularly along pastoral corridors. The population has low levels of literacy, poor access to healthcare and high poverty rates. In addition, variable rainfall, recurrent drought, increasing competition over scarce resources and uneven governance have led to increasingly strained relations between local farmers and pastoralist groups.

In South Kordofan, pastoralists travel through livestock corridors and thus require a high degree of cooperation among various livelihood groups to function properly. However, cooperation has weakened with the decline of customary authority over land allocation and conflict management. Additionally, the lack of a coherent institutional framework to address land issues has undermined people's livelihoods and wellbeing. These issues, along with changing migration patterns and increased livestock population, have raised tensions between pastoralists and farmers.

To address this, SOS Sahel, an international NGO, and local partners developed a programme in response, focusing on engaging women, youth and marginalized groups, natural resource management and conflict resolution. The programme particularly recognizes the important role of women in conflict resolution, as women pastoralists as being influential in managing conflict, yet remain largely excluded from traditional decision-making processes in Sudan. The engagement strategy of SOS Sahel was to engage first with the community on general issues, then to seek greater involvement of women and youth with permission of local leaders.

The SOS programme included raising awareness among women of concepts of conflict reduction and peacebuilding. Steering groups with women representatives were developed and community structures were registered as legal bodies in accordance with Sudanese regulations. Such legal standing enables committees to carry out voluntary work on behalf of their communities, including the demarcation of corridors, which is a critical component for peacebuilding and conflict reduction. Moreover, facilitating this dialogue has enabled a broader discourse on alternative means for conflict resolution, which is particularly important for women in pastoralist communities, as they have at times been vocal advocates of violence, encouraging youth to solve disputes by force.

Source: UNEP (2013)

3.1.7 Lack of opportunities for dryland citizen engagement

Overall, the spatial disadvantage experienced by dryland communities, resulting in poor recognition, representation and distribution of resources has led to disengagement and marginalization from governance processes and institutions. This results in dryland communities having limited influence in shaping development narratives and policies, and prolongs inequalities (UNDP, 2011). There are a number of barriers that prevent citizen engagement on different levels.

This includes discriminatory behaviours and attitudes of local officials, based on the myths and stereotypes of dryland communities. In some contexts, spatial challenges also make it difficult for community mobilization around shared goals and objectives. For example, decision-making and civil society organizations that have attempted to bridge multiple communities and organize action towards shared goals have faced challenges of lack of trust and power concentration (Stone and Stone, 2011). CSOs who could facilitate partnership with city councillors or local level politicians may not be adequately facilitated. CSO are often focused on a national-level and do not involve themselves sufficiently in activities at the local level (Sisk, 2004). At the national level, citizen engagement is also lacking. There is widespread apathy and disillusionment with politics on a national level, particularly in cities, with low voter turnout, combined with challenges of illiteracy and poverty, related to the lack of institutional accountability.

3.2   Challenges for Drylands women

Beyond the generic challenges outlined above, there are specific challenges for women within drylands societies, in relation to lack of recognition, representation and redistribution of governance rights.

3.2.1 Lack of recognition of gender issues

One of the major challenges for dryland governance is the recognition of women and women's issues in governance. Despite some progress in increasing women's representation, there still remains a gap in recognition of gender issues in policy globally (Goetz and Jenkins, 2015).

The more significant and underlying challenge is the political framing of policies, that is essentially based on a male notion of citizen, and the prioritization of economic policies which can marginalize the interests of dryland communities, particularly pastoralists, and women.

For example in Algeria, increasing sedentarization, private acquisition of land, declining natural resources, and increasing emphasis on large-scale livestock activities and cereal production, has led to a fundamental shift in pastoral men and women's livelihoods. The lack of recognition of pastoral ways of life have decreased the mobility of men and livestock, leading to an increase in women's workload with livestock care as they were responsible when livestock were at the homestead. This, along with the decrease in availability of camel hair for women's traditional weaving, due to the decreased movement of pastoralists and traders of camel hair, has dramatically reduced women's livelihood opportunities (Kanoun et al., 2014).

The lack of recognition of gender issues in policies also directly impacts on women's entitlements from the state related to these issues. For example, many areas of social provision have been declining globally with neoliberal policies along with the financial crisis (Ortiz and Cummins, 2013; Molyneux and Razavi, 2003). If states have a duty to create the material and institutional prerequisites that can best secure the enjoyment of human rights, the gender equality and redistributive policies must be recognized as a key arena of state action.

3.2.2 Socio-cultural norms

Pervasive discriminatory socio-cultural norms continue to exclude women from decision making from local to national levels, and are apparent and reinforced by institutions, and both customary and state systems. While the context and history of the dryland are diverse, along with its influence on state and non-state decision making structures, socio-cultural norms that pervade institutions and practices are a source of discrimination and gender injustice. These norms shift over time and can be challenged and changed, such as during conflict and migration (UNEP, 2013).

This is related to a more fundamental undervaluing of women's roles and reproductive responsibilities. Socio-cultural norms often relegate women to the private sphere and limit acceptable gender roles to reproductive responsibilities, namely with household food provision and childcare, among others (Sherif, 2013). Women may also be restricted to conforming to gender norms, including the notion of what a 'good woman' is, which can constrain women's livelihood activities and community engagement (Khumalo et al., 2015). This has a number of ramifications, not only in terms of participation in governance, but also to reinforce and perpetuate other injustices that ignore women as members of the community and rights holders. These issues reinforce power and authority with men, and among them village chief or elites (Goetz and Jenkins, 2015).

However, socio-cultural norms operate in different ways and are highly context specific – a point which is often ignored. In non-pastoral societies in the Sahel for example, and some areas of the Middle East and Asia, women's seclusion or purdah is also widely practiced which prevents women from public exposure and mobility (Sherif, 2013; Kanoun et al., 2014). Literature on pastoral communities has demonstrated expressed male dominated decision making, particularly around livestock and mobility, in particular between clan heads and adult men of a specific age range (ILC, 2012:17; Grandin, 1991). In more sedentary communities, distribution of rights to key livelihood assets such as land is accorded to male family heads, where women can obtain tenuous use rights only through marriage (see Thematic Paper 1: Land Rights).

There are also examples from the drylands where women have highly valued roles and demonstrate authority and influence, particularly out of more formal decision making channels or in or achieving a higher status in the community (Ossome, 2014; Smith, 2014). Women can play more public roles or influence community decision making, but often with different criteria compared to men. For example, the tambara practice in Niger involves women with a number of consecutive plentiful harvests, and demonstrating 'correct' behaviour and personality, who can become respected members of their community and allowed to give an input into community decisions (Diarra and Monimart, 2006).This also applies to men. For example in Darfur, western Sudan, certain older women who convey political influence in their groups by creating songs or poetry to shape men's behaviour by praise or shaming, which reinforce behaviour of what a 'man' should be (Azzain Mohamed, 2004; Musa, 2011).

Additionally, successful economic projects have been developed based on women's control over small livestock and animal products that have revalued women's roles. This includes, for example, the production and sale of animal products such as small livestock, milk and clarified butter etc., or new gendered spatial arrangements enable women's crop production in the rainy season (Water-Bayer and Bayer, 1992; Kristjanson et al., 2010). These examples of economic empowerment may contribute to processes of political empowerment for women, but this requires additional research (see Thematic Paper 3: Resilience).
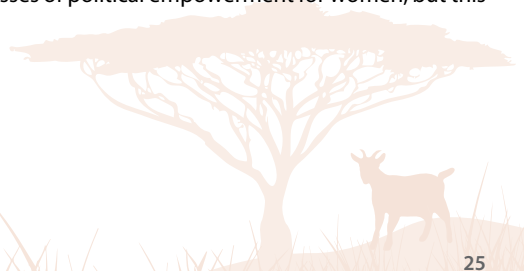
Box 10: Respectability discourse and women's roles

The case study of Kwandu Conservancy in Namibia's Zambezi region, illustrates how constructs of what embodies a 'real woman' signify feminine respectability. This entails that women's respect and power is determined through educational achievement, hard work, and collaboration with spouses, children, and the broader community. However the definition also disempowers women. Out of fear of losing respect which includes losing access to resources, it can restrict strategic choices for women, such as getting divorced or remaining single, saving rather than sharing resources, along with directly challenging limitations, uncertainties, and inequalities that can deter women from achieving a 'better life'. However, at the same time, women have found a number of ways to resist and restructure respectability discourse, such as using jokes, stories or making songs, gaining employment and public protest.

Source: Khumalo, et al, (2015)

3.2.3 Health and education-related barriers to empowerment

A range of gender-related barriers exist for many dryland women preventing their active and meaningful participation in decision making structures. Examples include a lack of education, high levels of illiteracy and poor health, which are a reality for many dryland women, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, and prevent women's empowerment (UNDP, Middleton et al., 2011; Dyer, 2013). Illiteracy is particularly high among women, which is a barrier for participation in governance institutions and political life more generally. For example, in Balochistan, Pakistan only 13 per cent of women are literate compared to 38 per cent of men (Pakistan Government, 2004).

3.2.4 Structural barriers to women's rights and representation

Statutory and customary systems provide both opportunities and constraints with regard to women's land rights. Complex governance systems in the drylands allow for implementation of customary and in some cases religious laws, which can continue gender inequalities (UNRISD, 2015 Indonesia bulletin). Religious and cultural contexts can also affect women's mobilization and strategies of state engagement. Extreme examples are where women are secluded entirely from public life, such as in some places in the Sahel. Gender roles in some Sahelian societies often relegate women to the private sphere, and political officials are hesitant to put women on electoral lists for fear of losing support from the electorate (Sherif, 2013).

However, there is also evidence to suggest that customary frameworks can be more effective in governing land and natural resources, and are more adaptable to women's land rights, particularly in communities with communal tenure, close kinship ties, and more subsistence agriculture (Hartman et al., 2015; Whitehead and Tsikata, 2003; Odgaard, 2012; Ossome, 2014). Customary systems are also more flexible then statutory law, and allow space for discrimination to be challenged and women's rights to be negotiated. This is related to the greater moral leverage that can be used when authorities are in close proximity to individuals claiming land rights or in dispute (ILDO, 2013). There is also evidence that customary, local governance bodies are more trusted and used by community members and women compared to state institutions (UNDP, 2012).

At the same time, women's land rights cannot be left solely to the interpretation of customary law as customary authorities can still act in discriminatory ways towards women in practice (Giovarelli et al., 2013). Women's rights and representation will still require the support of the overarching legal framework of the country that is reflective of international human rights standards and norms, along with policies that promote and incentives particular practices and behaviours. Statutory law can also potentially provide more opportunity for gender equity, as it can provide direct access to rights for women as individuals and not through group membership.

However, governance systems are also found to be gender biased: for example, land documentation is held by men, requires identification, and follows male rights of inheritance, etc. Widely used electoral systems such as 'First Past the Post' does not ensure adequate representation of women, youth and ethnic minorities (IDEA, 2004). With this logic, however, statutory systems can perpetuate and reinforce inequality, primarily as they are themselves embedded within societies with gender norms, and practice of local officials may different greatly from what is enshrined in the constitution or legislation.

Box 11: Nation state building and women's rights

Case studies from Algeria, Moroccoand Tunisia show differences in how women's rights are addressed in state development and reform due to the level of influence of particularistic groups in society as opposed to a more autonomous state.

In countries such as Algeria and Morocco, lineages were more prominent in politics and kin privileges more apparent. This left less room for women's rights. In Morocco for example, at the end of colonial rule, women's citizenship rights were curtailed in favour of male-dominated patrilineages.

In contrast, in Tunisia, lineages had less influence in the state building project and individual rights were emphasized. This enabled women to gain individual rights in this context, despite gender inequality persisting in other areas.

Source: Charrad (2007)

3.2.5 Lack of local capacity in gender issues

Even well intended policies that may address gender issues may not be followed up with support for implementation of those policies at a local level. While some efforts are made at the local level, with a specific focus on a localized struggle for human rights, realizing women's rights in a democratic system is challenged by the wider structural constraints and dominant power relations which can remain unaffected. As Goetz and Hassim argue, the lack of formal structures, lines of authority, or structured approaches to determining policy priorities effectively disable attempts to render it more gender sensitive and more transparent (see also Molyneux and Razavi, 2003). In the drylands, where local structures are under severe pressure, this challenge is even more acute.

For example, Morocco has established a quota for two women to be represented on commune boards. However in a case study of one commune, women were found to lack awareness of the role and how to provide meaningful participation and they lacked time to participate in activities. Other board members also lacked awareness and understanding of gender issues and women's representation in governance tasks (Khattabi et al., 2014). Similar findings are also apparent in studies on land governance in Niger (Diarra and Monimart, 2006; see Thematic Paper 1: Land Rights).

3.2.6 Women's exclusion from decision making on land investment and community development

Activities of other actors in the drylands such as development agencies, civil society organizations and the private sector may reinforce inequality, through elite influence and undemocratic decision making, excluding women from participation and involvement in activities, or relegating women to primary beneficiaries of programmes and not active change agents. Women can also be given too much responsibility and emphasis in their role which can contribute to disempowerment and increasing women's responsibilities and workloads without full distribution of rights to accompany the activities involving women (Leach, 2014).

-FDryland communities can be excluded from important decisions on land purchases, investments and development projects. In cases of community demarcation of land titles or income derived from community resources, decision-making can support the interests of certain groups, particularly leadership, which often excludes women and the least vulnerable (Ashley and Roe, 1998; Quan et al., 2013; IFAD, 2006; Ossome, 2014). Lack of participation in and information about large-scale development projects can generate conflicts between community members and investors. In addition, where there is community consultation it often takes place between men and to the benefit of men, such as with promises of employment (IFAD, 2006).

IFAD's (2006: 5–7) experience in irrigation schemes for example, raises a common problem in the drylands. They found that despite women's active role in agriculture and water collection, they lacked social and political power to influence decision making over irrigated land, along with secure access to irrigated land compared to men. Without development projects addressing inequalities in women's representation, it can reinforce and exacerbate inequality and elite power. The challenge is to mandate a more nuanced process of consultation and involvement of communities, of which there is a large body of experience to learn from (see Chapter 4 on Learning from experience in Thematic Paper 3: Resilience).

3.2.7 Politics of recognition

A further constraint on women's rights in governance in the drylands is how to accommodate ethnic minorities' claims for recognition within the terms of liberal principles of individuality for equal opportunities, tolerance and non-discrimination. In ethnically segmented societies that are ruled by authoritarian elites, legal and political conditions that provide for equality may not prevail and the recognition of ethnic minorities can hinder equality claims rather than to advance them (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003).

For example, forest tenure reform in the semi-arid district of Rajasthan, India, has promoted identity-based categories as the basis for claims, such as indigenous people, on the assumption that this provides better access to forest resources for marginalized groups. This has created a politics of individual and collective access to forestland related to the political representation of Bhil tribal women. However in practice, the new identity-based forest tenure reform was found to be tokenistic and hinders rather than promotes tribal women's political empowerment and access to forest-based resources (Bose, 2011).

In recent years, both feminism and multiculturalism have brought their often-divergent interests to bear on international human rights law and other areas of policy. There is potential for dialogue between the two, though in practice it depends on political factors: the ample scope allowed in the interpretation and implementation of these various laws can facilitate a productive dialogue in the formulation of policies, but it can also lead to seemingly irreconcilable conflict over core principles (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003).

4 | NEW OPPORTUNITIES

UNDP

This section identifies opportunities for promoting greater gender justice: tackling inadequate representation, recognition and redistribution in dryland governance. This is in the context of supporting processes of democratic governance and values of participation, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and equity. This includes:

- Garnering support for investment in dryland governance

- Mainstreaming gender justice in processes of democratization and decentralization

- Supporting current processes for new spaces for dryland citizen engagement

- Opening spaces for women's political representation and increased social movements

4.1 Garnering support for investment in dryland governance

There is increasing recognition among the international community of the need for specific attention to the governance of dryland zones, particularly in relation to natural resource management and conflict reduction, along with their political marginalization. This is the result of concerted research and policy efforts that have drawn attention to issues in the drylands and questioned myths and stereotypes of dryland people.

For example, Switzerland is providing support to the Horn of Africa which recognizes key dryland issues, particularly in governance, using a regional approach. The Regional Cooperation Strategy 2013–2016 outlines support for building accountable governance and peace dialogues; food security and rural development; health improvement (particularly maternal and child health), and increased protection and increasing living standards for migrants, refugees and internationally displaced people. Furthermore, the strategy highlights the role of citizens to work with the state for improved resource management, and the need for citizens to have greater confidence in, and benefit from, state institutions.

In addition, new institutions are developing in response to dryland issues. For example, Kenya's Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands has established an Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) Secretariat that aims to harmonize, align and coordinate development activities throughout Kenya's arid lands. As part of this, research is being conducted on developing and testing decision making and funding mechanisms that support local adaptive measures to promote climate resilience, and assessing how this approach fits with the provision of social transfer payments (Hesse and Pattison, 2013).

At the same time, there is increasing international recognition of the importance of both women's rights and good governance, such as in the Sustainable Development Goals (see Box 1). The linkage between the two is particularly important. The mediating values of democratic governance –participation, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and equity – are the same processes that can ensure that gender equality is achieved

Furthermore, there is greater emphasis in international development discourse on women's participation in governance processes, particularly at the local level, concerned with their recognition as community 'members' and representatives in their own right. This provides an opportunity for synergy between initiatives and for influencing these processes towards addressing gender injustice.

Box 12: The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), gender equality and governance

The SDG discussions have made space to incorporate land rights and women's rights in a number of key development goals, particularly Goal 5, 'Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls'. A commitment to governance is made explicit in Goal 16, 'Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels'.

Box 13: United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD), gender and governance

The UNCCD has an established mandate on gender and recognizes the role of gender inequality and its link to land degradation. The Gender Day at Conference of Parties (COP) 11 in Namibia in 2013 announced a call to action for Drylands Women's Empowerment. The Convention stresses the impact of Desertification/land degradation and drought on women and underscores the importance of targeting them in all programmes (prologue). Affected countries are obliged to promote awareness and facilitate their participation in efforts to combat desertification and mitigate the effects of drought (article 2). All parties are required to provide for the effective participation of women in policy planning, decision -making, and implementation and review of national action programmes from the local to regional levels (Art 10.2.f). In Africa, emphasis is placed on increasing their involvement in decision-making (RIA, Art.8.2.(c))

Sources: UNCCD COP11 website, Gender Day concept note

4.2 Mainstreaming gender justice in processes of democratization and decentralization

Democratization taking place at a global level can increase opportunities for civil society to make use of new mechanisms for political participation and citizen engagement (UNRISD, 2015), which creates space for all three components of gender justice to be realised. This can require governments to undertake constitutional and legislative reform, whereas for other countries more focus will be needed on adapting the processes of governance for more involvement of citizens, and building capacity of governance processes to deliver more needs-based services.

At the same time, decentralization processes in the drylands offer further opportunity for both democracy and gender justice. Decentralization has a natural affinity with democracy, as it devolves moving autonomy towards the local level. This provides opportunities to develop more democratic and ecologically-based institutions, planning and practices that can facilitate local ownership, sustainable use of resources and the rights of drylands communities, and women's rights (UNDP/ Drylands Development Centre (DDC), undated). It also offers openings for intra-community participatory governance, and new spaces to address discrimination and inequity.

Decentralized processes that support the redistribution of resources, particularly in terms of budget reallocation and social provisions (social transfers, health and education, along with agriculture and veterinary services) can also be harnessed to promote better recognition of gender issues and promote women's representation gender justice (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003).

Box 14: The Drylands Development Centre and decentralization

The Drylands Development Centre (DDC) has been assisting decentralization reforms in Africa and in Arab States in integrating dryland natural resources governance into local development planning and implementation. UNDP/ DDC support for Decentralised Governance of Natural Resources (DGNR) is provided through the Integrated Drylands Development Programme, with financial support from the European Commission (EC), Finland, Norway and others. This intervention aims to strengthen capacities of local authorities, institutions and communities to ensure equitable access and sustainable use of natural resources, particularly where gender inequalities in accessing resources exist. It also promotes participatory systems for Natural Resources Management (NRM), innovative approaches for improving livelihoods and improvement of knowledge of local governance for NRM.

Decentralization processes can be effective if accompanied with strong political will, financial commitment and technical backstopping (UNDP/DDC, n/d; UNRISD, 2015). The same could be said for mainstreaming equality in these processes, as for example, these processes can be co-opted by political elites (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003). However, greater attention will be required for mainstreaming gender justice in reform objectives and national and regional agreements, along with implementation measures, particularly at the local level, to see the full realization of women's rights (UNDP/DDC, undated).

Furthermore, decentralization of power and budgets to the local level can provide an opportunity for more locally-led service delivery that is more needs-based, addressing the realities of dryland communities, and men and women. While there are increasing examples of service delivery working with the structural variability of drylands, such as mobile schools and health services, the needs of girls and women require particular attention in both the type of services and the mechanisms of delivery (see next section on learning from experience).

4.3 Supporting current processes for new spaces for dryland citizen engagement

The increased recognition of the economic value of dryland zones presents risks and opportunities in governance processes. Governments and private sector actors increasingly see the potential economic opportunities that are presented by dryland zones, bringing new and powerful players to dryland communities, creating risks of dispossession or exclusion for local communities and in particular for women. However, growing economic opportunities provide the context not only for inclusive economic development, but improving local governance more generally to manage these processes; such as building transparency in different stakeholders' agendas and obtaining 'free and informed' consent with communities.

Participatory local governance is increasingly promoted through decentralization and development in the drylands, and involves strategic partnerships between elected officials, administrators, civil society groups and private sector organizations (UNDP, 2006). However, the difficulty lies in differences in power dynamics and interests of the different stakeholders. Therefore, particular efforts are required to create space for dryland citizens, particularly women, at the centre of local governance processes. This will provide communities with an opportunity to exercise more control over their future and socio-economic development, reduce conflict through building consensus, and create more durable policy. Some of the most promising trends are in dryland areas where women and migrant groups are self-organising (Sisk, 2004), and where NGOs partner with local authorities to better communicate community needs along with delivery of services Sisk, 2004). Women's involvement in decision making is also contributing to greater peace and stability (UNEP, 2013)

It is also important to recognize that there are multiple spaces in which engagement can take place; as there is more than one source of legitimate governance in the drylands (e.g. national legal framework, customary authority etc.), and women and women's needs need to be recognized and represented among these. Processes of recognition require not only changed awareness and representation by women and more female leaders, they also require expansion of the political space so that different interests can be expressed and negotiated. This can run contrary to existing governance models which may prioritize economic interests over environmental or social interest. Consequently, operationalizing these in reality is the key challenge, as sometimes studies on the drylands can present these issues without adequate contextualization and nuance.
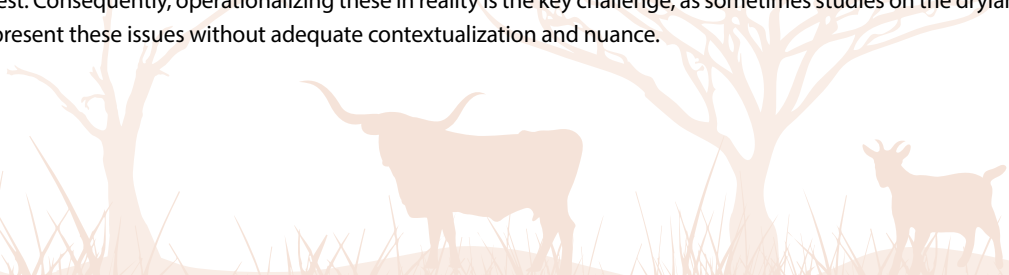
Box 15: Approaches to citizen-led democracy

Citizen-led assessment is an approach which can be used to implement, monitor and establish country-owned accountability mechanisms. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance's (IDEA) State of Democracy, State of Local Democracy and Democratic Accountability assessment frameworks (developed as global public goods) offer a basis for designing such a process. Mongolia was the first country to apply the framework and the experience provides a practical example of how it is possible to assess progress in the achievement of democracy and democratic governance goals. It illustrates how using citizen-led approaches to developing the post-2015 development agenda can ensure that an 'inclusive and people-centred' approach is upheld in its implementation and monitoring and can be effective for governments in translating the outcomes of international governmental processes into country-led and owned agendas. Lessons from this process were that it requires political will and a commitment to reform. The result was the development of a new Mongolia-specific goal to address and monitor democracy, human rights and corruption. The process has raised awareness about democracy and also developed Mongolian ownership. The process was found to support a structured engagement with a variety of in-country stakeholders, raised awareness of state of democracy and governance (demand side) and motivated political will for broadening and deepening the quality of governance.

Source: IDEA, 2014

4.4 Opening space for women's political representation for land rights and increased social movements

In many developing countries and dryland locations there is evidence of growing social movements for women's rights and women's empowerment which have made extensive progress in rights claims, even under conditions that deny them full political voice and representation (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003). Some of these movements are multi-issue (e.g. Dalit land movement in India, Indigenous movements in Central America, Women with HIV in Sierra Leone) and incorporate the rights of specific groups or communities and others on women's rights (Forsythe and Wellard, 2013). There are success stories of women achieving recognition of women's rights to participate in decision making and of the specific issues women face and of their rights to resources through processes of learning, conscientization, and social movements, so that assumptions are revealed about 'membership' and 'citizenship' and institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value are thereby challenged. This is discussed further in the opportunities and good practice sections.

The geographical spread of dryland populations, and the diversity of women's interests within any given dryland area presents challenges for gender justice, but these characteristics can also work as an asset for women's social movements as they seek to create change. For example, in Iran, despite government resistance to reform for women's participation in politics, women's movements managed to some degree, to change the terms of the debate. This was largely because of the strength of the movement, not only in electoral terms. Across the country, the "thirst for citizenship and participation" became apparent on an unprecedented scale as a widespread and diffuse grassroots movement developed, involving significant participation of women. This diffuseness made it difficult for any particular current to monopolize or to undermine it (Najmabadi 2000 in Molyneux and Razavi, 2003).
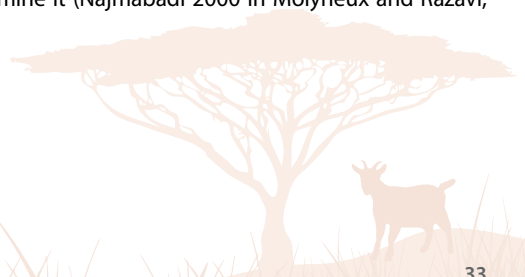
Women's rights movements and broader social justice movements can be effective in challenging status hierarchies and discriminatory social norms, working in different inter-related ways:

- by facilitating greater representation of women in public domains, including on broader dryland development pathways but also specifically on land

- working to challenge dominant policy narratives and social norms through increasing awareness of and knowledge about women's land rights

- placing pressure on local power structures to push for adaptation and change

Success often relies upon a combination of contextual factors. Policy change is the outcome of claims-making processes which require continuous and complex negotiations with multiple actors. It is often difficult to agree on problem and demands (UNRISD, 2014 India). Multi-scale alliances are often needed to pressure the powerful, such as governments and companies among others, for changes in the 'rules of the game'. The full political voice of women needs to be supported, as without this there is a danger that women's movements may be co-opted by states and thereby lose their ability to represent their constituency and to advance programmes of radical reform (Molyneux and Razavi, 2003).

Therefore, there is an opportunity to support the expansion of women's collectives and networks towards greater participation in local governance. Women's collectives and networks have long provided an important space for women, and have also been a way in which women have increasingly claimed their political and resource rights from local governance institutions; for example, Monimare and Tan (2006:8) found in Mali that progressive land laws were very difficult for women to utilize on their own, but it was possible for these rights to be claimed through the activity of a women's producer collective. Opportunities thus exist to build upon the capacity of such women's groups to enable them to negotiate for their rights, supporting a move from working on issues of access, towards greater political presence and influence on dryland and broader governance agendas (Goetz and Gaventa, 2001). Such capacity-strengthening support may also be required for the wider community to enable them to negotiate with other stakeholders, for example, when a large investor is seeking to invest in land used or owned by the community. In such cases, there are risks of further marginalization of women if constrictive social norms are not challenged, and support should be given to enable more gender-sensitive processes and women's leadership.

5 | LEARNING FROM EXPERIENCE

This section presents lessons learned, good practice and case studies regarding women's land rights in the drylands and elsewhere. These lessons were selected based on how they address gender justice – tackling inadequate representation, recognition and redistribution – across the different dimensions of democratic governance and the mediating values of participation, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and equity in the drylands.

5.1   Informing policy and practice via sophisticated understanding of local context

Understanding local-level gender issues in the drylands, and how it is linked to other issues in the drylands, including land conflict, agro-ecology and climate change are particularly unique to the drylands, is essential to improving governance. The diversity of governance systems, socio-economic and cultural contexts, including men and women's rights, means that understanding the dynamics of local contexts is essential. Furthermore, good governance has perhaps has less to do with the type of institutions, whether state or customary, and more about how more inclusive governance systems, based on the needs and knowledge existing in the local area, can better fulfil citizens' rights in a sustainable fashion in that context. Therefore, this means that there is not one avenue or channel for improving governance and women's rights within the drylands.

Local issues and needs in relation to governance issues need to be identified, together with opportunities for improved partnership and citizen engagement. The UNDP framework of good governance includes participation, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency and equity, and provides an opportunity to understand how good governance can be applied in practice, and how processes can be made to be more democratic and needs-based.

The capacity of both researchers and policy makers needs to be strengthened in terms of gender expertise and how information can be collected systematically and at different levels. This information can be used in formal and informal learning opportunities and media events that highlight gender issues in governance (see Box 16). Finally, research needs to be relevant and communicated effectively to policy makers, in order for research to inform policies. This can be aided through consolidating learning in succinct communication materials and consultation events.

Box 16: CGIAR: Gender equity in climate services

The severity of climate change in the drylands effects men and women in different ways, and needs to be addressed in policy. To understand these differences, the CGIAR Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS) undertook research in this area from 2011–12 in the Sahel. As part of this work, CCAFS tested gender-specific vulnerabilities to climate-related shocks, endogenous adaptation strategies, and coping mechanisms in three climate-vulnerable farming communities in the semi-arid research site of Kaffrine, Senegal. Specifically, they assessed the gap between identified farmers' climate service needs and local capacity, among different groups. A seasonal climate forecast was introduced in 2011, and perceptions of men and women were explored. It was found that among vulnerable farming communities, the impact of increasing climate risk was not equally distributed throughout the population and that there were patterns of unequal access to climate information and advisory services. As a result certain groups had less good access to climate services to improve their management of climate risks. In addition, the study found that gender-specific climate service needs exist. For example, female farmers require a forecast of rainfall cessation, as much as a forecast of the onset of rains, and that the communication channels needed in order to reach the most vulnerable differ according to place-specific socio-cultural realities. The study concluded that these location- and gender-specific needs should inform the design of new climate services in order to increase resilience.

Source: Tall et al. (2014)

Box 17: Building regional capacity in social and gender research in Agricultural Research Institutions in Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region

The Social and Gender Analysis (SAGA) capacity-strengthening initiatives among National Agricultural Research Systems (NARS) in Lebanon, Morocco and Algeria, used an iterative approach to develop research proposals and fieldwork tools, which were shared in peer-learning workshops and applied in fieldwork activities. The initiative was highly collaborative and created new partnerships and initiatives among stakeholders. Key factors of success were the customized guidance provided to small teams, practical fieldwork experience and close field support. Importantly, participants felt they were able to identify the gender impact in their work, and could identify factors in past projects that did not work effectively.

Source: Pape-Christiansen et al., (2014)

Box 18: Women's access to justice

The International Development Law Organization report on Women's Access to Justice (2013) highlights four key questions that can be used to understand key influencing contextual factors for the realization of women's rights and women's participation in governance and more broadly.

·   What is the best entry point for women to be empowered to advance their rights?

·   Are there opportunities in formal or informal systems, procedural or substantive?

·   What is the forum(s) in which women's core concerns are dealt with?

·   Are the systems open to reform and adaptation or would legal empowerment have limited results in that context, due to deeply entrenched gender stereotypes, vested interests in the status quo and power inequities? If so, how can these be dealt with?

Source: IDLO (2013)

5.2 Improving citizen capacity for better engagement

Experience of promoting more effective Decentralized Governance of Natural Resources (DGNR) has identified important practical lessons for improving citizen engagement through civic education in democratic governance in the drylands, and for promoting gender justice within these processes. Although the diversity of lived experience of dryland people makes it difficult to generalize about the needs of citizens, the common shared experience of exclusion from state systems and services points to the importance of specific features of capacity building.

An initiative from the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) in the Sahel found it particularly important to work on strengthening the confidence of pastoral communities, in addition to more technical knowledge on rights and engaging with local government and CSOs. This was required for community members to challenge negative perceptions held by others of their livelihood systems, and to create and articulate a vision of their development according to their own values and priorities, and to establish systems of resource management that are implemented and monitored by local people. For women, this is particularly important where they are traditionally excluded from decision making within their communities. Other important aspects of IIED's approach are provided in Box 19.

"They (the participants) explained how for years they had endured humiliation by government officials and project workers, who accused them of practicing a primitive and environmentally damaging land use system, saying that they were the agents of their own poverty and were contributing to the desertification of their land" (IIED, 2006: 14–15)

However, it is less clear how some of these initiatives in community participation have dealt with the inclusion of women and gender issues in their work. It is widely accepted that in areas where women experience double exclusion and disadvantage in the drylands that focused measures are required for women to engage. Communication needs to include women and capacity initiatives to focus on women's capacity gaps based on said need, and take their needs into account in the design of programmes.

Box 19: IIED's pedagogic principles of education for self-determination

- The training approach was based on the principle of 'self-discovery' rather than 'teaching', which allowed participants to feel empowered by their discoveries. The aim was to support pastoral communities to structure their knowledge base, interpretation and vision, so that new scientific and legal information could be added to a structure which is fully understood, rather than being the basis of the training itself. 'Trainers' act as facilitators rather than experts.

- Activities brought together participants from various backgrounds – men and women, youth and elders, and literate and illiterate people to participate together in public debate. Sharing information, experience and knowledge between different groups are critical features.

- Visual materials along with the use of memory aids (e.g. symbols), were important so that everyone could use them and understand despite high levels of illiteracy. Literate and non-literate participants worked together. Photos can also be used by first testing for readability. For example, the project confirmed that for herders to identify different grass species with certainty, the photos need to show them in their broader ecological setting.

- Working in small groups helps foster peer group learning processes while breaking the perception of the teacher as the person who has all the answers. Furthermore, by getting these groups to report to the plenary, it helps participants to practice making a convincing argument (i.e. 'lobbying') in public, based on the discussions and conclusions of the small group work.

- The topics for discussion need to be relevant and interesting for community groups. For example, participants confirmed the value of understanding certain key concepts used by technicians in order that they might develop strong counter arguments to challenge those advanced by government vets or foresters in support of certain policies such as ranching or sedentarization (e.g. challenges to concepts such as carrying capacity, desertification, over-stocking). Material should also be ordered in a particular way to provide the necessary background for certain topics.

- Timing was a major concern. How much time would it take to cover materials of this complexity? The original training in French took ten days at six hours per day. The tests in Pulaar confirmed the need to divide the training into two sessions over a total of fifteen to twenty days. Concerns that herders would have a hard time sitting through such a long and intensive process were unfounded.

- Numerous scientific and legal texts were translated from French to Pulaar. For example, words such as 'carrying capacity', 'decentralization' and 'land policy' have no direct Pulaar equivalent. This required developing a good deal of new vocabulary which needed to be tested to see if it corresponded to the letter and spirit of the original text, and if was it easily understood by the participants.

Source: IIED (2006:15–16)

5.3   Capacity building for gender inclusiveness in governance institutions

To improve women's rights and governance in the drylands, both statutory and customary systems need to support and reinforce each other around women's rights. This is particularly the case in Africa and Asia where customary systems remain strong as part of systems of governance. Therefore, local- to national-level governance structures, including customary and religious authorities, require greater capacity in gender issues and knowledge of the application of gender justice in their activities. This will need to be tailored to the specific capacity gaps and strengths of local governance systems, as evidence suggests that both systems can provide constraints and opportunities for women's participation in governance.

Lessons from IIED (2006) suggest that a peer-group learning approach among governance officials can be useful to improve gender awareness, analysis and encourage action. However, the approach takes time for members of the group to develop the required capacities to carry out collective analysis and implement actions for change, along with challenging mind-sets shaped by discriminatory gender norms. In addition, political interests can play an important role in shaping elected local leaders' decisions, and getting them to buy into a participatory and inclusive process which seeks to include civil society requires a lot of effort. Therefore, building an effective female electorate to apply pressure on local governance structures is important.

5.4   Capacity strengthening for women – Civic education, raising awareness and building confidence

Improving gender equity in drylands governance requires the recognition of women, men, poor and non-poor as citizens, and for them to exercise the same rights to participate in governance processes and achieve equal outcomes. Some of the ways that have been successful in increasing recognition of women's rights to participate are developing an inclusive culture and adequate protection of political rights through civic education, and participatory strategies for public awareness raising, such as around electoral registration and voting in national elections.

Formal methods of education encompassing civic education have generally excluded dryland women, where education and literacy levels are low. Therefore, the way that activities are facilitated and the information used is important. Facilitation and materials should be in the vernacular language or photo based where appropriate, with photos taken and explained appropriately. Women's schedules and time constraints also need to be taken into account when designing a feasible timetable.

Outreach to dryland women in remote locations is difficult, along with their general exclusion from male-dominated structures. This means that in many contexts women may be more likely than men to rely on social networks as information sources (FAO 2011; World Bank 2012). Therefore, drawing on women's social networks is a key way to reach women, particularly around civic and voter education programmes.

The Somalia federal parliament completed its first full year in 2013, and was widely thought to be successful in outreach to different regions. In particular, civic awareness-raising activities and mock elections were held with youth to encourage participation in elections.

ICT holds promise for greater outreach to women, but there are many additional barriers women face compared to men that can make these avenues problematic (see section on ICTs).

5.5   Capacity strengthening for women leaders and women's movements

Women's movements, which can contain a wide diversity of civil society organizations and individuals, play important roles in improving governance processes and in achieving rights in law. Therefore, it is important that capacity is built with organizations to work or pressurize government effectively, particularly in supporting remote locations where women are particularly vulnerable (Aw-Hassan and Abdelali-Martini, 2014).

Details of capacity needs are context specific and depend on education and literacy levels of the areas. However, common areas include more functional awareness of governance structures and procedures, broader networking opportunities with broader civil society, and establishing the data and information to supply local authorities. Supporting women's confidence and encouraging their leadership is also important. This can involve video and other communication materials showing examples of successful female leaders and their career path, as was done in Senegal and Burkina Faso. Importantly, these life portraits were also used to stimulate debate and discussion among women groups on the key factors that project women into positions of power and leadership (IIED, 2006).

However, the literature demonstrates there are differences in how successful women's movements are in stimulating policy reform which are related to the characteristics of the movements. For example, there is greater difficulty in achieving reform where there is a lack of consensus among different women's organizations. In addition, movements can be criticized for representing more elite and well-educated women. Territorial divisions can also contribute to constraints on women's movements, as was found in Palestine (UNDP, 2011).

Box 20: The claiming of women's rights by women's movements in India

India has a long history of women's social movements and the organizations that are involved are from a range of communal, religious, caste, ideological and class affiliations, which can shed light on different factors that make social movements more or less effective in contributing to policy change. One of the overall challenges is the great diversity of organizations that have developed over time, including women's organizations, which can contribute to tension between priorities and processes to promote policy change.

In the case of anti-rape laws, there has been considerable success of the women's movement. This includes the recognition of custodial rape, the exclusion of victims' sexual history as evidence, and a broader definition of rape. However, claims that challenge state power, and prevalent perceptions of community, family and sexuality, have been less successful. For example, the continued refusal to recognize marital rape, the lack of new laws on sexual violence in communal contexts, the lack of recognition of sexual violence against transgender communities and sex workers, and immunity from prosecution for members of the armed forces.

Social movements around anti-rape reform has a much longer history and has had more effect on policy change since the 1970s than women's labour rights. Domestic worker mobilization has a subnational history that only gained national momentum in the late 2000s. A strong and broad consensus among women's groups built on the basis of a strong national movement in the case of violence against women has effectively influenced the policy process; whereas domestic workers' mobilization has not been able to create a large and consensual support base. Claims concerning anti-rape laws come from all women beyond ideological, class, caste and religious identities; domestic workers' labour rights, on the other hand, apply only to a specific subgroup of women, usually coming from low-caste and tribal communities.

Moreover, the nature of the issue influences the level of support that a claim can gain. The mass mobilization around specific and very visible rape cases raised awareness and forced policy makers to take action, while injustices against domestic workers remain invisible because they take place in private homes and the victims are largely from disadvantaged groups (domestic workers are mostly of scheduled castes, i.e. Dalit and tribal women). Domestic workers are also difficult to mobilize due to lack of time or they may be living with employers. Domestic work can also fall between the women's movement and the labour movement which weakens mobilization.

Source: UNRISD (2014)

Other initiatives have focused on building the capacity of women in local governance, particularly in terms of influence over natural resource management and taking women's technical knowledge seriously. For example, a programme targeted at women in Rajasthan, northern India, focused on supporting women's leadership to enable women to lead in water management and conservation within their communities. A pilot training programme of over 40 elected and to-be elected representatives coached the participants about optimization of water resources. The programme enhanced knowledge about water conservation, the availability of government schemes, grassroots initiatives to address water concerns and the women's own capacity to drive change within their communities (India Climate Change Dialogue, 2014). However, in terms of natural resource management, it is important that such initiatives do not assume that women are solely responsible for land management. Too frequently, women have been seen as sustainability saviours (Leach, 2014), as this can lead development projects to over-rely on women's unpaid labour and to increase work burdens in the guise of women's participation. Men and women have to share responsibilities, and measures are needed to ensure that women can benefit as well.

The "Reseau des Femmes africaines Ministres et Parlementaries" or network for African ministers and parliamentarians (REFAMP) was created in 1994. As part of this, in Niger, members of this network initiated a mission within the framework for the reinforcement of democracy, financed by UNDP, to publicize and popularize the need to integrate women in development processes, emphasizing the importance of girls' education, family planning and the law on quotas. Women are also creating consultation groups within their political parties. The 'Coalition Burkinabe des droits de la Femme' or Coalition for Women's rights was made up of women from different political parties, initiated a gender caucus of the assembly, made plans for gender sensitization and made the case before other political parties and the broader population to increase the visibility of women in political institutions (Sherif, 2013).

Box 21: Online network for women in politics, 'I know politics'

'I know politics' stands for 'International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics' which is an interactive online network of women in politics who share experiences, resources, advice and collaborate on issues of interest. It is a joint project of various organisations, including UNDP, UN Women, and International IDEA designed to serve the needs of elected officials, candidates, political party leaders and members, researchers, students and other practitioners interested in advancing women in politics.

Source: I Know Politics

5.6 Increasing engagement opportunities and understanding between stakeholders through recognition and representation

Lessons from both dryland and non-dryland countries in Asia and Africa demonstrate the importance of working in partnership with citizens and local actors to build relationships based on recognition and representation of dryland citizens, to challenge socio-cultural norms and practices. An important feature of working with communities is building trust and respect among stakeholders, along with gaining the support of men for women's participation and recognition of individual rights. There may also be perceptions that women should not be engaged with the public, political sphere (Sherif, 2013). However, effective gains can be made to bring about positive impact through combining women's capacity building with initiatives to encourage their interaction with local authorities in terms of land rights, as Box 22 demonstrates.

Box 22: Lessons from non-dryland contexts – improving gender equity in the mediation of land rights among local institutions in Rwanda

The organization RCN Justice et Democratie operated in six districts in north-west Rwanda aiming to improve women's land rights at the local level. The aim was to strengthen the capacity of customary and local governance institutions to improve gender equity in the processes of land governance to improve land outcomes for women.

Field research explored the constraints on land access from the perspective of women in local communities. This was followed by capacity strengthening and participatory workshops for village level councils and local representatives on women's land rights, particularly inheritance provisions in statutory law. In particular, local Women's Council members were supported to become women's advocates in land dispute resolutions, where prior to the initiative their work involved instructing women on how to be good wives and prevent family disputes.

Lessons from the project were that training and advocacy in community based dispute resolution can support better land outcomes for women, and should be supported by policy and development programmes. Further, policy makers and development programmers should go beyond the goal of aligning customary practice with statutory law, to better understand why discriminatory customary practices exist and what other purposes they serve, to find leverage for change.

Source: Lankhorst and Veldman (2011) in IDLO (2013)

5.7   Differences between policy and practice: quotas for women's representation

A number of countries, both dryland and non-dryland, have made significant progress in increasing women's representation in national government, which provides important lessons. Countries such as Rwanda have 56 percent of the parliamentary seats held by women, which has had positive policy implications for issues affecting women, children and families in health, education and female economic empowerment. Other leading countries for women's representation include Senegal and South Africa, both with 42 percent of seats held by women, and Mozambique, in which 39 percent are female elected representatives. This contrasts with 22.5 percent in the United Kingdom and 24 percent in Canada (Blyth, 2013).

A main avenue for increasing women's representation is through the introduction of quotas for local level community committees, all the way to parliament and senate seats. The table below lists Sahel countries that have adopted quotas for women's representation in law. It shows for the most part that following the introduction of quota in law, there has been an improvement in women's representation, although to varying degrees.

Table 3: Changes in parliamentary representation of women in selected Sahel countries

Country	Date of adoption of law	Percentage demanded in law	Number of women before adoption	Percentage of women before adoption	Number of women after adoption	Percentage of women after adoption
Burkina Faso	2009	30%	13	11.71%	20	15.75%
Mauritania	2006	20%	3	3.7%	21	22.11%
Niger	2000	10%	1	1.2%	15	13.27%
Senegal	2010	50%	27	18%	64	42.67%

Source: Sherif (2013)

However, despite the recent introduction of quota for women's participation in Kenya, limited success has been shown. The new Constitution establishes a quota for all 47 counties to have a female representative, but this has not been achieved. There are only 16 elected women in the 348-member National Assembly, excluding the 47 county representatives – seats which men were not allowed to contest. In addition, there is a prediction that the 2017 elections may not meet the quota of women holding at least one-third of the seats in the National Assembly (Oluoch, 2015).

Analysts in the country have related this to Kenya's ethnic divisions, financing and need for social capital, which tend to favour men and individuals with more ethnic connections (Blyth, 2013). Another constraint is the requirement of a degree from a recognized university in Kenya in order to be an elected president or governor, excluding women from uneducated, poor backgrounds from standing. Women also were also less represented in voter registration and participation in the 2013 general election (Oluoch, 2015).

Experience shows that quotas alone are not enough to address women's participation and there are ways that laws can be circumvented. In Mauritania for example, the established quota for 20 percent women on electoral lists was replaced by 20 women in total on the national list, a change that took place when the total number of seats increased from 95 to 146 which reduced the quota percentage for women (Sherif, 2013). This reinforces the need for additional measures, such as supporting women's political mobilization for more sustainable change.

Box 23: Strategies for implementing the gender provisions

Constitutional gender quotas have proved to be a critical and effective way of enhancing women's participation and representation in political life. Various strategies were highlighted during the UNDP Regional Dialogue on Women's Political Leadership workshop to help address the above challenges and to enhance the implementation of the gender provisions. These included:

- The development of clear mechanisms of implementation to realize gender constitutional provisions

- A strong women's movement and political will

- Women to engage in cross party platforms as these are powerful avenues for uniting women beyond party lines and rallying them around a common agenda

- Women to register as members of political parties, seek leadership positions within parties, remain vigilant and participate in determining how party lists are drawn

- Women to use their strength in numbers to compel political parties to adhere to the quota provisions, integrating the struggle for gender equity with the struggle for democracy

- Women to identify male allies to help them lobby for the implementation of the quotas

- Gender-responsive civic and voter education to share information with women and the community at large on the need to have women take up leadership positions

- Capacity building of women to enhance their engagement in the political life

Source: Kimani, no date

5.8 Broad governance reform needed, addressing representation, recognition and redistribution in Kenya

To improve women's representation and recognition of gender issues and redistribution of resources in governance structures, a gender mainstreaming approach is required that integrates concerns into policy, planning and budgeting. In addition, public administration also needs to strengthen the capacity of national statistics and planning offices in order to collect, analyse and use statistics to inform more responsive policy and practice, for example, on the use of and access to services for women and representation in governance structures.

Kenya has undertaken an extensive set of reforms in governance with a new constitution put to referendum in 2010 to address some of these issues. The constitutional reform included the quota for women's representation but also a number of other aspects that show the different types of reform necessary to address gender issues in governance, not only from a representation angle, but also taking into account other factors of gender justice such as recognition and redistribution.

In terms of recognition, the Kenyan Constitution states that all state organs and all public officers have a duty "to address the needs of vulnerable groups within the society, including women..." Even without a specific obligation, the government and its officials are required to identify the special needs of women and implement measures that will alleviate the results of a history of women's marginalization (Odhiambo and Oduor, n/d). The constitution also includes a number of civil liberties for women prohibiting gender-based discrimination, and the new constitution strengthens requirements for gender equality. This includes independent inheritance rights, and allowing a woman to pass citizenship to her children or spouse (Lansner, 2012).

In terms of redistribution, there is budget provision in the Kenyan new constitution for 2.5 percent of the budget to be put towards the restitution of the disadvantaged. It has also addressed women's and dryland representation with 47 new county governments. For example, the National Assembly will increase to 350 members, including 80 new constituencies and a women's representative is required from each of the 47 new counties. Twelve additional members representing groups including the disabled, workers, and youth will be nominated by political parties according to their proportion of National Assembly seats (Lansner, 2012).

The rules of enforcement of individual rights have been changed so that the most vulnerable members (of whom women are the vast majority) can use the court system, or another person on their behalf, to enforce their rights. The new constitution also removes 'claw-back' effects on many of the rights it provided for. For example, the previous constitution outlawed all forms of discrimination based on categories including sex, but was exempted from application to personal and customary laws (Odhiambo and Oduor, n/d). However, despite the extensive progress that Kenya has made, there are a number of tensions that remain, particularly with its interaction with indigenous rights and rights to 'cultural expression', which may lead to discriminatory consequences (Lansner, 2012; Odhiambo and Oduor, n/d).

5.9 Recognition of the needs of dryland communities, and dryland women, in service delivery

An important part of governance in the drylands is the responsiveness to the specific needs and realities of the drylands and of women, and accountability for the delivery of services, including education, healthcare, and agricultural and veterinary support. However, services have traditionally had poor outreach to mobile and more remote communities. Women are particularly excluded as they are less likely to receive services, particularly extension services, compared to men , as men are considered to be the head of household and it is assumed that information will trickle down to women (FAO 2011; WB 2012).

Therefore, services needs to be designed and implemented with greater awareness and recognition of the specific needs of women and other members of dryland communities. Needs assessments involving the representation of different groups including men, women and youth in dryland communities are crucial, and can inform the type of services provided and the mechanisms by which they are delivered. Increased women's representation in leadership and community associations will assist with the gender sensitivity and recognition of gender issues in service delivery with proper consultation. Appropriate time for reflection and feedback is also required to further adapt services to meet changing needs of communities.

Mobile services, such as education, veterinary and health services, have been used in different dryland contexts that have had varied results in outreach to mobile pastoral groups and improving livelihood outcomes. For example, mobile schools in tents have also been found to be effective in providing education with migrating groups (UNDP, 2011:31). However, this has been shown to be problematic in some contexts. Herding schools in Nigeria for example, never took root despite funding, due to conflict in the Northern region, and materials used were not printed in the language of pastoralists (Roger Blench pers.com).

In addition, it is unclear how these services addressed gender issues. Experience from Egypt suggests important gender dimensions for increasing girls' opportunities in education, including female teachers, located close to home and school hours that are outside times when young girls usually have chores. Importantly, the project found it to be very important to foster community participation so school would be acceptable for families (UNDP, 2011:31).

Box 24: Human and animal vaccination programme

Sustained vaccination programmes are essential tools for both the public health and veterinary sectors. However, in Chad in 2000, there was a great difference between the two services. There was no nomadic woman or child that was fully immunized, but in the same nomadic camps, livestock were compulsorily vaccinated by mobile veterinary teams. As such, an innovative human and animal vaccination programme combining the delivery of animal and human health services was developed with mobile units. The programme started by providing vaccinations on market days, but found that this often excluded women and children who stayed at home. However, greater contact between nomadic families and health personnel was established, vaccinations increased, and the combined services reduced operational costs of interventions.

Based on the positive outcomes of these pilot campaigns, Chadian public health and veterinary officials are currently planning a common policy for child and livestock vaccination in pastoralist populations. Going to scale at district and national levels with combined public health and veterinary campaigns is sought in concert with other ministries such as education. By optimizing the use of limited logistical and human resources, public health and veterinary services will be strengthened, especially at the district level, and, in turn, will be more prepared and operational in responding to endemic and epidemic diseases.

Source: Schelling et al. (2007) and UNDP (2011:32)

Accountability of service delivery is also important, and ICTs provide an effective avenue for this. For example, in Gaborone City, Botswana, information is posted on council performance. Resources could be well spent on installing computer kiosks that provide information to members of the public (Sisk, 2004).

In Uganda, mobile phones have been used in the north of the country to report health workers' absenteeism and on providing feedback on services. But there are differences in access to ICTs between men and women that were found to impact the device's utility for anti-corruption work. As a result, the project deployed a toll-free call centre, of which women are the main clients, accompanying family members or seeking treatment, while men usually only use the service when sick themselves. As women less often own mobile phones than men, they often depend on others to be able to use the monitoring hotline. Even if there is a mobile phone in a household, women might not be the ones controlling it. Often, they come together in women groups' gatherings and make joint complaints.

Another example is the first 'Hacks against Corruption' event known as a 'hackathon' held in Nairobi in 2012. At these marathon events, hackers work on developing software prototype solutions to challenging societal problems during an all-night programming event. The objective was to develop an automated complaints referral mechanism for humanitarian aid cases, to address the lack of complaint mechanisms available and unresponsiveness of institutions in Kenya and East Africa. Women's representation and participation in the hackathon was encouraged. In this event, eight women out of 50 hackers participated, though separate hackathons are also held for women only (Transparency International, 2013).

Box 25: Building Knowledge Societies for community empowerment and greater transparency

Knowledge and information have significant impact on people's lives. The sharing of knowledge and information, particularly through ICTs has the power to transform economies and societies. UNESCO works to create inclusive knowledge societies and empower local communities by increasing access to and preservation and sharing of information and knowledge in all of UNESCO's domains. Knowledge societies must build on four pillars: freedom of expression; universal access to information and knowledge; respect for cultural and linguistic diversity; and quality education for all.

Source: UNESCO

5.10 Outreach and social protection

In the context of high poverty, constrained livelihoods and limited public services in much of the drylands, social protection is a vital source of protection for women, providing access to personal income, and reducing malnutrition and poverty, and needs to be incorporated into policy design. Studies have shown that purchasing food is one of the chief uses of cash grants, and that women are more likely to be the sole decision maker on the use of the cash, and have a greater likelihood of improving nutritional outcomes for the family as a whole, although nutritional impact is severely limited by the size of the transfers (Save the Children, 2012). In addition, social transfers plus the provision of social services such as health, water, and sanitation, can be a powerful tool to redress women's socio-economic disadvantage resulting from unpaid care responsibilities and unequal employment opportunities (UN Women, 2015).

However, social protection is often not prioritized in national budgets and by donors and delivery mechanisms, such as targeting and conditionality, and can increase pressure and work burdens for women (Bastagli and Holmes, 2014). For these reasons social protection needs to be a priority in public expenditure in the drylands, but reforms are required to ensure it is delivered equitably.

Box 26: Social protection fostering women's organisation for development

Social protection oriented towards women can also foster women's organization and development action. In Pintadas, in the north-east drylands of Brazil, the 'Bolsa Familia' government social protection programme provided low income families with a monthly cash payment, which incentivized women in the communities to organize into a women's cooperative in 1993 with the aim of improving quality of life in the region. In 2003 the latter formed the 'Pintadas Network' with ten other organizations. This has enabled the construction of 240 cisterns and 32 ponds, the construction of a Community Centre to provide training on the cultivation of indigenous drought-resistant fruits and fruit juice manufacturing, and new partnerships with the local government to use products from the farms for school lunches. In addition, because farm incomes are more secure, people now use the money from the programme to invest in their farms rather than to buy food.

Source: Asaki & Hayes (2011)

Box 27: Transforming social protection to be gender responsive in Egypt

The Egyptian Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programme was introduced in 2008 to provide low-income families with financial support based on conditions of school attendance, regular visits to health clinics and nutrition. However, CCTs have been critiqued for increasing women's burdens through conditionality, increasing workloads and responsibilities, and reinforcing negative stereotypes placing responsibility of unpaid care work with women.

Consequently the CCT policy framework was revised with guidance from the Social Research Centre at the American University in Cairo and consultation with women and social workers. Changes included: compensation for women's time in meeting conditions, recognizing and regarding unpaid care work, and bank transfer payment directly for women to increase their control over funds. The programme issued women with bank cards and provided training on how to use the machines. Social workers provide support and information to members, organizing monthly meetings, covering issues such as housing, voting and health.

The pilot scheme was launched in 2009 and 400 families were reached in Ain El-Sir slum in Cairo. After a year, children's school results were improving, and women were working fewer hours in better jobs; due to the reliability of the payments they knew their minimum needs would be met and they didn't have to take low-paid work. More than a quarter of women who had reported domestic violence said it had stopped due to the decline of financial pressure and they no longer had to ask their husbands for money. The programme has now been rolled out nationally with the budget to cover half a million families in six months. The success of the programme was found to be due to the political will of government and the 'layers' of support women's empowerment.

Source: UN Women (2015).

5.11 Gender in electoral processes

There is increasing recognition of gender issues in electoral processes, particularly in voting in national elections. Voter registration is an important component of participation, and in the drylands it can be dominated by politics. For example, in northern Kenya, ethnic alliances are found to dominate election processes, making voter registration within a given territory particularly important (Sharamo, 2014). Therefore, concerted efforts to target excluded groups are required, involving visits to locations for registry. This has been done successfully by the UNHCR in registering Malian refugees for example, to participate in national elections (Caux, 2013).

In addition, there are a number of gender barriers associated with voting, particularly related to socio-cultural constraints, such as not being able to participate in political decision making, having to remove veils, or lining up with men. Women are also less likely to own identification documents necessary for voter registration (see Box 28), or they are prevented by illiteracy and a lack of education. Distance, transport, domestic responsibilities, and security issues, women's health issues, poverty and unemployment are all present underlying challenges for women's participation in voting.

Box 28: Compilation of electoral lists

The compilation of electoral lists can be problematic. For example, in Chad, electoral administration services do rely on the support of traditional chiefs, particularly in remote areas. Voters also need to provide proof of their identity, and must produce one of the following documents:

- a passport or national identity card
- a military identification booklet, or proof of a military or civilian pension
- a driver's license
- a university student card or any other valid student card for the current academic year
- a civic tax ticket
- a birth certificate

However, in many developing countries women are less likely to own this identification (FAO 2011; World Bank 2012). Due to flaws in reporting dates of births, many Chadians do not have a national identity card or birth certificate. Therefore, the testimonies of dignitaries and chiefs are often the only way to certify that an individual belongs to the community. This can be problematic with the mobility and strong kinship ties across Chad's borders which make it difficult to determine citizenship. Therefore, it is vital to have a good system for recording people's births, marriages, or deaths to develop a reliable electoral record.

Source: Center for African Studies & Department of Political Science (2014)

5.12 Women's collectives and conflict prevention for better governance

Violence is an inhibitor to good governance in dryland and non-dryland countries. Violence can be both life threatening and prevent people from political participation. Women's movements in dryland countries have been involved in managing conflict in the drylands, which highlights the importance of recognizing women's vital role in peace and stability (UNEP, 2013).

For example, in Senegal prior to the presidential election in 2012, UN Women supported women's organizations in establishing the 'Women's Situation Room' that supported non-violence in the electoral process under the coordination of the NGO Femmes Africa Solidarité with the collaboration of the l'Association des Femmes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (AFAO) and the West African women's Association (WAWA) women. Activities started prior to elections in providing training for journalists and observers to monitor activities and voting processes on the ground. Technical operators, computer experts, statisticians, media professionals, and specialists of the United Nations agencies were also mobilized before, during and after the elections to receive, register, classify, and transmit all the information that could disrupt the normal electoral process. Members of the 'Situation Room' were furthermore in constant contact with the security services and the electoral authorities in order to alert them to all the incidents noted for their prompt action. The platform was recognized as a mechanism for conflict prevention during the electoral process. It earned recognition from the Senegalese authorities and the international community (Sherif, 2013).

5.13 Female journalists in the drylands: improving awareness of women's rights and transparency in governance

Female journalists play an important role in raising awareness of gender issues and pressurizing government, within the contexts of dominantly male environments. Women in these roles have experienced intimidation, sexual harassment and physical violence. Recognizing this, 'Reporters Without Borders' features international female journalists who are making exceptional contributions to challenging gender inequalities (Reporters without Borders, 2015).

One such journalist is Noushin Ahmadi Khorasani, who has played an important role in raising awareness of women's rights and discriminatory laws against women in Iran. She is the creator of the 'Feminist School' website which advocates for women's rights reform. The website includes news pieces and articles, a forum for debate, petitions for legal reform along with the release of women's rights activities. Unfortunately the website is banned in Iran.

Another journalist is Farida Nekzad, the co-founder and former editor of the Pajhwok Afghan News agency, and founder of the Wakht News Agency in 2008 in Afganistan, which employs female journalists to cover a range of issues including women's rights (Reporters without Borders, 2015).

6 | STRATEGIC ACTIONS

This section provides key recommendations for different actors including rights holders and rights bearers to improve policy, institutions and capacity for democratic, gender-just governance in the drylands and to empower women to act as active agents for change.

L. Forsythe

6.1 Overview

To achieve gender sensitive and pro-poor democratic governance in the drylands requires a wide range of measures. This covers aspects of recognition – of women as equal members of dryland communities and as citizens of the state who should have equal rights to participate in decision making in customary and state governance systems, along with recognition of gender issues in the drylands in governance systems, such as addressing issues around access to and control of natural resources and gender-specific barriers to governance participation, such as illiteracy and socio-cultural norms.

It also requires addressing representation, i.e. strong representation of women in local customary governance systems, state institutions, and in negotiations and consultations with other dryland stakeholders such as CSOs, the private sector and conservationist agencies. It also requires women's representation in dialogue on important dryland issues such as climate change, and ensuring women are supported in capacity-strengthening opportunities. There is a need for clean lines of accountability, ensuring fair access to services, transparent government decision making on issues of concern to dryland women and national and local government policies relevant to women and poor people. Supporting and engaging with CSOs and women's movements is critically important to these processes. National- and local-level parliamentarians should articulate the concerns and priorities of women and the poor the drylands.

Services should be efficiently distributed and there should be redistributive measures through progressive taxation and social protection measures towards dryland areas and women in particular. The recognition of women's rights to participate in governance in the drylands will also contribute to a more equitable distribution of citizen rights. To achieve such objectives, institutional measures are likely to be needed, such as political party quotas for female candidates, anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action policies. As such, these recommendations will require change in women's participation in governance at different levels, reforming institutions and challenging mind-sets and behaviours so that it is no longer assumed that governance only involves men.

6.2 Policy actions

Policy actions are aimed at supporting women to drive policy change and to achieve a supportive enabling environment for gender justices in governance from local to national levels.

1. National governments, with support of donors, to support a policy and implementation review to ensure women are represented in governance across all policies, such as those related to the economy and poverty reduction, the environment and agro-ecology. The review should include attention to territorial and agro-ecological differences in the region, along with intersecting inequalities, which are specific to the drylands. This process should be facilitated by a women's caucus with regional participation, women-led CSOs, and research institutes, and cumulate in recommendations for reform and introduction of anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action policies for the benefit of women in the drylands.

2. National governments, in consultation with gender and legal advisors, to mainstream gender equality policies within democratization and decentralization initiatives in the drylands. There is a strong need for specific policy on the participation of dryland communities, including women, in local governance, particularly with regard to the decentralization of natural resources. This should establish clear lines of authority, indicators for monitoring, targets and incentives for greater accountability for gender justice objectives in these processes.

3. National governments to ratify and implement international conventions and agreements for women's rights and empowerment, good governance and environment in national policy (e.g. UNCCD).

4. National governments and electoral boards to introduce policies to address barriers to women's participation in governance, such as capping electoral expenditure, removing education requirements to run for elections, or the need for identification for voting privileges, with campaigns to encourage women's participation in the drylands.

5. National governments to adopt redistributive policies through progressive taxation and social protection measures to orientate greater resources to service provision for women in dryland areas.

6.3   Institutional actions

Institutional actions can support women to drive institutional change, such as through awareness, cultural norms, power relations, informal institutional arrangements at different scales) to achieve a supportive enabling environment for gender-just governance.

6. CSOs to promote women's rights, empowerment and participation in local, regional and national governance. This can include channelling support to existing women's groups, in activities such as civic awareness and voter registration.

7. National governments to establish an inter-ministerial working group on women and governance, including territorial representation, with adequate budget. This requires a platform for different ministries (at national level) with linkages to CSOs (at local level) to support policy changes promoting the recognition, representation and redistribution of women's rights in governance processes.

8. National governments to institute quotas for women's participation in governance from local to national levels, supported through a capacity-strengthening programme for women and awareness-raising initiatives with men.

9. National governments to create a citizen-led approach to improving government accountability at the local level through the development of accessible mechanisms for post-2015 development agendas, including implementation and monitoring these initiatives.

10. National statistics offices to direct effort to improve administration systems to collect gender-disaggregated data on women's participation in governance processes and in accessing services in the drylands in a systematic and comparative way. This will need to incorporate outcome measures that capture access to systems and efficacy of the system. Collecting primary data is important, through direct interviews with women. Local governance officials should be capable of undertaking assessments of governance in their local area. It is important that other stakeholders are able to use the same indicators for monitoring and evaluating to increase comparability and constituency of data available at local levels.

11. Ministries of education, with the support of donors, CSOs and research institutes, to review gender issues in education (including adult education) and develop a targeted strategy in the drylands. This may include investigation into the type of curriculum and service delivery mechanisms that will be most accessible for girls and women, along with scholarship initiatives.
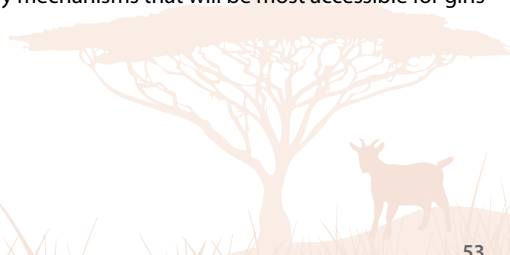
12. Academic institutions to seek support for research on gender and governance in the drylands for local-level information to inform policy. This can involve close analysis of women's changing roles in state and customary governance systems, and the identification of new opportunities.

13. National governments to facilitate high-level policy dialogues with academics and CSOs to increase evidence-based policy making towards improving the recognition of gender issues and women's rights issues in the drylands.

14. Media outlets to support the advancement of female journalists and provide greater exposure to issues of women's rights, particularly in the drylands. Examples of female representatives can be included as features to encourage other women to become involved in politics.

6.4   Capacity strengthening actions

Capacity strengthening actions are aimed at allowing for diverse actors to achieve transformative drylands development, encompassing governance, but also transforming social relations to tackle inequality and empower women more broadly.

15. CSOs to support gender justice through capacity strengthening for communities in gender awareness and discriminatory practices, and participatory dialogue, and civic engagement. This should be complemented by activities working with existing local leaders and supporting new female leaders to support women's land rights.

16. CSOs, academic institutions and media to increase awareness of gender, pastoralist and environmental sustainability issues in the drylands, and the implementation of policies in practice. This awareness raising should target decision makers in order to address issues of gender justice in these areas, and seek to counter the negative stereotypes of dryland areas to culturally revalue them and women's knowledge and equal rights in particular.

17. Donors to direct investment, as a priority, to strengthening the capacity of local governance structures, state and customary, for gender justice.

18. National governments to couple the establishment of quotas for women's representation with capacity strengthening on land rights governance, gender issues, and the intersection of these issues, which targets both men and women in activities.

19. The international community, national governments, research institutions and CSOs to identify and share good practice (internationally and locally) on pathways for greater gender justice in governance in dryland areas. With new progressive laws, examples of good practice and increasing momentum we can now focus how rights can be achieved in practice. With new progressive laws, examples of good practice and increasing momentum, we can now focus how rights can be achieved in practice.

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APPENDIX A:
WOMEN'S
REPRESENTATION
IN NATIONAL
PARLIAMENTS

L. Forsythe

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APPENDIX A: Women's representation in national parliaments

The table below provides regional data and data on women's representation in National Parliaments in dryland countries. Countries with 50 percent or more drylands area (according to the definition in UNCCD, 2011) were selected, subject to the availability of data.

Table 4: Regional averages and percentages for women's representation in national parliament

Rank	Country	Lower or single House		Upper House or Senate	
		Elections	% W Seats*	Elections	% W Seats*
	World	-	22.5	-	20.6
	Nordic countries	-	41.3	-	26.9
	Americas	-	27.0	-	25.4
	Europe excluding Nordic	-	24.2	-	24.2
	Sub-Saharan Africa	-	22.2	-	21.9
	Arab States	-	19	-	17.1
	Asia	-	19	-	18.5
	Pacific	-	13.1	-	15.7
	50-59.9% (out of 2 countries)				
2	Bolivia	10 2014	53.10%	10 2014	47.20%
	40-49.9% (out of 11 countries)				
7	South Africa	5 2014	41.90%	5 2014	35.20%
8	Ecuador	2 2013	41.60%	-	-
10"	Namibia	11 2014	41.30%	11 2010	23.10%
	30-39.9% (out of 31 countries)				
12	Mozambique	10 2014	39.60%	-	-
15"	Mexico	7 2012	38.00%	7 2012	33.60%
17	Angola	8 2012	36.80%	-	-
20	Argentina	10 2013	36.20%	10 2013	38.90%
21	Tanzania	10 2010	36.00%	-	-
23	Uganda	2 2011	35.00%	-	-
27	Algeria	5 2012	31.60%	12 2012	6.90%
28	Zimbabwe	7 2013	31.50%	7 2013	47.50%
30"	Tunisia	10 2014	31.30%	-	-
34	Burundi	7 2010	30.50%	7 2010	46.30%
34"	Sudan	4 2015	30.50%	6 2015	35.20%
	20-29.9% (out of 46 countries)				

Table 4: (continued)

Rank	Country	Lower or single House		Upper House or Senate	
		Elections	% W Seats*	Elections	% W Seats*
39	Afghanistan	9 2010	27.70%	1 2015	17.60%
43	Iraq	4 2014	26.50%	-	-
44"	Kazakhstan	1 2012	26.20%	10 2014	6.40%
48"	Lesotho	2 2015	25.00%	3 2015	24.20%
54	China	3 2013	23.60%	-	---
56	Kyrgyzstan	10 2010	23.30%	-	---
58	Peru	4 2011	22.30%	-	---
59	Eritrea	2 1994	22.00%	-	---
64"	Pakistan	5 2013	20.70%	3 2015	18.00%
				10-19.9% (out of 51 countries)	
69"	Saudi Arabia	1 2013	19.90%	-	-
70	Kenya	3 2013	19.70%	3 2013	26.50%
73	Tajikistan	3 2015	19.00%	3 2015	6.30%
81	Morocco	11 2011	17.00%	10 2009	2.20%
81"	Venezuela	9 2010	17.00%	-	-
85	Libya	6 2014	16.00%	-	-
85"	Uzbekistan	12 2014	16.00%	1 2015	17.00%
86	Chile	11 2013	15.80%	11 2013	15.80%
89	Chad	2 2011	14.90%	-	-
89"	Mongolia	6 2012	14.90%	-	-
93	Somalia	8 2012	13.80%	-	-
96	Burkina Faso	11 2014	13.30%	-	-
96"	Niger	1 2011	13.30%	-	-
100	Djibouti	2 2013	12.70%	-	-
103	India	4 2014	12.00%	1 2014	12.80%
103"	Jordan	1 2013	12.00%	10 2013	10.70%
108	Liberia	10 2011	11.00%	12 2014	10.00%
109	Ghana	12 2012	10.90%	-	-
				10-19.9% (out of 27 countries)	

Table 4: (continued)

Rank	Country	Lower or single House		Upper House or Senate	
		Elections	% W Seats*	Elections	% W Seats*
113	Brazil	10 2014	9.90%	10 2014	16.00%
114	Botswana	10 2014	9.50%	-	-
116	Cote d'Ivoire	12 2011	9.20%	-	-
118	Mali	11 2013	8.80%	-	-
123"	Swaziland	9 2013	6.20%	10 2013	33.30%
129	Nigeria	3 2015	5.60%	3 2015	6.50%
125"	Iran	5 2012	3.10%	-	-
139	Ethiopia	5 2015	-	5 2010	16.30%

The data was compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the basis of information provided by National Parliaments on the 1st June 2015. Total ranking was out of 140.

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (2015)