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**INTEGRATING WOMEN
IN ENVIRONMENTAL
NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATIONS (ENGOS)**

**NERMINE MOSTAFA
ZOHDI**

1999

Thesis
1999/73

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

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SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

INTEGRATING WOMEN IN ENVIRONMENTAL
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (ENGOS)

NERMINE MOSTAFA ZOHDY

A THESIS SUBMITTED

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
DEVELOPMENT

DECEMBER/1999

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

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**INTEGRATING WOMEN IN ENVIRONMENTAL
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (ENGOS)**

A Thesis Submitted by
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To the Department of Political Science

DECEMBER/1999

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The degree of Master of Arts

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The interest in writing this study on the "Integration of Women in Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations" has come about as a result of my work with a Canadian Project that has required the integration of Gender as a cross cutting theme in the various components of the project. Through my work, I was able to build contacts with professionals in the field of gender and development, who definitely added and contributed to my research work in different ways.

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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
INTEGRATING WOMEN IN ENVIRONMENTAL
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

NERMINE MOSTAFA ZOHDİ

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
DR. MUSTAPHA EL SAYYID

ABSTRACT

Certain theories on the environment suggested that gender is an important variable in the way people perceive and care about the environment. Differences between man and woman have always been apparent in society leading to an end result of a male dominated society. Barriers have always been put on woman's participation and as a result they tend to be perceived as beneficiaries. Even when perceived as beneficiaries, women don't tend to be consulted on the projects targeting their needs. It has been noted that women tend to be under-represented in non-governmental organizations. Moreover, while women might be represented on the board of directors they might not be involved in decision making.

Women's participation tends to be low on both the board of directors which is reflected in their incapability to take any prime role on the higher advising or decision-making levels and the participatory ladder. Thus, women continue to be users or passive beneficiaries of the NGO services and scarcely in control of any of the organization's endeavors. The lack of women's participation results in the absence of women's interests and perspectives in the programs and projects undertaken by the NGO.

Therefore, it has become increasingly recognized that women should be

perceived as both participants on the decision making level and beneficiaries of all activities that promote women's empowerment. The thesis discusses the role of women in environmental NGOs in Egypt. Guided by theories of eco-feminism, the thesis looks into how the performance of environmental NGOs, are influenced by the participation of women? The study looks deeply into both the level of women's participation in environmental NGOs and whether women's participation makes a difference in the quality of projects that are to be implemented.

On the theoretical level, the methodology used in this thesis will draw upon the writings of scholars and specialists in the field of gender and development and those who have analyzed the importance of integrating women into environmental NGOs, which is one of the high priority points to achieving organizational development.

On the practical side, a comparative approach is used to assess whether environmental NGOs that integrate women in decision making levels are more effective than male dominated NGOs or those that do not integrate women in any of the decisions. The approach studies the representation level of women in decision making and on the board of directors and how this affects implemented projects in the four selected NGOs. In addition, it will try to prove that NGOs that involve women in decision making will have a better chance of succeeding in achieving gender sensitive projects.

The collected data for this study is based on both primary and secondary data. Primary sources of information were obtained by reviewing donor reports of CIDA and IDRC and Law 4/1994 for the Protection of the Environment. Primary sources of information were obtained by conducting in-

depth interviews with representatives and employees of the selected non-governmental organizations. Each selected NGO was asked the same set of interview questions for ease of comparability. The secondary sources of information include a review of published books and articles as well as published research studies.

From the conducted survey, it was clear that women's representation on the board of directors and the high number of female members in the NGOs was not necessary equal to their participation level. Women can play a crucial role in identifying means of reaching out to the target groups in order to increase their participation in the project. There are a few women in senior decision-making positions such as programming and implementation and over concentration in areas traditionally seen as women's work such as administrative positions and community development. It is important to point out that there was no big gap between the representation and participation of women in environmental NGOs and those, which do not operate in the field of the environment. Women's representation and participation in the non-environmental NGOs was equal to that found in environmental NGOs. This reflects the fact that women's role and position in the field of development is becoming more and more acknowledged along with their role in the environment. The selected non-environmental organization has women representation in the industry field with particular reference to the small and micro scale projects.

The integration of women has been among many factors that led to the success of environmental NGOs. The first factor that can lead to the success of environmental NGOs is leadership, where the majority of organizations are

centered around the leadership of the organization, which contributes to the existence of the organizations. The second factor is the availability of funds received from donor funding agencies. The third and forth factors are the managerial and technical skills which refers to the staffing of the organization and the capability of the both the volunteers and employees to write proposals, formulate projects and raise funds. Finally, is the policy environment referring to the degree to which the government supports the non-governmental organization.

The effective integration of women in development is a gradual process that should start with the recognition of gender equity and the importance of the linkage between gender, development and the environment. Success depends on the degree to which there is a formal recognition and responsibility for the issue. The acceptance must then be followed up through the whole chain of the project-cycle. For the quality of projects to improve, women should be involved in analyzing the process and outcomes of the program delivery so as to continue improving the quality of the program and its ability to empower women.

ENVIRONMENTAL AND GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMEN IN EGYPT

Introduction	40
Definition of Non-Governmental Organizations	42
Classification of NGOs according to the Ministry of Social Affairs	44
Process Participation in Egyptian Non-Governmental Organizations	46
Introduction	46
Historical Background	46
The Family Law of 1929 and Law 163 of 1962	46
Emergence of Non-Governmental Organizations	47
Definition of NGOs	48
Classification of NGOs	48
Process Participation in Egyptian Non-Governmental Organizations	49

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	x
 I. INTRODUCTION	
Research Problem.....	6
Objective.....	7
Methodology.....	8
Structure.....	11
 II. GENDER AND THE ENVIRONMENT	
Gender.....	14
Gender Equality, Empowerment and Participation.....	16
History of the Development of Women's Role in Development.....	21
Analytical Approaches.....	25
Liberal Feminist Approach.....	25
Policy Oriented Approaches.....	28
Welfare Approach.....	29
Equity Approach.....	29
Anti-Poverty Approach.....	30
Women in Development Approach.....	30
Efficiency Approach.....	33
Empowerment Approach.....	34
Women, Environment & Development Approach.....	35
Gender and Development (GAD) Approach.....	44
Gender Bias in Development.....	46
 III. ENVIRONMENTAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND GENDER IN EGYPT	
Introduction.....	49
Definition of Non-Governmental Organizations.....	52
Classification of NGOs according to the Ministry of Social Affairs.....	54
Women Participation in Egyptian Non-Governmental Organizations.....	55
Historical Background.....	57
The Recent Law of NGOs / Law 153 of 1999.....	60
Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations.....	62
Definition of ENGOS.....	65
Classification of ENGOS.....	68
Women Participation in Egyptian Environmental NGOs.....	74

IV. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

Gender Analysis.....	76
Women's Empowerment Framework	78
An Implementation Framework for Gender Policy.....	82
Caren Levy's Web of Gender Institutionalization.....	88

V. SURVEY OF SOME ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS

Selected Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations.....	94
The Arab Office For Youth and Environment.....	95
The Association for Health Environment and.....	113
Development ...	
Association of Garbage Collectors for Community.....	131
Development.	
Selected Non-Governmental Organization.....	145
Egyptian Human Resources Development Organization..	145

VI. CONCLUSION.....150

REFERENCES.....158

LIST OF TABLES

Page

TABLE A - Gender Split of NGOs Board of Directors.....	163
TABLE B - Total Gender Split in Board of Directors of 316 NGOs.....	164
TABLE C - Representation of Women in Non-Governmental..... Organization and Board of Directors in 1084 Organization	164
TABLE D - Gender Split of Board of Directors in the Selected Non- Governmental Organizations	165
TABLE E - Staff Composition in the Arab Office for Youth and..... Environment	166
TABLE F - Registration Information of the Arab Office for Youth and..... Environment	167
TABLE G - Staff Composition in the Association for Health, Environment. and Development	168
TABLE H - Registration Information of the Association for Health, Environment and Development	170
TABLE I - Staff Composition of the Association for Garbage Collectors.... for Community Development	171
TABLE J - Registration Information of the Association for Garbage..... Collectors for Community Development	172
TABLE K - Percentage of Women in NGO and ENGO Board of Directors..	173

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The advancement and integration of women in NGOs is a necessary component of development initiatives. It is required by a fair approach to the female which is half of the target group, and which has been for long overlooked with their substantial contribution being for long underestimated. The visibility of women as an important contributing factor to the field of development has gradually increased. Particularly since 1975, United Nations International Women's Year, women's full and equal participation in development issues has been directly stated. Mr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali, Ex-Secretary of the United Nations was quoted saying "Without progress in the situation of women, there can be no true social development. Human rights are not worthy of the name if they exclude the female half of humanity" (House, 1997, 8). Thus, while the improvement in the position and status of women is an emancipatory end in itself, the integration and utilization of women's potential in the environment field is at the same time an efficient means to improve the quality of development as a whole.

There are at least two reasons for why the analysis of gender is important in any project having as its ultimate goal the improvement of the environment. One has to do with the way in which the management of natural resources is organized, the other concerns the impact of environmental degradation as well as the impact of policies developed to curb this degradation on people who inhabit this environment.

Women play an integral role in promoting sustainable and ecologically sound consumption and production patterns and approaches to natural

resource management (CIDAs Policy on Gender Equality, 1999, 5). Agenda 21 has called for the effective participation of women in the generation of knowledge and environmental education in decision-making and management at all levels. Women's experiences and contributions to an ecologically sound environment must therefore be central to the agenda of the twenty-first century.

In spite of the way societies conceive of gender roles, it has become increasingly recognized that there is a need to integrate women's interests into environmental policy making. The idea of involving women in environmental projects dates back at least 15 years (Lalonde, 1997, 1). It stemmed from the recognition that women had a detailed knowledge about the natural environment and that through their role as farmers, and as collectors of water and firewood, women have come to develop a close connection with their local environment and often suffer most directly from environmental problems. So far the interaction of women with the environment came from the extension of their reproductive and nurturing role within the family rather than through their productive role in agricultural production. Second, there was a realization that both men's and women's interests are different, therefore in order to have women benefit from the projects, they should be consulted and involved (Lalonde, 1997, 1). Hence, it is important to point out that attempts taken to integrate women into taking an active responsibility for the management of natural resources, is a recent phenomena. They require an increased awareness of gender differences, new technical skills and a revision of the traditional view that only men could manage the resources outside of the household (Williams, 1994, 416).

As in other countries around the world, the management of natural resources in Egypt is greatly influenced by the sexual division of labor. Because of their proximity to the domestic sphere, women are usually the primary providers and managers of water and energy and in some areas play a large role, alongside men, in managing the land. They are always held responsible for securing food, water, health care and general wellbeing of their families. It has now been well recognized all over the world that the resources under the control of women are directly determining the welfare of the household, while this may not hold true for the resources under the males' control. Since women fulfill important roles as managers of resources, their active involvement in environmental planning is a precondition for success in efforts to protect and sustain the environment (DAC Guidelines, 1998, 35). In many cases, the nature and importance of women and men's roles, whether they are complementary or conflict with each other, is often not recognized by policy makers or program implementers. These gender roles socially assigned according to the respective place accorded to women and men within a particular society also carry with them opportunities and constraints, which may also depend on other factors, such as class, race and age. When we speak of gender roles in the context of the environment, we are speaking of not only the sexual division of labor, but also of the opportunities and constraints of women to more effectively manage resources in the environment.

Women are in fact a large and promising reservoir of voluntarism that should be tapped, if grass roots participation in Egypt should be increased. The involvement of women in decision making still remains a developmental

goal. Inhibiting factors are still proving hard to overcome, but innovative ideas are being developed to encourage the involvement of women. A number of gender issues are associated with organizational development of environmental NGOs and community based organizations. The most critical is to overcome historical disadvantages of women in terms of education, social position, and work load. NGOs should address women's needs by integrating them into their decision-making processes. It is important for NGOs to translate progress into acknowledging the importance of women in the development process. If women under the condition of being selective, are involved and integrated in decision making, more sustainable, better implemented, gender sensitive community based projects will be achieved.

Although women have been "systematically cut off from men's traditional routes to political leadership" they have been able to develop their involvement and roles in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as a means to power (The World's Women, 1991, 33). The percentage of women in NGOs has been ranging between 25% and 30% while female board of directors represents 18.8% (Kandil, 1995, 25) (See Table K). It is strongly recognized among women that community and grassroots participation came as an extension to their traditional roles as community members responsible for their families' health and well being. Women around the world are leading efforts to build awareness on environmental issues ranging from educating children and women about the environment to protesting the use of hazardous and poisonous wastes.

Non-governmental organizations are voluntary non-profit non-governmental organizations, which are active in the fields of social services,

welfare, community development and relief work. The definition of NGOs excludes informal initiatives, political movements, chambers of commerce and syndicates. NGOs fall between the government of on one hand and private-profit seeking organizations on the other hand. They are referred to as the third sector (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 103). As part of its registration, an NGO must specify a non-profit, non-political goal to serve a specific community where no other group is meeting the needs (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 104). NGOs in Egypt operate under Law 32/1964 and are supervised by the Federation of NGOs that has been recently established.

Non-governmental organizations incorporate both men and women. In many cases, the approach used by the NGOs is not very participatory in its nature as there are many power dynamics in the society, which are perpetuated by those organizations. A gender analysis conducted on a sample of NGOs revealed that women's involvement in the decision-making bodies of NGOs appears to be very meager both quantitatively and qualitatively. The case becomes more acute in organizations where the male members of such organizations assume prime responsibility. They are the ones to select the type of activity for the target group and they are also the ones to be sitting on the committees responsible for those activities directed at women. The participation of women is not only very low on the board of directors of NGOs, but they are also very low on the participatory ladder. They are found to be scarcely taking a prime role on the higher advising or decision-making level as well as rarely involved at the implementation level. Thus, females continue to be users and or passive beneficiaries of the services of NGOs, and scarcely in control of any of the organization's

endeavors. The lack of participation of women results in the absence of women's interests and perspectives in the projects and programs undertaken by the NGOs.

Different studies conducted on NGOs have shown that while women play a relatively important role in urban welfare NGOs, they are under-represented in community development associations (CDAs) in poor urban areas. Even for urban NGOs, the number of male members almost doubles that of females (65.6% against 34.4%), a figure roughly proportionate to the male-female ratio of participation in political life (Ibrahim, 1996, 100). An even greater disparity in favor of men exists on the board of directors of NGOs. Women are under-represented in leadership positions in NGOs (14% females compared to 86% males) (Ibrahim, 1996, 100). Hence, female members tend to be more educated and more giving of their time than male members, but less represented in the board of directors. On the other hand, in environmental NGOs, women's representation appears to be higher than that in CDAs. Female representation ranges between 55 and 60% in environmental non-governmental organizations (Kandil, 1995, 25). They tend to be very active, participate more in the board of directors and activities of the organizations.

Research Problem

Certain theories on the environment suggested that gender is an important variable in the way people perceive and care about the environment. Differences between man and woman have always been apparent in society leading to an end result of a male dominated society. Barriers have always been put on woman's participation and as a result they

tend to be perceived as passive beneficiaries. Even when perceived as beneficiaries, women don't tend to be consulted on the projects targeting their needs. It has been apparent that women tend to be under-represented in non-governmental organizations. While women might be represented on the board of directors they might not be involved in decision making.

Women's participation tends to be low on both the board of directors which is reflected in their incapability to take any prime role on the higher advising or decision-making levels and the participatory ladder. Thus, women continue to be users or passive beneficiaries of the NGO services and scarcely in control of any of the organization's endeavors. The lack of women's participation results in the absence of women's interests and perspectives in the programs and projects undertaken by the NGO.

Therefore, it has become increasingly recognized that women should be perceived as both participants on the decision making level and beneficiaries of all activities that promote women's empowerment. It is important to look into how the performance of environmental NGOs are influenced by the participation of women? The study will look deeply into both the level of women's participation in environmental NGOs and whether women's participation makes a difference in the quality of projects that are to be implemented.

Objective

The main objective of the thesis is to study the integration of gender with specific focus on the women staff as participants in the selected non-governmental organizations and women beneficiaries of the target groups.

The study demonstrates that gender with special focus on women is among many other factors that can contribute to the success of NGOs and the quality of the projects. The integration of women will help in achieving gender sensitive projects.

Methodology

On the theoretical level, the methodology used in this thesis draws upon the writings of scholars and specialists in the field of gender and development as well as NGOs. On the practical side, a comparative approach has been used to study the representation of women and assess whether environmental NGOs that integrate women in decision making levels are more effective than male dominated NGOs or those that do not involve nor integrate women in any of the decisions. The approach studies the representation level of women in decision making and on the board of directors and how this affects the quality of implemented projects. The study tries to prove that environmental NGOs that involve women in decision making will have a better chance of succeeding in achieving gender sensitive and community based projects. In addition, a non-governmental organization not operating in the field of environment is studied in order to analyze the representation of women in NGOs and whether women's representation and participation is higher only in environmental NGOs.

It is noted that the integration of women in NGOs with specific focus on decision-making levels is among many other factors that can lead to the success of an NGO. Among the factors that contribute to the success of an NGO would be a strong and charismatic leadership, the availability of funds,

managerial and technical skills and finally the policy environment in which the organization is operating. In addition, it will be noted that there are many other factors that help contribute to the success of projects among which is strong project leadership, mobilizing stakeholders, having a stakeholder consultation, technical skills of the project staff etc...

The study conducted on the selected environmental non-governmental organizations and the non-environmental NGO was based on interviews conducted with representatives of such organizations. The interviewees in these organizations have included presidents of the organizations, members of the boards of director, managers and coordinators of certain programs, and staff employees. In addition, the study of the NGOs included a review of their programs, projects and existing written materials such as proposals, annual reports, plans, decisions, etc...

To answer basic questions in this thesis, four organizations were selected, three environmental organizations and one not involved in environmental work. It should be possible in this way to compare these organizations in terms of the impact of women's participation on their work as NGOs, and to find out whether women are particularly attracted to environmental NGOs. The ideal approach would have been to select a larger number of organizations as a random sample. Difficulties of a practical nature led to the selection of these four as they are accessible. They are also all urban, of recent origin and are active in their field of interest.

The collected data for this study is based on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources of information were obtained by conducting in-depth interviews with members and employees of the selected non-governmental

organizations. Each selected NGO was asked the same set of interview questions for ease of comparability. In addition, there will be a review of existing written materials such as proposals, plans, decisions etc.. of the selected NGOs.

The secondary sources of information include a review of published books and articles as well as published research studies. The methodology used in this thesis draws upon the writings of scholars and specialists in the field of gender and development as well as NGOs. The conceptual basis of the thesis is based on the writings of gender scholars, who have embarked on conducting a gender analysis for NGOs as well as analyzed the importance of integrating gender with a special focus on women into environmental NGOs, which is one of the high priority points to achieving organizational development. In addition, there has been a review of donor reports of CIDA and IDRC as well as Law 4/1994 for the Protection of the Environment.

It is important to point out that the selected analytical frameworks for this study are Gender Analysis, Women's Empowerment Framework, An Implementation Framework for Gender Policy, and Caren Levy's Web of Gender Institutionalization, which are not all to be fully applied. The methodology is based on a combination of the four analytical frameworks. In addition, each selected ENGO has been analyzed according to its structure, system, and culture. Structure refers to the relative positions of the organization, the division of tasks, responsibilities, authority, management or politics. System refers to the way in which various processes of decision-making take place within the organization. Culture refers to the shared opinions and values of the members and staff of the organization.

Structure

The study consists of six chapters. Chapter One of the thesis is the introduction, which introduces the general link between gender the environment and development. Women are introduced as a necessary component of development as well as a social resource that cannot afford to be neglected if true and comprehensive development is to be achieved. Alongside, the problem of women's under-representation in non-governmental organizations was also presented.

Chapter Two which is "Gender and the Environment", defines in depth the concepts of gender, gender equality, empowerment and participation, and gender bias in development. A history to the development of gender studies, which is a new trend in development, is presented along with various analytical and policy-oriented approaches. Following that, the issue of why gender is a development issue is raised followed by the importance of integrating women in developmental and environmental activities and their role in the conservation of the different fields in the environment.

Chapter Three focuses on environmental non-governmental organizations and gender in Egypt. A historical background is provided on the rise of NGOs in Egypt and their national policy framework. A definition for environmental non-governmental organizations is presented along with their different types and classifications. Following, the role, position, and importance of women in environmental NGOs is discussed.

Chapter Four presents four analytical frameworks for the overall study. The first is Gender Analysis, which analyses male-female differences in the division of labor and access to resources. The second is Women's

Empowerment Framework, which is concerned with the overall issue of equality and overcoming inequality. There will be a section on assessing women's needs and their involvement in the different stages of project formulation. Finally, Caren Levy's Web of Gender of Institutionalization, which explains thirteen points for the integration of gender in organization is used. Aside from the frameworks, each environmental NGO is analyzed according to its structure, system and culture. Questionnaires used for the interviews of the NGOs are presented.

Chapter Five is a survey of the three selected environmental NGOs, which are, The Arab Office for Youth and Environment (AOYE), Association for Environment and Development (AHED), and the Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development (AGCCD), as well as a non-environmental NGO, Egyptian Human Resource Development Organization (EHRDO). This chapter looks into depth at the structure, system, culture and overall approach of the four organizations. The different undertaken policy approaches of the selected NGOs are presented and the extent to which they have been successful in integrating women at different levels of policy making. In addition, it is pointed out that meeting women's needs in terms of increased participation is among many other factors that help bring about social change as well as pay off in achieving gender sensitive programs and effective implemented community management projects. Finally, findings and facts of the survey are illustrated and analyzed according to the success criteria that has been established.

Chapter Six, is mainly an overall conclusion of the thesis that summarizes all of the study findings. In addition, tables are presented

providing information related to the representation of women in the different positions, within each of the selected environmental non-governmental organizations.

Gender

Gender is a socially constructed definition of women and men and actions centered on them (Harrington, 1993, 15; Osergaard, 1992, 5). This construction creates an unequal power relationship with male dominance and female subordination in most spheres of life. It is greatly influenced by culture and is characterized by male bias where the male norm is privileged and is reflected in policies and structures, which often systematically provide for men only. Tasks, roles, and functions are assigned to men and women in many respects that what is associated with men is valued more than what is associated with women. The relationship is one of unequal power with men dominating and women subordinated in most of the spheres of life. It is a social construct that reflects the power relation between men and women and is not a biological fact (Harrington, 1993, 15; Osergaard, 1992, 5).

The gender concept is fundamental to understanding human behavior and relationships. For example, gender may imply that men and the tasks of the household are men and the women responsible for the household and child rearing (Harrington, 1993, 15). Gender relations are characterized by the relations of power and dominance that structure the social organization and life. Gender division is visible in the division of labor and the division of power, which is visible in the organization of production and reproduction and reflected by the cultural, religious and social norms and values (Harrington, 1993, 15; Osergaard, 1992, 5).

Chapter Two

GENDER AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Gender

Gender is a socially constructed definition of women and men and relations between the sexes (Hombergh, 1993, 15, Ostergaard, 1992, 6). This construction contains an unequal power relationship with male domination and female subordination in most spheres of life. It is greatly recognized that society is characterized by male bias where the male norm dominates in society and is reflected in policies and structures, which often unintentionally produce gender inequality. Tasks, roles, and functions assigned to men are more valued in many aspects than what is associated with or assigned to women. The relationship is one of unequal power with male domination and female subordination in most of the spheres of life. It refers to the qualitative and interdependent character of both women's and men's position in society (Ostergaard, 1992, 6).

The gender concept is fundamental to understanding human behavior and social processes. For example, gender may imply that men are the heads of the families while women are the ones responsible for the health and education of children (Hombergh, 1993, 15). Gender relations are constituted in terms of the relations of power and dominance that structure the life chances of women and men. Gender divisions constitute an aspect of the wider social division of labor, which in return is rooted in the conditions of production and reproduction and reinforced by the cultural, religious and ideological systems prevailing in society (Ostergaard, 1992, 6).

The concept of gender is "analogous to class" in that it refers to a structural relationship of inequality. With respect to class, that relationship derives from differential control over the means of production and is expressed in the capital-labor contention; with respect to gender, the relationship derives from women's childbearing function and is expressed in the sexual division of labor (Khoury & Moghadam 10).

- Gender is a central organizing principle of societies and often governs the processes of production and reproduction, consumption and distribution (Lalonde, 1997, 1). It is a culture-specific definition of femininity and masculinity and therefore varies in time and space. The construction and reproduction of gender takes place at both the individual and societal level. Individuals shape gender roles and norms through their activities and reproduce them through conforming to expectations. In addition, there is a growing realization, that gender has to be considered at both the political and institutional level. Policies and structures play a very important role in shaping the conditions of life, and in doing so they often institutionalize the maintenance and reproduction of the social construction of gender./

Gender inequality is universal, but the degree of inequality and the forms that gender take over time are interconnected with political and economic factors, including social structure and the nature of the state. Gender relations are differently constructed in kinship-ordered, agrarian, developing and advanced industrialized settings (Khoury & Moghadam, 1995, 10). It is important to note that the political regime and state ideology has further influence on the gender system. For example, Marxists, Theocratic, Conservative Democratic, or Social Democratic regimes have different laws

about women and policies on the family. Contemporary gender systems are "inscribed in law, justified by custom and enforced by policy" (Khoury & Moghadam, 1995, 10).

Gender Equality, Empowerment and Participation

Gender equality refers to the equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life. The terms of empowerment and participation are important to the understanding of gender and development, and indeed to the understanding of development as committed to the equality of all people. Both terms have become part of the required objectives of development and relief agencies (Williams, 1994, 214).

✓ Women's empowerment is central to achieving gender equality.

Rowland defines empowerment as "bringing people who are outside the decision-making process into it. This puts a strong emphasis on access to formal decision-making and on access to markets and incomes that enable people to participate in economic decision-making" (Ashfar, 1998, 190). In addition, Rowland provides another definition with a more development focus, "a process whereby women become able to organize themselves to increase their own self-reliance, to assert their independent right to make choices and to control resources which will assist in challenging and eliminating their own subordination" (Ashfar, 1998, 191). Empowerment is demonstrated by the quality of people's participation in the decisions and processes affecting their lives (Eade & Williams, 1994, 14). /

True development for women would enable them to have the power to make meaningful choices and changes in their lives (Eade & Williams, 1994,

224). As women become empowered in one area of their lives, they will become more capable of identifying other areas of oppression and disempowerment. Through empowerment, women gain control over their lives and a greater voice to challenge inequality in their home, workplace and community (Lalonde, 1997, 4). Gender equality refers to women having the same equal conditions as men for realizing their rights and potential and to contribute to national, political, economic, social and cultural development and benefit equally from the results. Equality is essential for human development and peace. It aims at promoting the full participation of women and men in society.

Gender equality is at the heart of both economic and social progress. Gender equality can only be achieved through partnership between women and men. Gender equality will involve changes in both women's and men's attitudes and behavior regarding roles and responsibilities at home, in the workplace, in the community, and in national, donor and international institutions. It is important to note that, men and women's living conditions are very different to some degree because of the childbearing function of women. The main point is that these differences should not have a negative impact on the living conditions of both women and men, should not discriminate against them and should contribute to an equal sharing of power in economy, society and policy-making processes.

Based on the OECD-DAC Guidelines on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, "gender equality is an overall strategic objective for promoting the role of women and therefore sustainable, people-centered development" (DAC Guidelines for Gender Equality, 1991, 11). Gender equality does not

mean involving equal numbers of women and men, nor does gender equality mean "that men and women become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances are equal. The emphasis on gender equality...does not presume a particular model of gender equality for all societies and cultures, but reflects a concern that women and men have equal opportunities to make choices about what gender equality means and work together to achieve it" (CIDAs Policy on Gender Equality, 1996, 3)./ Achieving gender equality will require changes in institutional practices and social relations through which disparities are reinforced and sustained. It also requires a strong voice for women in shaping their societies. Attaining gender equality demands a recognition that current social, economic, cultural, and political systems are gendered; that women's unequal status is systemic; that this pattern is further affected by race, ethnicity and disability; and that it is necessary to incorporate women's specificity, priorities and values into all major social institutions (CIDAs Policy on Gender Equality, 1996, 3)/

/ Gender equality must be promoted like human rights of which it is an integral part/ The most important targets for gender equality include the following aspects:

- Education is a key target for gender equality as it involves the way in which societies transfer norms, knowledge and skills. It is important that the education systems take into account counterbalancing the existing gender hierarchies.
- Women's and men's common acknowledgement of the need to remove imbalances in society and their shared responsibility in doing so.

Participation in development is said to mean the full involvement of people in development programs, which affect their lives, regardless of gender, race, age, class, sexual orientation or disability (Williams, 1994, 214). However, the concept is often taken for granted, leading to the assumption that people are participating, while in fact their experience is being marginalized, undervalued, or ignored. It is common for women to feel that because it is often assumed that they will be compliant and their views are not valued. Yet they may be defined as participating simply because they are present in a group, the case of the board of directors, in a village community, or in an organization (Williams, 1994, 214).

Participation of women in development means women being able to make and express their views, and to take decisions, which affect their lives. In addition, it means that women's concerns and views influence the development policy and project aims and that women play a role in evaluating project impact (Williams, 1994, 214). Experience in participatory development has demonstrated that unless specific steps are taken to ensure the full participation of men and women, women are often excluded. Making women's as well as men's voices heard in planned interventions implies their active involvement in decision-making on issues which affect their lives. Participatory development should divide between men and women but see both as equal constituents to the development process. Participatory projects are ones that involve women in decision-making, give women an equal say to information sharing and consultation as well as the chance to initiate activities.

According to Somaya Ibrahim, increased participation entails an increased commitment to objectives and to the sustainability of the project

(1993, 48). It is important for the target group and the beneficiaries to participate in identifying the problems they are facing as well as help in the development of solutions. This as a result will help increase the level of commitment to the project as well as its success. "Participation is an essential key to success and sustainability" (Ibrahim, 1993, 48).

There are five different levels of participation within a program. In the first stage, people involved in the project receive benefits in the form of assistance, materials, services, etc.. They are passive recipients because they are neither involved in the provision nor the execution of the project. The second stage, people execute all actions assigned from the employees. In the third stage, the people are consulted on the problems and needs. However, they do not participate in finding solutions for such problems identified. The fourth stage is concerned with the level of interference that will be received in the execution of the project. In the fifth stage, people are capable of identifying their needs, share in the development of solutions and are responsible for the execution of the project. In return, their level of commitment to the project will be high and as a result this will help increase the success of the project thus leading to its sustainability (Ibrahim, 1996, 48).

The first and the second levels of participation are most applicable to the target groups. The second and the third levels of participation are most applicable to the staff of the organization. Finally participation on the "level of voluntarism" in the General Assembly, the Board, the executive and activities committees moves between the third and the fifth level of participation (Ibrahim, 1996, 50).

It is important to note that a participatory approach to development is recommended. A participatory approach is needed in order to have people identify for themselves what it is that they hope to achieve through the development process. In identifying the goals of development for themselves, they could then begin to acquire the bases of social power that are needed to achieve these goals. Oxfam believes that women have the right to participate in decisions affecting them (Eade & Williams, 1994, 15).

The participatory approach to development must be carried out through the implementation phase of the project. It is through participatory development that alternative development and empowerment are to be reached. Women must be empowered so that they can on a sustainable basis begin to address their needs.

History of the Development of Women's Role in Development

The issue concerning women and their part in the development process has been increasingly examined over the years. However, the ways of addressing these issues have varied as the understanding of women's position in development, and of gender roles themselves has grown. Although the principle of men and women equality was recognized in both the UN Charter in 1945 and the UN Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the majority of development planners and workers did not fully address women's position in the development process. Several researchers have shown that development planners worked on the assumption that what would benefit one section of society (men) would trickle down to the other (women) (Williams, 1994, 93).

The ways of defining women's position in development has changed but through the years: In the 1950s and 1960s, women's issues in development were subsumed under the question of human rights, and women were viewed as objects to protect or make recommendations for but not necessarily to consult. UN Conventions of particular concern to women included:

1949 Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others

1951 Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value

1952 Convention on the Political Rights of Women

In the 1970s, although women were still not necessarily consulted, their key position in the development process became more widely recognized. This was especially in connection with population and food issues. Women were viewed as useful resources to be integrated into the development process, thus leading to particular projects being more efficient and more successful (Williams, 1994, 93). "These are the women (the more than 500 million illiterates) upon whom the success of our population policies, our food programs and our total development efforts ultimately rely. The success of these policies depends, in other words, on those who are least equipped to carry them out" (Williams, 1994, 93).

In 1972, it was decided to declare 1975 'International Women's Year', which led into the UN Decade for Women. It is important to note that the inauguration of the UN Decade for Women made the full extent of women's economic participation visible to planners, particularly in areas traditionally considered to be male-dominated, and the status of women in terms of their

income, health and education. In the 1980s, there has been a growing trend towards seeing women as agents and beneficiaries in all sectors and at all levels of the development process. This trend has emerged partly through an understanding of gender roles.

Historically, the need for integrating women in the development process was brought to the international agenda in 1975 with particular pressure from Scandinavian Non-Governmental Organizations which resulted in the holding of a world conference on women and development and the designation of that year by the UN as the International Year of Women. It is significant to note that at this point the "question of women" was seen in relational terms – i.e. in terms of changes affecting both women and men (Young, 1993, 25). The 1975 UN Women's Conference (held in Mexico City) had as its themes Equality, Development and Peace. The meeting adopted the World Plan of Action (WPA) which listed 14 minimum objectives relating to improved educational opportunities for women, better employment opportunities, equality in political and social participation, and increased welfare services. The international community has endorsed several plans of action and conventions for the full, equal and beneficial integration of women in all development activities, in particular the Nairobi-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, which emphasizes women's participation in national and international ecosystem management and control of environment degradation. After 1975, many concrete steps were taken in this regard among which was the creation of two UN bodies, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the United Nations

International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW).

In 1985, the UN Decade culminated in a conference in Nairobi, which after a period of intensive discussions involving women from all over the world, resulted in the adoption of the 'Forward Looking Strategies'. The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies took the main themes of the Decade for Women (equality, development and peace, with the sub-themes health, education, and employment) and set out the obstacles facing women in each of these areas; proposed general strategies for overcoming them, and made recommendations to governments and other bodies for creating greater opportunities for equality for women at all levels (Williams, 1994, 94). The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies mentioned the environment as a special area of concern for women. One of the resolutions urges "women to be more conscious of the crucial role they play in environmental and natural resource management" and requests UNEP to provide information on how women can play an active role in combating serious environmental problems (Hombbergh, 1993, 27).

The international community has endorsed several plans of action and conventions for the full, equal and beneficial integration of women in all development activities, in particular the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, which emphasize women's participation in national and international ecosystem management and control of environment degradation. Several conventions, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (General Assembly resolution 34/180, annex) and conventions of ILO and UNESCO have also

been adopted to end gender-based discrimination and ensure women access to land and other resources, education and safe and equal employment. Effective implementation of these programs will depend on the active involvement of women in economic and political decision-making and will be critical to the successful implementation of Agenda 21.

Following that, a Senior Women's Advisory Group on Sustainable Development (SWAGSD) was established and followed by the organization of four Regional Assemblies that engaged women in the assessment of the environmental conditions in their regions. This helped to demonstrate women's capacities in environmental management and their "contribution to the advancement of affordable, sustainable, visible and repeatable environmental management" (Hombbergh, 1993, 27).

Analytical Approaches

Liberal Feminist Approach

The Liberal Feminist Approach has as its basic assumptions that individuals are free, equal and rational. In general, Liberal Feminists believe that it is essential for women to have equal social, political and legal rights as men. Liberal Feminists in addressing the inferior situation of women have based their analysis on this aspect of rationality and reason of individuals. Their main argument lays in the fact that society has constructed a certain framework for women-based on unequal opportunities-which resulted in the lack of these essential traits. Liberal Feminists believe that "women's subordination stemmed from stereotyped customary expectations held by men and internalized by women, and promoted through various agencies Of

socialization" (Razavi, 1995, 3). It argued that women's subordination and disadvantages could be overcome by eliminating such stereotypes and by giving more training, by introducing equal opportunity programs and anti-discrimination legislation (Razavi, 1995, 3). The three contributors to this school of thought are Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill and Betty Freidan.

Feminism was to originate in the West with Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1792. "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" was the first substantial treatise on women's rights which helped pave the road for the evolution of more sophisticated views on the means of women's emancipation. It was the first substantial piece of writing, which addresses the status and the problems related to the unequal position of women in society. She argued that if all human beings were born free with equal rights then it is unfair to exclude women – following society constructed rather than nature created rules from certain rights that are given to men (Coole, 1993, 92). Her emphasis was to achieve "intellectual and moral" equality leading to the development of rationality and reason, which directly reflects on the main assumption of the liberal economic school (Sabrosky, 1979, 24).

The central theme in the feminist reform was equality and freedom in relation to men. "The political strategy that follows from this dominant feminism is one of inclusion: Women are considered rational beings. It follows that women, as well as men, are bearers of inalienable rights, hence there are no valid grounds for discrimination against women" (Elshtain, 1995, 542).

John Stuart Mill in his writing on women in the "Subjection of Women", reflects on the importance of education for women and that justice should not

be partial (Coole 16). However, before shedding the light on his writings on women, it is important to quote him on his position regarding women. Mill said that women "are declared to be better than men, an empty compliment which must provoke a bitter smile from every woman of spirit, since there is no other situation in life in which it is the established order, and considered quite natural and suitable, that the best should obey the worse" (Rinehart, 1992, 124). The previous quote ironically reflects on the injustice position taken against women not only during Mill's time but also nowadays.

Regarding education, Mill celebrated the God-given gift to women of intuition and attendance to details of matters. He argued that a mixture between proper education and these traits would strengthen the case of women against men especially that by nature they are intellectually and morally equal (Tong, 1989, 21). Justice should not be partial. It is hence education of men or rather lack of education of women, which brings about this intellectual and moral difference.

The critique to Mills work was in some aspect similar to that directed to Wollstonecraft. Both scholars had an elitist vision when analyzing the situation of women (Coole, 1993, 117). Their work assumed the availability of lower classes of women to do the hectic job of child rearing and housekeeping, while middle class women seek economic independence. His approach like Wollstonecraft cannot be seen as a theory addressing the problems of women as one group, but was rather directed to one class. Second, Mill's work ignored the reasons underlying the problem of women inferiority and the causes of their oppression (issues like sexual subordination as a reason for oppression). Instead he tended to focus only on "abstract

freedom" such as equality in the educational aspects and the legal ones (Coole, 1993, 119).

Betty Freidan is the last scholar to be addressed under the Liberal Feminist Approach. In the "Feminine Mystique", Freidan argues that society socializes women to believe that their "highest values and only commitment is the fulfillment of their own femininity" which is in their role of mothers and wives (Sabrosky, 1979, 128). In this argument, Freidan claims that women are "enslaved by their domesticity and defined by their roles as mothers and wives" (Mcelory, 1996, 103). They are hence lost in these duties so that they do not really find their identity, and moreover, have no opportunity to explore their potential as human beings.

It is worthwhile to note that Rosemarie Tong pointed out in her book "Feminist Thought", that Liberal Feminist emphasize greatly on relating women's equality to that of man without taking it beyond. That is to say that the equality of women would be achieved if granted all the rights of men while in reality there are other related factors which have to do with women's image in society, her self-perception and the structure of society itself. These are all essential factors that should be considered when assessing equality.

Policy Oriented Approaches

According to Caroline Moser, there have been five distinguished historical approaches to "Women in Development" (Shuurman, 1993, 170). WID has been launched by the Danish Economist, Ester Boserup, who argued that the process of economic development marginalized women

producers (Khoury & Moghadam, 1995, 7). The WID Approach includes the equity, anti-poverty and efficiency approaches.

Welfare Approach

The first to be discussed is the Welfare Approach. In the 1950s and 1960s, women were included in programs for vulnerable groups as well as were part of the "relief aid", and "economic aid" (Shuurman, 1993, 170). Women were regarded as a "delivery channel" for welfare and their work in producing wealth was ignored (Shuurman, 1993, 170). According to the welfare approach, women are perceived as passive, socially regarded as victims and their work productivity was overlooked.

The Welfare approach recognizes the reproductive role of women and perceives them as passive beneficiaries. It seeks to meet the practical needs by providing day-care centers, promoting family planning centers and providing services such as preventive care, nutrition, vaccination etc...

Equity Approach

The second approach is Equity. This approach advocates equality of men and women through more integration of women in development. The 1990s still witness the invisibility of women. Recognizing women's disadvantaged status has led the United Nations to declare 1975-1985 the Decade for Women, convening international conferences, passing resolutions, and formulating plans for enhancing women's well-being. From 1975-1985, the themes of the United Nation's Decade for Women were development, peace, and equality (Shuurman, 1993, 171). There has been an increasing demand for women's recognition and integration into development.

The Equity Approach believes that legal, educational, social, economic and political power equality should be achieved between both men and women. This approach recognizes the imbalances between men and women (Sparr, 1994, 184).

Anti-Poverty Approach

The third approach is the Anti-Poverty Approach which aims at meeting women's needs without threatening any social change. Such needs are necessary for the functioning of society. The approach focuses on women's poverty and therefore aims at increasing women's productivity. And according to Moser, women are a delivery mechanism expressing a need on behalf of other people. NGOs following this approach tend to perceive women as poor beneficiaries and tend to ensure that they increase their productivity by providing them with income generating enterprises. Furthermore, the approach addressed women's practical needs such as water and health, in the form of small projects run by donor agencies.

Women in Development Approach

The fourth approach is Women in Development (WID), which is nowadays the most dominant approach and one that incorporates equity, anti-poverty, and efficiency (Shuurman, 1993, 172). Women in Development tries to ensure that women could be better integrated into economic systems (Rathgeber, 1989, 3). WID has emerged as an "important scholarly focus, catalyzing a wealth of ethnographic and cross-cultural studies in Third World women" (Hess & Ferree, 1987, 216). According to Deniz Kandiyoti, the role of women is prominent. Assisting women and carrying with development should go hand in hand since meeting women's needs, will always pay off in

economic terms. This will be reflected in the increase of production as well as the increased participation of women in market productions that will be reflected in both equity and efficiency. Ensuring equity for women will guarantee increased productivity.

Although women suffer high rates of illiteracy and they are the poorest of the poor, yet they carry the burden of social development. Women make up of half of society who is controlling most of the decisions made by the other half and taking care of all the society with respect to its nutrition, education and health care at the household level. They are always held responsible for securing food, water, health care and general well being of their families. Nowadays, it has been well recognized all over the world that the resources under the control of women directly determine the welfare of the household, while this may not hold true for the resources under the males' control.

The WID approach seeks to integrate women into development by making more resources available to women in an effort to increase women's efficiency in their existing roles. The approach seeks to integrate women into development efforts through measures as increasing their access to credit, land, and employment. WID is based on an acceptance of existing social structures and traditional development objectives. WID believes that these objectives, especially those geared towards growth and productivity would be better met if women were brought fully into the process. Involving women in development seemed to be the answer to all problems of development and an advocate to efficiency. (Women and Sustainable Development, 1994/95, 44).

It is important to point out that a dominant feature of the WID approach is its focus on women in isolation. Although the WID approach was to analyze

women's subordination, the essentially relational nature of their subordination has been left unexplored and focus was on advocacy and more equal participation in education, employment, and other spheres of society (Razavi, 1995, 12, Longwe, 1989, 12). Rather than examine why women had benefited less from the development strategies of the last decade, the WID Approach focused on how women could better be integrated into ongoing development initiatives (Rathgeber, 1989, 5). WID identified that women's lack of access to resources is the key to their subordination without raising questions about the role of gender relationship restricting women's access to resources.

Twenty five years after the launching of the field of women in development (WID), there is an increasing consensus among theorists that gender is a "key variable in the development equation", related to issues of efficiency and equity and must be taken at all levels of policy-making (Khoury & Moghadam, 1995, 4). Planners began to realize that "expecting a country to develop towards modernization with the female half of its population unable to take full part in the process was like asking someone to work with one arm and leg tied behind their back" (Ostergaard, 1992, xii). The first result was the Women in Development movement that prevailed in the 1970s and 1980s, which concentrated on identifying the situation of women and aimed to ensure that they had the opportunity to play their full role in the development process. The women in development approach, sees women in isolation and seeks to integrate them into development efforts.

It has been agreed upon that when conducting development planning with women, first and foremost women would be integrated into the planning

process from the beginning. Policy makers and planners should recognize that women are not "secondary" workers (Young, 1993, 82). Women would not merely be consulted at an advanced stage of planning to ensure their needs were being properly considered when changes are virtually impossible to incorporate. Rather, women of different ages, social status and involved in diverse economic activities would be able to articulate the diversity, and the similarity of their interests and needs and these would form the central part of the consideration upon which planning would be based (Young, 1993, 64). Without women's involvement in planning and without widespread consultation with women workers, many of the changes required to make employment for women both feasible for them and profitable for the employer will remain ignored or even unknown. Less poverty is likely to lead to greater individual planning and effort (Young, 1993, 83)

Efficiency Approach

Another important approach is the Efficiency Approach, which is the underlying policy approach of environmental PVOs. It seeks to meet the practical gender needs while relying on the different gender roles. Women are seen in terms of capacity to compensate for the declining environment. They work on problems such as population explosion, desertification and the provision of small economic projects such as productive family programs. In addition, women are seen as a resource, which can be further exploited effectively for their close connection that has been developed with the environment as well as their experience in the management and conservation of natural resources.

Empowerment Approach

The final approach is Empowerment, which arises from the various writings of Third World women. The feminist vision in the Third World tends to focus on empowerment, which is "economic and social development geared to human needs through wider control over and access to political power" (Shuurman, 1993, 173). Daily struggles become the means to empowerment. Third World women talk about "empowering ourselves through organizations" (Shuurman, 1993, 173). Empowerment is the approach "which allows for diversity and difference rather than simply universalizing falsely from Western perspectives" (Shuurman, 1993, 173). Empowerment in the context of development is essentially concerned with analyzing and addressing the dynamics of oppression (Eade & Williams, 1994, 13). The process of empowerment is concerned with how individuals gain the strength, confidence, and vision to work for positive changes in their situations and their capability to bring about change (Eade & Williams, 1994, 12).

It is important to note that empowerment is demonstrated by the quality of people's participation. There are different levels of participation such as: Information Sharing: people are informed about a development project and how it might affect them. Based on this their level of participation will be determined.

Consultation: people are consulted on key issues and may provide vital feedback.

Decision-making: people are involved in the design and implementation of a project.

Initiating Action: people organize themselves to take action in the face of a shared problem or area of interest.

Women, Environment and Development (WED) Approach

Women, Environment and Development (WED) Approach was the first approach to highlight women as having a relationship with the environment. WED points out that women's work involves them closely with the environment and its resources. The WED logic is that since women carry out environmental degradation, women can stop environmental degradation. Women's responsibilities make them closely dependent on and give them distinct interests in natural resources. Women are also acknowledged for having extensive knowledge of natural resources, deriving mainly from their intimate daily experience. It has been argued that women's interests lie in sustainable environmental management and resource conservation which as a result makes their interests similar to or complementary with those of environmental programs and projects (Joekes, 1996, 27). Environmental stability and restoration will depend on targeting women who are more attracted to environmental protectionism.

Ecofeminism is an approach based on the notion that "women are especially close to nature" in a "spiritual or conceptual" sense (Joekes, 1996, 29). Ecofeminism argues that there are connections between the domination of women and the domination of nature. Women are caretakers and react with the environment. It is believed that "women as environmental nurturers and caregivers, are seen to have interests and values that are intimately linked with and serve to promote environmental conservation" (Joekes, 1996, 29). According to Karen Warren the concept of ecofeminism is based on the

following claims that, "there are connections between the oppression of nature and the oppression of women, understanding these connections is necessary to understand the oppression of both, feminist theory must include an ecological perspective, and solutions to ecological problems must include a feminist perspective" (Hombérgh, 1993, 48).

The approach underlying past efforts to incorporate women into environmental projects relied on a flawed conceptualization of gender relations, relating to the idea that men and women assumed gender roles that were unproblematically complementary to each other. This led policy makers to focus exclusively on women's subsistence roles, ignoring their market-related activities and the dynamic interactions of men's and women's resource management roles and responsibilities and to view women as an untapped pool of labor whose energies could be costlessly mobilized for project activities, while in reality women's workload usually entailed a diversion of effort to the project and carried an opportunity cost to them (Joekes, 1996, 1). It also tended to be assumed that participation in an environmental project would benefit women, without appreciating either that women might have rights in the incremental resource so created, or that women's involvement with resource management might be a residual consequence of lack of access to more rewarding activities.

It has been argued by some environmentalists that women have an inherent wisdom to preserve scarce resources because of their special relationship with nature. Women play an integral role in promoting sustainable and ecologically sound consumption and production patterns and approaches to natural resource management. According to Dr. Vandana

Shiva, Director of the Indian Research Foundation for Science Technology and Natural Resource Policy, "women have gained this inherent wisdom from historical experience, resulting from the history of the division of labor, where women have had to bother with essential things of life: food, water, and feeding children. When resources started depleting, they just learned how to cope with less" (Nassar, 1992, 134).

The emphasis of WED has shifted over time. In the early 1980s, the WED approach portrayed women as the primary victims of environmental degradation. In the late 1980s, women came to be seen as less "victims" and more efficient environmental managers of natural resources. WED provides clear guiding principles for policy calling for women to be incorporated fully into program activities. This is to ensure that women benefit directly from environmental projects and that projects are not undermined by the exclusion of women, who are the primary environmental resource management agents (Joeke, 1996, 28).

Anything which is good for the environment will automatically benefit women. This is a "synopsis" of the debate going on the relation between women and the environment that was launched in the early 1980s and that is still going on (Ibrahim, 1999, 24). Since that time efforts have been made to identify the effects on women worldwide of the international environmental crisis. It is important to note that so far the interaction of women with the environment came from the extension of their reproductive and nurturing role within the family. Due to the fact that more and more women are driven into the production sphere due to their husband's absence, the emergence of female managers is likely to happen very soon. With these multiple roles and

the potential for increase in their role in the region, they are expected to have their strategic gender needs fulfilled in the future.

Policy makers first came to appreciate that "women play an essential role in the management of natural resources, including soil, water, forests and energy...and often have a profound traditional and contemporary knowledge of the natural world around them (Lalonde, 1997, 1). The exclusion of women from environmental projects through believing in gender neutrality would lead to a project failure. Many interventions in the environment sector have given women a role in environmental projects in the hope that this would facilitate resource conservation as well as benefit women themselves. But across a whole range of sub-sectors, outcomes have been disappointing and sometimes damaging to women for they have been treated as a source of cheap labor, with little consideration as to whether the project really served their interests. Women have usually been "sidelined" on the technical level as well as in the management of projects and rarely given any decision-making powers (even where the project relates directly to women's social responsibilities), or responsibilities for high level tasks in routine operations (Joekes, 1996, 1).

Hence, the potential role of women in environmental protection was underlined by many international organizations, consultants, governments, etc... As teachers and mothers, women are in a position to influence young generations who will inherit tomorrow's environmental problems that have already begun to grow. The dangers of not considering the important role that women may play in the conservation of the environment and natural resource management is becoming more evident. It has been recognized that many

energy projects have not been satisfactory because they had failed to take into account the needs of the people concerned. Furthermore, it was realized that a proper understanding of peoples' needs can only be achieved through a participatory process. This ties in with the notion that every gender has its own requirements and constraints that should be taken into consideration.

Since women are often food producers, water carriers and fuel gatherers, they play a central role in environmental matters. Women's knowledge about the environment is often more comprehensive because of the diversity of their tasks. The responsibilities and obstacles put in their way makes them the first to protest and take action against developments causing environmental degradation (Homburgh, 1993, 18). They should therefore be equal partners with men in development and environmental programs and should have greater access to higher education, paid work, land and credit. Women's knowledge is important in environmental management and rehabilitation.

Women can play very active roles in the protection of the environment by being managers of the household and community water resources, a conserver for natural resources through proper handling of food, water, energy with full understanding of their wasting impacts on environmental deterioration, as a protector for the community and family from exposure to chemicals, pesticides and air pollution hazards, a teacher for the new generations about the global, national and local environmental deterioration and their effects on people and economy, an active participant in planning projects and taking care of upgrading community environmental health and sanitation (Cupid, 1992, 81).

In an article written in "International Conference on Women and Environment", Lamis Nassar stresses the importance of integrating women in developmental and environmental activities. Women are the "catalysts and initiators of environmental activism" (Nassar, 1992, 134). In her final analysis on women's roles, H. Patricia Hynes, Director of the Institute on Women and Technology proclaimed: "Saving the environment cannot be cut off from the liberation of women..... Instinctively and historically women know all about resource management, energy conservation and sustainable development. In short, they know about (reduce-reuse-recycle)" (Nassar, 1992, 134).

Role of women in water resource conservation and treatment

Water resource availability is an important gender sensitive issue as it is mainly a women burden to find out a "palatable" source of water especially in the rural areas. Women play an important role in land and water management (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 33). They are most often the collectors, users and managers of water in the household as well as farmers. Because of these roles, women have considerable knowledge of water resources, including quality and reliability, restrictions, and acceptable storage methods.

In populous cities and urban areas, 99% of the houses are served with treated source of water (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 33). However, during the daytime, water pressure in the distribution system in the urban areas may not be enough to reach high levels of multi-story buildings. Women have to shift their household activities to late night hours to access the water when every body is asleep. This situation will prolong their working hours and

create an extra work burden on their bodies who cannot get enough sleep or rest.

Energy

The role of women in energy conservation cannot be neglected. They can be directed to economize their energy consumption and decrease the extent of environment deterioration through increasing their awareness of environmental problems related to energy generation. Improving women understanding of proper ways of refuse disposal, liquid waste handling and disposal can improve tremendously the health status of their families and their societies in general.

In the field of energy, women have a leading role as an educator about the ways of energy conservation that should not be underestimated nor neglected. They also carry the burden of supplying daily supply of household fuel. Women's leading role as an educator for the new generation about the ways of energy conservation at the household level should not be underestimated or neglected. Children brought up with the concept of energy conservation through proper management of all sources of energy consumption at home will be the new generation of decision-makers controlling the major energy consuming activities (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 37). In a paper presented at the International Conference on Women and the Environment, held in Alexandria in 1992, Essam Mitwally wrote that, "programs dealing with the utilization of renewable sources of energy have had a limited degree of success when women were not involved at all levels starting from policy making, energy planning and management, technology

selection and even designing the training programs" (EEIS Inception Mission Report, 1998, 8).

Solid waste management

Women are the main social sector dealing with solid waste management at the household level. Their role in mobilizing the household members towards sorting plastics, papers and metal cans should be empowered through the supportive actions of the solid waste management system adopted by the country.

Soil conservation

Women farmers, using traditional methods, have been effective in conserving soil fertility. Given access to appropriate resources, they practice fallowing, crop rotation, and a variety of other soil conservation and enrichment techniques (Lalonde, 1997, 1).

Links between Gender, Environment and Development

A new understanding of the links between gender relations and environmental management, which carries different policy implications, has been reached with new research. There are three strong interrelated factors that help to explain the link between gender, environment and development. The first is the sexual division of labor, which implies that both men and women have different "domains of knowledge on the use and management of natural resources, and different interests in these matter" (Hombérgh, 1993, 17). The prime requirement is the understanding that men's and women's interests in and incentives for environmental conservation may be very different. Because of the diversity of women's tasks in the environment, their knowledge seems to be comprehensive in the field (Hombérgh, 1993, 17).

Women have been important contributors in the field of agriculture by being made responsible for the collection of firewood, fodder, and water. In addition, they have taken upon themselves the burden of sustaining the family after the male migration to the cities. As a result, this makes women's knowledge and contributions in the field of environment and rehabilitation very important.

It was recognized that women's property rights in natural resources need to be identified at the outset and actively monitored throughout the lifecycle of the project. Local project management procedures must be designed to give real representation to women's interests (Joeke, 1996, 1).

The second factor is the 'feminization of poverty' which implies that "the worldwide crisis of environment and development, combined with the male bias in development policies and cooperation, have caused the relatively stronger impoverishment among women" (Hombergh, 1993, 18). This does not mean that women have not been poor before, but that their situation has actually worsened.

It is important to note that because of both the sexual division of labor and the feminization of poverty, women are often the ones that bear the heaviest burden of environmental degradation. The decline in soil fertility, food and firewood supplies have increased the burden on women. Women's inability to sustain livelihood is detrimental to women's health, their families and eventually society as a whole.

The third important factor is gender ideology, which defines women's subordination. At the local level this implies that women have less access to and control over resources. No matter how knowledgeable poor women are

more often deprived of the possibility to use and manage natural resources in a sustainable way (Hombergh, 1993, 18). The inequality in access and control over resources hinders women's ability in sustaining a livelihood while on the other hand "hampers their contribution to sustainable environmental management" (Hombergh, 1993, 18). In response, women tend to be the first to take action against developments leading to environmental degradation.

It is important to emphasize that although the variants of the feminist political theory differ in assumptions and methodology, yet, they are similar in their main target or content, which is achieving equality for women. However, as has been presented, the meaning and components of this equality differed from one school to the other.

Gender and Development (GAD) Approach

The Gender and Development (GAD) Approach argues that affirmative action strategies aimed at integrating women into ongoing development projects are not enough (Women and Sustainable Development, 1994/95, 44). GAD seeks to empower women, to reduce the inequalities they face, and to enable them to participate with men in achieving greater control over their lives (Longwe, 1989, 12). It acknowledges that women in less developed countries have disadvantaged and subordinate positions that prevent their full participation as both decision-makers and beneficiaries in the development process and therefore tries to improve their situation in relation to men. GAD emphasizes that gender roles within households are diverse and complex, each with different obligations, use of resources, and returns to labor. The gender disaggregated data is needed to identify and compare male and female inputs, constraints and outputs relevant to different projects, programs

and policies. If projects are to succeed, such gender information must become an integral part of development planning. In addition, GAD believes that the key problem in gender relationships is women's subordinate status to men. GAD calls for a fundamental re-examination of current social and political institutions, with the goal of giving women equality with men.

It is important to note that the roles that women play are different in any given society and their situation is determined by the legislation, religious norms, economic status or class, cultural values, ethnicity and types of productive activity of their country, community and household. Women are usually responsible for domestic work, care of children, family health, cooking and providing food and other household services. In other societies they also play a major role in the productive activities of the family, in farming, paid domestic labor, services, industries and income-generating activities. In some societies they also have clear community roles.

In each of these areas of reproduction, production and the community, women have been affected by the development process. There is a wide gap between women's high, yet unrecognized, economic participation and their low political and social power, and development strategies have usually taken the needs of the most vocal and politically active as their starting point. To understand gender the activities of men and women need to be addressed separately. The reproductive, productive and social or community roles women are playing must be looked at as well as the roles played economically and socially by men. Productive work involves the production of goods and services for consumption and trade (Williams, 1994, 189). Reproductive work involves the care and maintenance of the household and

its members. Community work involves the collective organization of social events and services. By examining men and women's roles a greater understanding of their needs and involvement in power and decision-making around specific tasks and issues will be reached (Williams, 1994, 96).

The GAD approach looks beyond the functions of both man and woman in society and examines the relations between them, the impact those relations have on development, and the forces that influence and change those relations (Ibrahim, 1996, 39). Integrating the Gender and Development approach into organizational structures helps to increase the understanding of gender relations and their importance to the development process. The GAD approach can guide development practices because it collects information on the gender division of work and gender relations, identifies the priorities of both male and female programs, and helps to maximize the full participation of both men and women in decision-making.

Gender Bias in Development

Among the problems associated with the development process is the deterioration of women's living conditions and their position in society. This has been the case as a result of gender bias in development. Gender bias is the culmination of socially constructed differences between males and females, and of the different roles and behavior that have come to be expected of each of the two sexes. The most comprehensive definition provided of the term 'gender bias' is that which has been put forth by Jodi Jacobson. She explains that gender bias is all that ranges from the exclusion of women from development programs to wage discrimination and systemic

violence against females. In its most generic form, such bias boils down to unequal allocation of resources, whether of food, credit, education, jobs, information or training. And in most cases, because they do not address this bias, the development policies meant to provide more of these resources to society end up taking more away from women (Jacobson, 1992, 9). Ironically, by failing to address the gender bias that undervalues the contributions of women, development policies and programs intended to alleviate impoverishment and environmental degradation will make the problem worse.

Anthony Giddens explains that the root cause of gender bias in society is attributed to male dominance. Where the role of women has been largely determined by their reproductive function, women continue to be relegated to the domestic sphere. Because of their role as mothers and carers, women are primarily absorbed in domestic activities. Women become what the French novelist and social critic Simone de Beauvoir called the 'second sex', because they are excluded from the more 'public' activities in which males are free to engage (Giddens, 1993, 173).

Jacobson explains that whereas women work a number of shifts, economic development paradigms continue to undervalue their contribution to societal welfare. "Women perform the lion's share of work in subsistence economies, toiling longer hours and contributing more to family income than their male relatives, but are viewed as 'unproductive' in the eyes of government statisticians, economists, development experts, and even their husbands. A huge proportion of the world's real productivity therefore remains undervalued, and the essential contributions women make to the welfare of their families and nations remain unrecognized" (Jacobson, 1992,

6). As a result, there becomes a need to reconsider the position of women in the development paradigm in order to make their contribution more visible, recognizable and rewardable.

Jacobson stresses that the development bias is reinforced in society through several ways. First, development strategies do not benefit men and women equally especially in the field of agriculture where resources have been shifted away from the female farmers. Second, women are rarely involved in the design and implementation of programs, which as a result fails to address their real needs or utilize the great practical knowledge they have acquired.

Chapter Three

ENVIRONMENTAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND GENDER IN EGYPT

Introduction

The activities of the non-governmental organizations in the last number of years have tended to gain both momentum and recognition, particularly in the domains of both the environment and development. NGOs worldwide have tended to present effective alternatives to government-implemented projects, especially in the execution of grassroots-level projects, where community participation and management have been greatly encouraged.

The last decade has witnessed an accelerated increase in the number of registered non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Egypt, which currently accounts to approximately 15,000 with a total membership of approximately 3 million. It is important to note that the number of NGOs does not necessarily imply that all were development-oriented. A great percentage of the organizations are charitable, relief and welfare while a small percentage are environment and development organizations. The increase in the number of NGOs has been witnessed from 1990-1995 (Kandil, 1995, 14). The number of NGOs increased from 13,239 in 1992 to 15,000 in 1995 (Kandil, 1995, 16). In addition, it is estimated that there are approximately 100,000 "community-based" informal groups, which are not registered but effectively working in the fields of development and social welfare (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 101). The number of NGOs in Egypt is greater than the total number of NGOs throughout the Arab Region. Nevertheless, they are not sufficient to meet the needs of the growing population of Egypt. Compared to Asian countries in

which NGOs are active players and pioneers in the field of development, NGOs in Egypt have just begun their activities in that field (EEIF Inception Repot, 1999, 101).

NGOs have played an important role as catalysts for sustainable development due to their approach and philosophy, which is based on participation and empowerment (Meligy, 1998, 6). The term "sustainable development" suggests that the lessons of ecology can, and should be applied to economic processes (Redclift, 1987, 32). "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their needs" (Redclift, 1987, 32). NGOs tend to be closer to people at the grass-root levels and have strong links with local communities. Thus, they are well-placed to identify and express the needs and problems of poor people and to help them voice their concerns to policy makers. In most of their activities, NGOs depend on voluntary initiatives, which contribute to the development of civic spirit and social responsibility. NGOs also have the advantages of being more flexible and faster in responding to challenges and are more innovative. In addition, they are able to mobilize resources and provide basic services to people cheaper than the private sector and more efficiently than the government. With the trend to reduce government expenditures through privatization, the government has started to withdraw from providing public services. For example, there have been cuts in the budget of health services. As a result, NGOs were to fill in the gap that was left by the state in order to provide such health services. About 300 mosques "annexed to their premises health centers" (Kandil, 1993, 49). Beneficiaries were estimated to be 4.5

million in 1979, which increased to more than ten million within a decade (Kandil, 1993, 49).

In an effort to strengthen civil society, most foreign donors give NGOs funds and prefer to cooperate with NGOs to escape government bureaucracy. In fact the Canadian International Development Agency for development (CIDA) encourages partnership between Canadian and Egyptian NGOs. Also, the World Bank has increasingly recognized the key role played by NGOs. In a recent World Bank Report, it was indicated that "the involvement of NGOs has become an important feature of Bank-financed projects. Seventy-three (30 percent) of 245 projects approved in FY93 include some form of collaboration with NGOs" (Gomaa, 1997, 21).

Glenn Prickett, Chief Environmental Advisor in USAID's bureau for policy and program coordination, also stresses NGO involvement in USAID work: "We Want to strongly emphasize involvement of NGOs in all of our work: projects, policy and research. In projects and programs, our goal is to include NGOs at every stage from inception through evaluation" (Gomaa, 1997, 21).

Recognizing the role of NGOs in sustainable development, the new Egyptian environmental strategy calls for the fostering of partnerships, and for coordination and collaboration with civil society to address Egypt's severe environmental problems (EEIF Inception Report, 1990, 101). NGOs can make a valuable contribution in addressing Egypt's environmental problems, through awareness campaigns, lobbying and placing pressures on violators of the law, undertaking environmental initiatives at the community level and participating in a policy dialogue to formulate the environmental agenda and induce policy reforms that address the needs of NGOs and their communities.

It is important to note that Egyptian NGOs have continued to play a complementary role to that of the government, experimenting and innovating pilot projects that drew attention to many issues from family planning to issues of women's status and their legal rights in the family (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 101-102).

Definition of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Non-governmental organizations are " legal, not-for-profit organizations that include a community-based, voluntary character, and that pursue humanitarian, developmental, environmental, or relief activities and/or that deliver social services" (Sandberg, 1994, 28). They include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives.

NGOs have a strong capacity for facilitating community-centered development. NGOs are capable of expanding the state's scope with respect to the types of people reached. While on one hand, states tend to reach privileged populations, NGOs on the other hand tend to reach the marginalized, remote populations, youths, and the rural poor. As a result, it has been argued that NGOs play "an equalizing role in helping lower-income groups catch up with the urban elite" (Sandberg, 1994, 20). Moreover, NGOs are known to transfer "capacity-building skills" to "affluent urban citizens" (Sandberg, 1994, 20). Such capacity-building skills will help in equalizing opportunities and wealth for people. Therefore, it has been argued that the creation of equalization will eventually lead to democratization.

NGOs may have political, humanitarian, economic, technical, etc.. purposes. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organized regionally and nationally; and member-groups in villages. NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organization. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, water-use societies, women's groups and pastoral associations. Citizen groups that raise awareness and influence policy are also NGOs. These private organizations, some of considerable size and resources interact with states, multinational corporations (MNCs) and other NGOs. Increasingly, NGOs are being recognized in the UN and other forums as legitimate actors along with states though not equal to them.

NGOs in Egypt are voluntary non-profit non-governmental organizations, which are active in the fields of social services, welfare, community development and relief work and registered under the NGO Law 32 of 1964. They exclude political movements, parties, informal activities, chambers of commerce and syndicates. NGOs fall between the government on the one hand, and private-profit seeking organizations on the other hand, and they are called the third sector (Kandil, 1993, 12) (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 103). In Egypt as in many other Arab countries, the word association corresponds to the Arabic word "*jam'iya*" or "*jam'iya ahliya*" (Antonius, 1993, 3). The term "*jam'iya ahlia*" "refers to an association that is initiated or controlled by a local community, or private individuals to serve specific aims" (Antonius, 1993, 3). Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) is the term most commonly used

when used when referring to such organizations. The word *jam'iyat* was the equivalent to private voluntary organization.

According to the constitution set for the operation of the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the president of the NGO is to carry out the following functions: heads the organization's meetings and executive board, represents the organization in front of the administrative and judicial departments, prepares an agenda for the board of directors meetings, and follows on the implementation of his decisions, and signs on behalf of the organization on different contracts, agreements, and checks. The vice president of the NGO is to carry out the same functions of the president during his absence. The secretary general of the NGO prepares an agenda for the board along with sending invitations to the members, prepares a database with the names and addresses of the organization's members, implements the decisions of the executive board, prepares the annual report of the organization's activities that will be submitted to the executive board and the implementing committee, and supervises the administrative and employees work and affairs. Finally, the treasurer is responsible for the organization's financial affairs starting with the expenses of the organization and the receiving and depositing of checks.

Classification of NGOs According to the Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA)

In general, the Ministry of Social Affairs has made a distinction between two broad categories of NGOs, which are community development associations (CDAs) and welfare organizations. Both types of associations are subject to Law 32 of 1964.

A community development association (CDA) aims to achieve socio-economic development of the community. It functions within certain specific geographic boundaries such as villages, districts, etc...CDAs are registered by MOSA as a vehicle to provide a village or urban neighborhood with basic social services (Meligy, 1998, 25). From MOSA's perspective, CDAs have no limits on the services they can offer. Moreover, MOSA will not recognize more than one CDA in a given community (Antonius, 1993, 12).

Welfare social organizations provide social welfare programs and social services. These organizations are usually born out of a religious or welfare motivation. Some social welfare organizations provide welfare for a specific category of people in need (i.e. handicapped, mothers, etc..). Others promote specific and private interests (i.e. scientific aims, religious aims, etc...). The protection of the environment is one of the fields in which welfare organizations can work (EEIF Inception Report, 1999 110). It is important to note that these organizations are required to register in only one category, but the law recognizes the possibility for an association to request permission to be active in more than one category (Antonius, 1993, 18).

Women Participation in Egyptian Non-Governmental Organizations

Research has indicated that there is an increase in the percentage of male participation in NGOs over female generally in all levels of membership and specifically in decision-making levels. The gender gap is reduced when referring to the volunteer employees and the members of the organization because they do not participate much in directing the activities of the organization. There has been a high percentage of 59.3 % of female

participation on the executive level (paid work) (El Baz, 1997, 94) (See Table A). The percentage of women members in non-governmental organizations is between 25% and 30% (Kandil, 1995, 25). In the Board of Directors, the minimum percentage of women's membership is 10% (El Baz, 1997, 94). It has been argued that the level of women's participation in the board of directors is linked closely with the activities of the organization. For example, when analyzing the non-governmental organizations involved in women's issues, the percentage of women participation in the board of directors was high in many Arab and Middle Eastern countries except for Egypt where it remained 12% (El Baz, 1997, 96). This reflects the fact that male still dominate activities directed at women.

Studies have pointed out that there has been an increase in the percentage of male representation on the board of directors of non-governmental organizations while the percentage of female participation ranges between 25 and 30%, thus taking into account that this ratio increases and the gender gap is less in areas such as family planning and childhood (Kandil, 1995, 45). The percentage of female members ranges between 55% and 60% in organizations dealing with environmental issues, family planning, childhood, and charity organizations (Kandil, 1995, 25). In decision making levels and board of directors, females represent 18.8% (Kandil, 1995, 25) (See Table B). In addition, it has pointed out that due to cultural, social and economic factors, female representation on the board tends to be higher in urban NGOs than rural ones. Female representation in the board of directors of environmental NGOs was estimated to be 68%. Such NGOs are found to

be concentrated in the capital and their members are characterized by high cultural and economic levels.

Historical Background

The proliferation of Egyptian Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) or associations in Egypt began in the 19th century (1821) and increased up until the Egyptian Revolution, which took place in 1952 (Kandil, 1993, 24). Prior to 1952, this period was characterized by freedom in the formation of associations as well as being put under a legal framework (Salem, 1990, 9). The rise of the PVOs in Egypt was due to the increase of Western and foreign communities during the 19th century in Egypt, which posed a cultural challenge to people and contributed to the rise of national organizations for the purpose of restoring the national and cultural identity of Egypt. The flow of the religious missions from the west was counteracted by the rise of Egyptian PVOs such as "*Jamiat al Maarif*, established in 1868 and *Al Jamiat Al Geographia*, established in 1875", some of other organizations which were of a religious character such as (*Al-Jamiat Al Khayria Al Islamia*, established in 1887 and *Jamiat Al-Masai Al Khayria Al Qiptia*, established in 1881 (Kandil, 1993, 25).

The development of NGOs was mainly led by educated and religious leaders, as well as the elite in the Egyptian society. It should be noted, however, that women were among the social and political leaders of private voluntary organizations. The 1919 revolution encouraged the establishment of PVOs and promoted the political and social participation of people. Moreover, Egypt's first constitution of 1923 gave Egyptians the right to

organize civil associations. As a result, PVOs flourished and expanded their activities to cover a wide spectrum of fields such as education, culture, health, social welfare and religion. It is important to point out that aside from their charity role played, the associations have played an important role activating the cultural and intellectual life. The period from 1919 to 1952 has been defined by experts as the 'Golden Age for NGOs (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 102).

In 1939, the Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA) was established and the first attempt at regulating activities in Egypt was the civil code enacted as Law of 1945. Law No. 49 of 1945 aimed at regulating fund raising for charitable activities and the role of the Ministry of Social Affairs in supervising such activities (Salem, 1990, 11). The concern of such laws, were mainly to organize the associations and their financial affairs with respect to receiving donations from both inside and outside the country. Nevertheless, NGOs were still able to operate freely and MOSA exercised limited control over them. The legal content of voluntary organizations and the fundamental legal relationships that exist among their members were further defined in the Civil Code enacted as Law No. 131 of 1948 (Salem, 1990, 12).

The 1952 Revolution was a turning point in Egypt's social, economic and political life. During the years of 1956-1964, Egyptian NGOs started to lose their autonomy, as part of the government's attempt to take over many of the functions of civil society to the state and thereby limit the realm of civil society. The Nasserist state sought to control politically the work of the voluntary associations and to "circumscribe its scope, so as to turn it into an extension of the state" (Antonius, 1993, 6). Nasser's political authoritarian regime

distrusted civil society, and sought to neutralize their political potential, and bring them under tight governmental control. As a result, Law 32/1964 was thus enacted to put more control over NGOs (Kandil, 1993, 6). NGOs in Egypt are working under the overall supervision of MOSA and are regulated by Law 32/1964. This law was enacted in the 1960s and reflects the politics and regime of this era. The Law was promulgated as Egypt was undergoing profound changes from a liberal market to a socially centered planned economy. The Law places NGOs under tight government control and restricts the activities of NGOs. According to this law, MOSA is not only responsible for supervising, monitoring and guiding the activities of NGOs, but it also has the right to abolish or deny the establishment of an association, or amalgamate more than one association together. The law also imposes certain regulations on fund raising (Salem, 1990, 30). NGOs are not supposed to receive grants or donations except with the permission of the concerned administrative body. In addition, the law also stipulates that MOSA has the right to review and approve the candidates applying for the board of directors of an NGO. Hence, it is important to note that before the 1964 Law, the civil code was to formulate the guidelines of associations in Egypt. PVOs were civil code associations because they were formed according to the civil code.

Nasser's policy was also to widely distribute social benefits and services to people. In order to fulfill this social policy, MOSA began allocating projects to some NGOs that were accorded a "public status" by Law 32, 1964. In addition, MOSA began providing financial assistance and delegating

employees and personnel to NGOs making them "an extension of the government" (EEIF Inception Report, 1999, 103).

The period from the 1970s to the present, witnessed more economic and political liberalization as exemplified by the multi-party system and increased freedom of expression, etc... Under Sadat and Mubarak, a great effort of liberalization was made in the economic field and to some extent in political liberalism. The trend towards liberalization affected the voluntary sector by which the law of the sixties, that regulates the voluntary associations has been modified, and the "liberalization" has simply meant that the state did not make use of all the power given to it by the law (except in some cases) (Antonius, 1993, 6). International NGOs operating in Egypt also increased in numbers during this period and donors began channeling more of their development funds to NGOs. Furthermore, during the same period, Egypt embarked on economic reform and structural adjustment programs. This was accompanied by a reduction of government spending on public services, growth in private sector wealth as well as role played by donors.

During this transitional period, the economic reform program had a negative social impact on low income groups as they had to face increases in prices of basic commodities in spite of their fixed and limited income. Egyptian NGOs have positively responded by providing social services to low income groups, thus complementing the services provided by the government.

The Recent Law of NGOs / Law 153 of 1999

The recent Law for NGOs in Egypt is the culmination of the various developments, which occurred over the years to regulate the voluntary

activities in Egypt. Law 153 of 1999 is to replace the existing Law 32 of 1964. On May 25th, the General Assembly approved the "bill in principle", which replaces Law 32 of 1964 (El Guindi, 1999, 3). Whilst the bill makes it easier for NGOs to register, it gives the Ministry of Social Affairs greater powers in the monitoring of civil societies activity (Cairo Times, 1999, 3). The provisions of the recent law impose restrictions on the management, operations and financing of NGOs and will allow authorities to control relations at the international levels, activities at the local level, funding from abroad and composition of board of directors (Cairo Times, 1999, 7). Under the recent law (Article 17), NGOs will be required to receive prior approval from the authorities in order to join or affiliate with an organization abroad. Violators will face up to three months imprisonment if they fail to seek permission to join an NGO abroad. This will lead to the dissolution of the NGO (Cairo Times, 1999, 7). Imprisonment will be up to six months if any NGO member sends or receives money from abroad or collects donations without prior permission from the authorities. Finally, the engagement in any political or unionist activities restricted to political parties, trade unions and professional associations (*niqabat*) is prohibited and can lead to imprisonment of up to one year.

The recent Law of 1999 has prompted criticism from Egypt's human rights community. Dr. Aida Seif El Dowla said "we will continue our human rights work even if we are thrown to jail" (Cairo Times, 1999, 7). A statement signed by fifteen organizations declared that the new law was a violation of the constitution, therefore null and void, and that they would ignore it. The draft legislation includes a categorical prohibition of any political activities

regardless of their nature, and also gives the state the power to object to the proposed activities of any NGO. It criminalizes any associational activity that occurs outside the framework of legally registered organizations, and thus appears to ban informally organized citizen groups and committees. It permits the executive branch of the government, through the Ministry of Social Affairs, to veto candidates for election to boards of directors and to add state representatives to these boards. It requires government approval prior to soliciting contributions inside Egypt or abroad, sending funds abroad, or joining regional and international organizations and other bodies. Harsh penalties for deviations include two years in prison an/or fines of up to 10,000 Egyptian pounds, as well as temporary closure or dissolution of organizations found by courts to be in violation of the law.

Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations

It is important to note that although Egypt has a long history with NGOs that dates back to the nineteenth century, it is only recently that Egypt witnessed the emergence of civic groups organized explicitly for environmental conscience. These environmental non-governmental organizations constitute a new force in Egyptian politics that emerged in the 1980s.

The activities of non-governmental organizations in the last number of years have clearly been gaining momentum and recognition, particularly in the domains of environment and development. In Egypt, NGOs have come to play a great role in tackling vital national problems that cannot be otherwise be fitted into governmental-packed agendas. NGOs in Egypt have become

respected by the public opinion for their effective role in the mobilization of local community action. NGOs have successfully stood up for actions, which harm the environment such as: tree cutting, water and air pollution. As a result of the Egyptian NGOs active role, the decision makers in the government have invited NGOs to participate in the formation of the Egyptian Law: Law 4 for the Year 1994 which has been applied since February 1998.

Law 4, 1994 on the environment provides the legal basis for policy and institutional reform and sets new environmental standards. Law 4 for 1994 provides NGOs with a leading role in reporting violations against the environment (Meligy, 1998, 12). However, some NGOs have admitted that they lack the skills needed to collect and gather reliable information. Through lobbying, NGOs can place pressure on the violators of the law and expose them to the media (Meligy, 1998, 13). It is worth mentioning that one of the leading environmental NGOs established a hotline line to receive information related to violations against the environment. They verify information and report the violations to EEAA for inspection and action. Friends of the Environment Association offers symbolic rewards to citizens bringing in the most complaints in one month.

Recognizing the role of NGOs in sustainable development and in the protection of the environment, the law stipulates that representatives of three NGOs working in the environment field should join the board of directors of the Egypt Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA). In addition, the law provides NGOs with a leading role in reporting the violations against the environment.

With encouragement from Egypt Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA) and through funding from DANIDA, a Danish Donor Agency interested in

providing assistance through Egyptian NGOs in areas of human rights/democracy, environment and WID projects, an environmental NGO Steering Committee was established comprising of 19 NGO representatives. The committee was created to coordinate between EEAA and environmental NGOs and to serve as a channel for communication between donors, EEAA and ENGOS. This steering committee has been replaced in 1998 by a newly established specialized Federation of Environmental NGOs with the mandate of coordinating between NGOs working in the field of environment as well as regional and specialized federations. The federation operates under the supervision of MOSA, but has representative(s) from EEAA on its board. Its board is comprised of Deputy Ministers from different ministries, experts in the fields of social work and MOSA officials. The draft of the new law provides the President with the authority to form the Board of Directors for the General Federation of NGOs.

Furthermore, a draft of the new EEAA Environmental Policy also endorses the role of NGOs as agents for sustainable development and civil society. The long term objective of the Egyptian Environmental Policy is to integrate an environmental dimension addressing environmental concerns in relevant national policies, plans, programs, projects and practices in order to realize sustainable development. The Egyptian Environmental Policy Framework sets out a number of guidelines to follow in order to achieve the aforementioned objective. Among these guidelines is the fostering of partnerships, coordination and collaborative work between EEAA and civil society.

Definition of Environmental NGOs

Organizations that serve the environment take many forms. There is a huge network of environmental organizations that has formed over the last thirty years. Environmental NGOs are organizations with a broad interest in the environment and that have large numbers of members. Environmental NGOs refer to organizations that are involved in the implementation of projects and programs in the field. As a result, they have become increasingly sensitive to the need for linkages with the communities where they work, and to the constraints imposed by the lack of organization among these same communities. On the other hand, it is important to note that most environmental organizations are more than conservation NGOs, in that their work on environmental issues has generated a level of field experience that has forced them to reassess their emphasis on nature rather than people. In general, because they have been working with people, the relationship between the crisis of the environment and the crisis of poverty has been inescapable, and so led to their growing awareness of a need to redefine their starting point as people, rather than nature (Cherrette, O'keefe, Heidenreich and Middelbrook, 1995, 31).

According to the Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA), an ENGO is an organization that is concerned mainly with the promotion of the protection of the environment (Gomaa, 1997, 20). In a study conducted in 1994 of approximately 71 ENGOS, 62 were found active and 9 inactive. The study also classified environmental NGOs into three categories: multiple issue groups (that have broad interests in the environment and have a large number of members); single issue groups (that are open but have relatively small

membership and are interested in a specific particular environment aspect; and research and scientific societies that deal with the environment. Their membership is small in numbers, but their impact stems from the technical expertise of their members. Environmental NGOs are defined as any of those organizations that are not part of the government, pursue non-profit aims, and are concerned with the protection of the environment. In this regard, environmental NGOs can be research institutes, professional associations, or youth organizations. By early 1990, official estimates had placed the number of environmental NGOs at eighty. About 85 percent of these NGOs are based in Cairo.

Environmental NGOs in Egypt vary according to their activities. Some NGOs are involved in research work, some are involved in grass-roots initiatives, while others are active in advocacy, and lying seeking to induce policy reforms. We also find that some NGOs are engaged in environmental/sustainable development type of projects while others are more concerned with the conservation of the environment (Meligy, 1998, 51).

Non-governmental organizations working in the field of environment are classified according to their functions as follows:

- Advocacy groups – primary focus is to influence policy. Some of these organizations use media and direct action (such as resorting to legal action) to influence policy changes. Others collect information, conduct research, and widely disseminate their results to bring them to the attention of people and policy makers;
- Conservationists – mainly concerned with the conservation of the environment;

- Community based – most grass-root organizations are community based;
- Environmental – involved in the implementation of environmental projects and are concerned with sustainable development, and training of grass-roots organizations; and
- Networking – activities focus on promoting networking among NGOs (including national and international NGOs, lying education as well as facilitating a national NGO agenda (Meligy, 1998, 27).

The emergence of these environmental NGOs can be attributed to the following factors:

- Environmental concern has risen, at least among certain segments of the Egyptian society, along with the desire to deal with the country's environmental problems.
- The government welcomes the growing number of such NGOs because of the government's conviction that environmental problems cannot be solved without citizen participation. According to Mr. Salah Hafez, Ex Chairman of the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA), "We work very hard to nurture and develop them because without them, the environmental movement could not progress...We consider them partners in our campaign to protect the environment" (Gomaa, 1997, 21). The government also needs to coordinate with those NGOs, especially after what has been said about the intentions of foreign donors to give their financial assistance to NGOs directly.

Environmental NGOs are characterized by two phenomena which are: the tremendous growth in their size and numbers and second "with a sizeable

yet understandable lag, is the growing awareness among scholars that this phenomena is not epiphenomenal but integral to the peculiar nature of world environmental politics itself" (Princen & Finger, 1994, 1). Environmental NGOs differ according to their interest or orientation (i.e., single issue vs. multiple issue), size (large or small membership, and open or closed organizations (in terms of membership).

Classification of Environmental NGOs

Currently three types of NGOs are active in the country's environmental politics. Dr. Salwa Sharawi Gomaa, in "*Environmental Policy Making in Egypt*" has classified and explained the different types of environmental NGOs. Environmental NGOs include organizations with a broad interest in the environment and that have large numbers of members. These organizations are usually connected with international organizations that deal with the environment. An example of such a category of organizations would be the Arab Office For Youth and Environment (AOYE), The National Association for the Protection of the Environment (NAPOE), Friends of the Environment Association in Alexandria (FEA), and Friends of the Environment and Development Association (FEDA).

Regarding membership, female membership is 50% of NAPOE's total membership. In AOYE, female membership accounts for about one-third. FEA has a female membership of 40% while FEDA has approximately 12%. The four organizations are headed by a board of director. The AOYE board of director consists of nine members, two of which are women. On the other hand, both NAPOE and FEDA's board of directors consists of five members. NAPOE has two women on the board while there is no female representation

on FEDA's board of directors. FEA has a large board of directors consisting of eight members, three of whom are female (Gomaa, 1997, 24).

The second type of environmental NGOs includes "single issue organizations with open but small membership" (Gomaa, 1997, 24). Examples of these organizations would be the Association for the Protection of the Environment (APE), the Association for Health and Environmental Development (AHED), and the Association for Development of Services at Zamalek (ADSZ).

With respect to membership, the total number of members in APE is eighty, ninety percent of who are female. The board of directors is composed of eleven members, seven of whom are women. The Association for Development of Services at Zamalek has a membership of not exceeding fifty, however, forty-seven of its members are women. The board of directors is dominated by women: all five members are female. Finally, AHED's total membership is one hundred, forty of whom are women. The board of directors is equally divided between men and women (Gomaa, 1997, 26).

The third type of environmental NGOs is represented by scientific societies and some research institutes that deal with environmental problems in Egypt. Each has a small membership limited to scientists and researchers. Examples of these NGOs would be the National Society for Environmental Protection, the Egyptian Society for Marine Sciences and Technology, and the Egyptian Association for Toxicological Sciences.

The National Society for Environmental Protection consists of a hundred members, twenty-three are females, two of whom are board members. The Egyptian Society for Marine Sciences and Technology has seventy members,

ten of whom are female. The board of directors consists of fifteen members, one of whom is female. Finally, the Egyptian Society for Toxicological Sciences has a large membership of 300 members, thirty percent of whom are female. The board of directors consists of fifteen members, three of whom are women.

Somaya Ibrahim in *"Gender Analysis of Participation of Women and Men in NGOs: The Case of an Egyptian Private voluntary Organization"* argues that patriarchal ideology can be helpful in explaining various "intra and extra organizational issues". With respect to female participation, it is found to be very low qualitatively and quantitatively. On the level of activities, women are only the recipients and not of all activities as some of them do not target females. On the volunteer level, women are members in the General Assembly of those NGOs which they work in. However, they are not involved in the committees nor the board membership. Even with respect to activities directed to females, men are the ones who have the upper hand as they enjoy the membership in the committees responsible for the activities and the board meetings.

On one hand, Ibrahim emphasized that the issue of time appeared to be a constraint for women's participation as they were unable to spare time to volunteer activities or had scheduled meetings not meet their daily routine schedule. On the other hand, social status was the second constraint to women's participation as they lack education and felt disadvantaged to men. As a result, they are perceived to have less decision-making power.

Saad El Din Ibrahim in *"An Assessment of Grass Roots Participation in the Development of Egypt"* emphasized that grassroots participation is the

first step towards the realization of the development of human potentials. This participation can be operationalized on different levels, namely based on consciousness, attitudinal, behavioral and organizational.

The underlying approach of most environmental NGOs is a combination of welfare and anti-poverty. However, the most predominant underlying policy approach appears to be the efficiency approach. It seeks to meet the practical gender needs while relying on the different gender roles. Women are seen in terms of capacity to compensate for the declining environment to work on problems such as population explosion, provision of small economic projects such as productive family programs etc.. The next predominant approach is the welfare approach (Ibrahim, 1999, 19). Throughout many of the organizations, women are seen as passive beneficiaries of development whereby their reproductive roles are recognized. Almost all environmental NGOs respond to the practical gender needs by being concerned with the inadequacies in living conditions, providing community-based services such as infrastructure development, construction of simple water and sewage systems, health care and family planning, and employment through technical training centers and social welfare. The organizations seek to meet their practical gender needs by providing them with measures like family planning, charity, provision of social services especially in education, health, etc..

Therefore, through the anti-poverty approach, environmental NGOs tend to ensure that poor women increase their productivity by recognizing their productive role thus providing them with means to increase their income through income generating enterprises (Ibrahim, 1999, 20).

Environmental NGOs recognize the reproductive roles through the social and charity work they get engaged in. The productive roles are recognized through the socio-economic activities, primarily the productive families program to help poor members to increase their income. The community management role of the environmental NGOs is recognized through promoting public awareness on environmental protection, conducting activities in health services, execution of projects relating to beautification and preservation of ancient monuments, cleanliness campaigns etc.. Almost all environmental NGOs respond to the practical gender needs by being concerned with the inadequacies in living conditions, providing community-based services, health care and family planning etc.. The community politics role is recognized through the organization of conferences, seminars and meetings to raise the awareness of local inhabitants of development problems, energy and environmental issues, gender involvement on environmental issues etc...(Ibrahim, 1999, 19)

With respect to access and control over resources, it is important to note that resources refer to participation or membership. According to Saad El Din Ibrahim, from a sample of forty environmental NGOs, eighty percent of the environmental NGOs are male dominated ie. have more than sixty percent male members. Fourteen percent are balanced between forty and sixty percent of each gender while six percent of the NGOs are female dominated. This study concludes that Egypt's environmental NGOs are still male dominated. Women, however have access to other services provided by the NGOs because they have more than one activity directed towards women.

Phil Evans and Brian Appleton in "*Community Management Today*" stress higher levels of women's participation in decision making which will increase the effectiveness of implemented community management projects (1993, 17). It has been argued that although in some cases, for religious and cultural reasons, women's involvement is not "overt or apparent in organizational structures", women often play a high influential and beneficial role in implemented community management projects (Evans, & Appleton, 1993, 20).

Finally, in *Investing in Women: Progress and Prospects for the World Bank*, Mayra Buvinic argues that participatory strategies are good vehicles to address gender issues as they allow for involvement in project design and implementation. For example in Brazil women's views had to be considered in the design of community water and sanitation systems in Brazil. The World Bank stresses that community-based associations are often hierarchical and exclude women (1996, 20).

Non-governmental organizations incorporate both men and women. In many cases the approach used by the NGOs is not very participatory in its nature as there are many power dynamics prevailing in this society which were perpetuate by those organizations. From a gender perspective, it becomes obvious that female's involvement is quantitatively very low and qualitatively even more so. Female members in such organizations assume the secondary responsibility in terms of selecting the type of activity for the target groups and are also the ones sitting on the committees responsible for the activities directed at women. Women's role in the decision-making bodies appears to be very meagre both qualitatively and quantitatively. Not only is

the representation of female members very low on the board but also very low on the participatory ladder. They are either found to be involved at the implementation level and scarcely taking a prime role on the higher advising or decision-making level. Thus, females continue to be users and or passive beneficiaries of the services and scarcely in control of any of the organization's endeavors.

With regards to the membership of the board, there exists a greater disparity in disfavor of women. The obvious controversy of women having much access to services but being in less control of those services due to their low participation on boards, can be explained by the prevailing patriarchal attitude that men are to be in control and women as recipients and/or beneficiaries.



Women Participation in Egyptian Environmental NGOs

Women are active participants in environmental NGOs, sixty percent of the environmental NGOs have women on the board of directors, and seven percent have all female boards (Gomaa, 1997, 30). The representation of women in ENGOs ranges between 55% and 60% while on the board of directors they are estimated to be 68% (Kandil, 1995, 25) (See Table B). This reflects the importance of the environmental issue to women. The high level of women's participation in this area can be largely attributable to the fact that women in Egypt as a consequence of sociocultural division of labor that cuts across classes-carry household responsibilities that bring them into intimate contact with natural resources (Gomaa, 1997, 30). This has naturally tended to sharpen the awareness of educated women of the impact of environmental hazards on members of their families, particularly children.

However, it still cannot be denied that many other environmental NGOs do not use a participatory approach, which is usually linked to the power dynamics found in society, which are perpetuated by these organizations.

The participation of women in environmental NGOs will help direct activities towards women and hence create a "strong linkage and solidarity between women at the grassroots level and elite ones" (Osman, 1993, 5). The integration of women in environmental decision making will help to balance perspectives as opposed to those of men that are neither gender aware nor sensitive and hence help to plan more gender sensitive projects. Women will direct their attention to women's needs, children and the family issues which will then be discussed from different perspectives such as politics, economics, social, legal, etc... (Osman, 1993, 6). They help highlight situations and problems by making people at the grassroots level more aware of the situations around them.

It is important to note that the involvement of women at the policy making level will provide women with the opportunity to plan and formulate policies and projects. On the level of implementation, this will help strengthen women's management capabilities. At the grassroots level, women are provided with the opportunity to increase their productivity and increase their income (Osman, 1993, 6).

Chapter Four

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

Gender Analysis

A gender analysis was applied on the NGOs interviewed. Gender analysis aims at analyzing male-female differences in the division of labor and access to resources in order to identify gender gaps and the levels and positions of male superiority and women subordination. The analysis identifies divisions of work based on gender in productive and reproductive work as well as differences in access to and control over income and resources (Razavi, 1995, 14). Gender analysis is an essential tool for the analysis of the local context which includes knowledge on the varied roles played by women and men in the household, workplace, community, political processes and the economy and provides information on the different perspectives, roles, needs, and interests of women and men in the project, or institution including the practical needs and strategic interests of women and men. Gender analysis looks not only at roles and activities but also at relationships. It looks at who does what, who makes the decision, who derives the benefits and who uses the resources. Second, it provides information on the relations between women and men pertaining to their access to, control and ownership of resources and decision-making processes. Third, the capacity of the institution to achieve gender equality and opportunities for reducing the gender gap. Finally, the differential impact of program or project interventions on women and men.

The gender analysis takes into account both practical and strategic gender needs. On the one hand, practical gender needs are defined as

immediate necessities as well as needs which arise by virtue of their gender in the existing division of labor (Ostergaard, 1997, 91). They include responses to inadequate living conditions such as clean water, shelter, income and health care. On the other hand, strategic gender needs refer to the relative status of women's subordination to men within a society and are related to changing women's position. They vary in each context and are related to gender divisions of labor, resources and power. Strategic interests may include legal rights, closing wage gaps, protection from domestic violence, increased decision-making power, and women's control over their bodies (CIDAs Policy on Gender Equality, 1996, 12). They may include the removal of institutional forms of discrimination to give women equal rights to land ownership and access to credit. Strategic needs require a change in the attitude of men.

Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDAs) Policy on Women in Development and Gender Equity stresses strengthening organizations to work with a gender perspective that should constitute an important element of all institutional development programs. The full and effective integration of gender considerations into development initiatives can be done through the use of a gender analysis which is required at both sectoral and macro-policy levels. Certain points have been listed to conducting a gender analysis. It is important to:

- Gain an understanding of gender relations, the division of labor between men and women, and who has access to, and control over resources.
- Recognize the ways in which women and men work and contribute
- Identify barriers to women's participation and productivity

- Gain an understanding of women's practical needs and strategic interests
(CIDAs Policy on Women in Development and Gender Equity, 1995, 10)

According to the DAC Guidelines for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation, gender analysis is most effective when it is an integrated aspect of policy, planning, monitoring and evaluation processes, rather than a separate activity.

Women's Empowerment Framework

Women's development is defined as being concerned with women's issues, where the overall issue is equality with men and overcoming inequality. There are five different levels of equality as the basis for the criteria to assess the level of women's development in any area of social or economic life. The levels of equality are in hierarchical relationship so that the equality of control is more important for women's development than equality of welfare (Longwe, 1989, 4). Higher levels of equality reflect higher levels of development. This is a hierarchy of empowerment since the higher levels are concerned with providing women with the means towards increased control over their own lives.

Control: This level entails not only the participation of women in the decision-making process, but a utilization of this participation to achieve equality of control over the factors of production, and equality of control over the distribution of benefits. Equality of control means a balance of control between men and women so that neither side is put into a position of dominance or subordination (Williams, 1994, 293).

Participation: The level of equality is concerned with women's equal participation in the decision-making process, which means participation in the process of policy making and administration. In projects, participation means involvement in needs assessment, project formulation, implementation and evaluation. Equality of participation means involving the women of the community affected by the decisions taken (Williams, 1994, 293).

Conscientisation: The understanding of the differences between sex roles and gender roles, and that the latter are cultural and can be changed.

Conscientisation involves a belief that the sexual division of labor should be fair and agreeable to both sides. Belief in sexual equality lies at the basis of gender awareness, and provides the basis for collective participation in the process of women's development (Williams, 1994, 293).

Access: Women's access to the factors of production on an equal basis with men: equal access to land, labor, credit, training, marketing facilities etc...

Equality of access is obtained by ensuring the principle of equality of opportunity, which entails the reform of the law and administrative practice to remove all forms of discrimination against women (Williams, 1994, 293).

Welfare: The level of material welfare of women, relative to men, in matters such as food supply, income and medical care. This level of equality is concerned with the relative level of welfare. Such a degree of involvement would suggest a higher degree of empowerment and development, which is considered in the higher levels of the criteria (Williams, 1994, 293).

A development project is concerned with women's development when it is concerned with a woman's issue, defined in terms of the above five levels

of equality. A women's issue is concerned with equality with men in any social or economic role or any of the above mentioned five levels of equality.

Assessing Women's Needs (Within the NGO)

Project formulation should begin with an investigation of people's needs by asking them about their felt needs and priorities. Women's issues have been for long overlooked because no needs assessment has been carried out in any sort with not to say particular needs assessment to women. Projects are often formulated by Program Officers who have no information on the situation of the targeted community with special emphasis on the situation of women. As a result, the project overlooks the position of women leading to increasing the labor burden on women while allowing the benefits of the project to be controlled by men. The implication of Women's Development Criteria is that the needs of women in a target group must be addressed at all five levels: welfare, access, conscientisation, participation, and control. It is important for the needs assessment to identify target groups such as heads of households. It is also important to point out that there is still a common perception that women's development should be confined to separate women's projects.

Women's development is seen as a process of women's increased welfare, income, production and skills. The development project is part of this process. Therefore, the strategies and methods of implementation must exemplify the process of women's empowerment in such matters such as the proportion of women in the team concerned with implementation, the level of gender awareness within the team, the proportion of female members of the

target group who are members of the project management committee, equal conditions of employment for men and women (Williams, 1994, 296).

However, it is important to point out that at the stage of implementation, concern with contribution to women's development is sometimes non-existent. One reason could be that the members of the implementing team are themselves not gender aware, not committed to the process of women's development, and surrender easy to the forms of bureaucratic resistance. Therefore, it is common to hear the excuse that "we are trying hard to do things which are against the local custom, and nobody seems interested, so why should we bother" (Williams, 1994, 297). At this stage of implementation, the most important level of criteria would be conscientisation amongst the implementing team.

During the implementation stage, it is important to monitor and evaluate progress towards women's participation and empowerment. It is necessary to set the actual development against the original objectives and project design to see if the women of the target group are participating in the project activities and decision-making activities in numbers and proportion (relative to men). If the intended participation is achieved, the next thing to look at is the evidence of women recognizing women's issues and interests, influencing the decision making and achieving increased access to and control over factors of production (Williams, 1994, 297). Most important is women's continued participation in the development process and their continued mobilization to recognize and address women's issues in development. The main purpose of women's development section of the project is to be concerned with enabling and promoting the process of

empowerment so that women can act collectively to improve their own situation and not remain passive recipients of decisions made by others.

An Implementation Framework for Gender Policy

This framework is to look into how does the context influence the opportunities and constraints for including women. Many factors such as political, economic, legal, and social environment pose constraints to agencies that attempt to implement gender sensitive policies. Agencies resist embracing these policies especially when women's roles are seen as limited and traditional in society and would lead to cultural instability. One evaluation states, "hostility towards all policies affecting women's traditional roles is a major constraint to reaching women beneficiaries" (Sndyer and Berry, 1996, 1484). Another notes "cultural differences as insurmountable barriers to implementation, with little or no analysis and without proposing alternatives" (Sndyer and Berry, 1996, 1484).

Who Decides What is to be Done

Representatives of women's interests

The integration of gender in the policies and processes of the organization depends on the representatives of the board of directors. According to a USAID study, it was suggested that women or those that speak on behalf of women (sensitized men) are included into the design and formulation of policies in order to endure the integration of such concerns. In the subset of projects which women are clearly identified, only 4% of the reports noted that women participated in the design of projects, gender specific objectives were identified in only 28% of the project evaluation, and

women were not often hired as technical staff. Other studies indicated that participation of women in planning and as technical staff is frequent (Snyder and Berry, 1996 1485).

What is to be Done?

Type of policies

Power and the potential to resist change are demonstrated in setting the strategic goals that are to be pursued by the organization, designing and maintaining them and allowing for a time period to undertake such changes. The degree of change in the practices, values and viewpoints will be reflected in the types of projects proposed. For example, practical development approaches emphasize the provision of goods and services that meet the immediate needs of women in "their existing social and political roles in society" (Snyder and Berry, 1996, 1485). On the other hand, strategic approaches seek to alter the structures and laws that hinder and impede women's efforts to participate in development. Policies and projects that target strategic interests may require more agreement on the changes from implementers as well as clients. However, most of the development projects are concerned with the practical interests. "The weak results on reaching women in most of these projects suggest that even those goods and services of immediate practical interest for women have generally not been designed and implemented with the client group clearly in mind" (Snyder and Berry, 1996, 1485).

It is still important to point out that even when the gender-specific goals are established, they could easily be overridden by other objectives taking

priority. If the gender objectives have not involved strategic planning, then they will be most likely to be abandoned.

Types of goods and services

The nature of the goods and services provided influences the accessibility of women to such benefits. A strategic approach to the inclusion of women in a given development effort would ask: what activities are currently underway which can be supported to increase the participation of women? In what ways do women in a given setting see their current roles as posing firm constraints in the short run on reaching them as clients for particular goods and services? How will they be included as providers in the delivery process? Are there ways in which the organization and its delivery mechanism can be adapted to these factors? (Snyder and Berry, 1996, 1486).

Who is to do It?

Choice of implementing agencies

Most organizations have clients besides women. Organizations select appropriate implementing agencies/partners to help produce the goods and services to the target groups. Implementing partners could be selected on its history of serving a particular client group and could be a donor agency, private developmental office, etc... Certain implementing partners may be chosen on the basis of having experience of reaching women.

How to Improve Capacity

Leadership and stakeholder inclusion

It has been strongly noted that a strong leadership is most required to ensure the incorporation of stakeholders for women's interests in the design

of policies and projects. Strong leadership is critical to the implementation of effective policies (DAC Guidelines, 1991, 24). Significant progress will be made when issues of gender equality are taken seriously at the management level. It was recognized that unless the leaders were willing to accept the input of the stakeholders and use it as a basis for action, there would be no use in having a participatory process for incorporating inputs from stakeholders. However, it is important to have these minority voices of stakeholders be heard. Nonetheless, stakeholder consultation has proven to be effective in achieving gender equity because different perspectives are presented and negotiated. During the planning of activities, it is always important to consult with the women who will share in the implementation as well as the beneficiaries and target groups whom are going to be affected by the project.

Mobilize clients as stakeholders

If the true objective of policies is to serve the needs of women beneficiaries, then women must be involved in the identification of their problems, selecting objectives to address such concerns, as well as participate in the design of strategies to achieve the agreed upon objectives. By bringing in women stakeholders or beneficiaries and drawing their experience, the organization would draw upon the expertise that it might have not been able to afford if it was to hire them as staff. As a result, this helps to raise the capacity of the organization. Bryson and Crosby emphasize on the need to have public participation and to develop policy implementation coordinating committees with stakeholders as well as staff and policy makers. "Particularly when large changes are involved, people must be given

opportunities to develop shared meanings and appreciations that will further the implementation of policy goals" (Sndyer and Berry, 1996, 1489). "Even when the stakeholders are not represented during policy design, they can make a positive impact during implementation" (Sndyer and Berry, 1996, 1489). Hence, the input and contribution of the stakeholders is of importance through the different stages of the project process.

Representative bureaucracy

The representation of women in the top decision-making levels is important to build the capacity for implementing gender sensitive policies. It has been apparent that women are still not represented in senior management and decision-making levels as well as technical positions while highly represented in traditional areas such as administration. It is important to point out that the lack of participation of women results in the absence of women's interests and perspectives in the projects and programs that are to be implemented. The utilization of women's potential with special emphasis in the environment field is an efficient means to improve the quality of development as a whole.

Training

Some organizations attempt to increase the percentage of women working in the organization through providing them with training sessions in order to prepare them for assuming higher levels such as senior policy making levels. It is important for the staff integrating the gender policies to have received gender awareness training. This would be an important step towards a change in attitudes and behaviors that is seen as a necessary step for these people to become supporters of gender policies.

Change Agents

Women are often viewed as passive project beneficiaries and less often as active agents of change (Sndyer and Berry, 1996, 1490). It has been stressed that for the achievement of successful implementation of policy innovations, there is a need for "change agents" in leadership or key staff positions "(Sndyer and Berry, 1996, 1489). Change requires a "leadership", a "prime mover" or "champion" to push for the implementation of strategic decisions "(Sndyer and Berry, 1996, 1489). These change agents should be gender sensitive and aware of the strategies for achieving the active participation of women, including the possibility of them becoming change agents.

Communication

Communication linkages for the building of the implementation capacity exists in two dimensions. One form of communication is the organization's outreach to clients, while the second concerns interorganizational communication patterns, both within the organization and between the organization and its external organizational allies. The importance of women communicating with female beneficiaries has been pointed out above. Communication to support attention to gender policies should not come solely from women.

Enforcement and Compliance

Both enforcement and compliance have been another problem of gender sensitive and inclusive policies. Agreement on the goals and objectives between the donors (principals) and recipients (agents) does not always

guarantee successful implementation. For proper implementation of programs to occur, recipients should have an interest in the program.

Have Gender-Inclusive Policies Achieved the Expected Results

Most of the evaluations assessed performance in terms of outputs while no gender-disaggregated data were reported. When assessments are carried out on women's participation in programs as beneficiaries, output are presented but results data are not included. Information may be provided on how many women received training but will be lacking on whether this training improved their lives.

Caren Levy's Web of Gender Institutionalization

The Web of Gender Institutionalization will be referred to in order to further analyze and institutionalize the gender situation in the selected environmental NGOs. Institutionalization is defined as the "process whereby social practices become significantly regular and continuous to be described as institutions", that is, "social practices that are regularly and continuously repeated, are sanctioned and maintained by social norms, and have a major significance in the social structure" (Levy, 1998, 254-255). The term institutionalization is referred to when focusing on integrating women or gender into regular development practices. Nonetheless, to institutionalize a gender perspective requires the understanding of 13 elements. The 13 web elements direct action to promote institutionalization of gender and participation.

The first step is women and men's experience and their interpretation of reality and their own roles. There should be an expression of gender interests

related to women's and men's gender roles, access to and control over resources and gender needs. Second, is pressure of political constituencies whereby through mobilization and consciousness-raising, women and men can get involved in collective action around particular gender interests, forming new political constituencies or joining existing ones. In this process, women and men face specific gender, class, age and/or ethnic constraints. Third, are representative political structures whereby women and men must be able to elect or actively engage with representative political structures within the formal political system (Levy, 1998, 258-259). Gendered representation in the political structures must encompass equal numbers and attention to gender interests. Fourth, is political commitment whereby gender issues are translated through the influence of the political constituencies and representative political structures. Fifth is the translation of the political commitment into policies (Levy, 1998, 259-260). On one hand, integrating gender into ongoing sectoral and cross-sectoral (gendered policy) or on the other hand formulating gender-specific policy (gender policy). Following, political commitment needs to be translated into resources to support policy. Resource allocation and policy formulation of gender integration depend on the mainstream location of responsibility for gender issues.

For a successful institutionalization, it is important to note where the responsibility for taking on a gender perspective lies with each ministry or division. Procedures should be gendered and should be complimented with staff development. Women and men should be trained on gender policy and planning skills. Effective staff development requires a clear methodology. Proof of staff development through an appropriate methodology is when the

delivery of programs and projects meets the needs of women and men. Public learning is required in order for institutionalization to signify a 'sustained change' (Levy, 1998, 263). Applied research allows for this learning to take place. Finally, applied research in its examination of practice, contributes to the accumulation of knowledge about integrating gender into policy and planning practice. It contributes to building new theories around gender as a variable in development policy and planning which in return helps develop better methodologies.

The 13 elements of the 'web institutionalization' help in assessing the extent of gender institutionalization at a country level or in one organization. It helps reveal how far participation has become part of a development NGO or government agency. Ultimately, it can be used to determine to what extent gendered participation has occurred.

According to Somaya Ibrahim analysis in "*Guidelines for the Gender Analysis of Community Development Associations*", integrating gender in NGOs requires analyzing the structure, systems/procedures, and culture of the organizations. The first to be analyzed is structure, which refers to the relative positions of the organization, the division of tasks, responsibilities, authority, management or politics. The second to be analyzed is the system, which refers to the operation of the organization and the way in which various processes and decision-making take place within the organization. The third to be analyzed is culture. Organizational culture refers to the shared opinions and values of the members and staff of the organization (Ibrahim, 1999, 27-28). Questions related to these three factors are included.

The questions intended will be as follows:

With respect to the STRUCTURE of the organization:

1. What is the organizational structure of the NGO? (General Assembly, Board of Directors, Executive and Advisory Committees)
2. What is the gender-split of the Board of Directors, General Assembly, other committees existing within the organization?
3. What are the gender roles that the females play in the organization? (reproductive, productive, community management, etc...)
4. What is the degree of women participation in the different stages of the program formulation and implementation? (planning, implement, advising, evaluating, etc...)

With respect to the SYSTEM of the organization?

1. What are the objectives and needs addressed by the organization's activities?
2. What is the underlying policy approach of the organization? (welfare, anti-poverty, efficiency, equity, empowerment, gender and development, ..)
3. To what extent are the practical gender needs and strategic interests of women addressed?

With respect to the CULTURE of the organization?

1. How are the females perceived among the different stakeholders? Is there a process of stakeholder consultation/needs assessment?
2. Which roles and positions are they supposed to perform and which not and why?
3. What is the impact of the organization's intervention on the different gender roles and needs as well as the access and control over the resources?

Questions on a broader level: Gender Sensitivity of Projects

1. Have women been consulted on the problems to be solved? How have they been involved in the development of the solution?
2. Did the intervention challenge the existing division of labor, tasks and responsibilities?
3. What specific ways can be proposed for encouraging women to participate in the policy/program/project despite their subordinate position?
4. What is the long-term impact in terms of women's increased ability to take collective action to solve problems?

Criteria to be Adopted when Monitoring Projects on the Integration of the Women Dimension

1. What is the percentage of females currently involved in the decision making level on the project?
2. What is the percentage of female workers currently employed at the project?
3. Did the project succeed in increasing female participation in its current activities?
4. What are the obstacles faced to achieve female participation or increase their already percentage?
5. Did the project offer any training to less trained personnel females and males equally?
6. Did the females grab the learning opportunity like males?
7. What are the obstacles experienced towards female participation?
8. Did the project try to overcome such obstacles and how?

Checklist for Assessing the Gender Sensitivity of Projects:

1. Type of activity of the proposed project
2. Gender roles indicated in the project
3. Number of females and males participating in the different activities of the project
4. Status of education of both females and males
5. Previous training received by females and males who will be engaged on the project
6. Number of women and men technical positions

Criteria to be Adopted when Monitoring Projects on the Integration of the Women Dimension:

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8. Did the project try to overcome such obstacles and how?

Chapter Five

SURVEY OF ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS

Selected Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations

This section presents background information as well as an analysis of three selected environmental case study NGOs that have been interviewed. The purpose of the study is to identify the participation level of women and their role in decision-making levels and project implementation that will help in achieving gender sensitive sustainable community projects. The selected ENGOs were selected on the basis of being urban, established for a fairly long period of time in the field of environment, leading environmental NGOs in the field of health, environmental awareness, and community solid waste management, have similar programs with regard to their focus on community development, and a membership of not less than a hundred. They range between single issue ENGOs represented in the Association for Health and Development (AHED) and the Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development (AGCCD), and multiple issue ENGOs represented in the Arab Office for Youth and Environment (AOYE). It is important to note that the selected NGOs are challenging, well connected ENGOs.

Women's participation in the selected ENGOs are analyzed at different levels. In AOYE, women are analyzed at the implementation level because they are mainly implementers of decisions. In AHED, women are analyzed at the different levels of decision making because they share in the design, planning, implementation, and monitoring of projects. In AGCCD, there is clearly no representation of women. However, the contribution of women is

analyzed in the context of one project, which is the Income Generating Project for Female Headed Households.

The Arab Office for Youth and Environment (AOYE)

The first NGO interviewed is the **Arab Office for Youth and Environment (AOYE)**, which is a type of NGO with a broad interest in the environment and which is open for everyone who wants to join and that has fairly large numbers of members exceeding 300 members. The Arab Office for Youth and Environment was first established as part of Al-Ahram Newspaper's Science Club in December 1978 and continued to work within Al-Ahram until 1990, when it was registered as a non-governmental organization with the Ministry of Social Affairs (See Table F).

The main objectives of AOYE is the promotion of public awareness on the need to preserve the environment in Egypt, the creation of a cadre of people (mostly youth) capable of executing the above objective efficiently, and the promotion of Arab NGO activities. AOYE emphasizes that its activities are based on "the fact that awareness is the key to environmental problems, noting that man is both the problem and solution of the environment" (Gomaa 22).

AOYE is a networking organization operating at the national and regional level. This is particularly clear in both the role of AOYE and the Arab Network for Youth and Environment (RAED), of which the AOYE is its Secretariat. The network involves more than a 100 NGOs from Arab countries, who share their experiences and exchange information on environmental and developmental issues in the Middle East. The network aims at creating new grassroots activities to be implemented by RAED's NGO members. It gathers,

disseminates, and exchanges regional and international data on different environmental and developmental problems. In addition, the organization provides technical and other assistance to other lower NGOs such as technical training in the field of writing proposals.

The organization's both administrative and decision-making structure, are simple. The organization's structure ie. the way work is split up and associated with the different responsibilities and authority is a strong factor in determining the effectiveness of the organization. The executive board is made up of nine members, the President, Vice President, Secretary General, the Treasurer, and five permanent members. The AOYE board of directors consists of nine members, two of which are women. Among the members of the board, there are four physicians, two engineers and one journalist. With the expansion in the board of directors, there are now 3 women and 6 men. One may trace the high representation of physicians in the board to the fact that the core group who first thought of establishing the AOYE was from the Faculty of Medicine. Regarding membership, AOYE has approximately 300 members the bulk of whom are drawn from universities and about one-third of the membership is women.

On the other hand, the decision-making structure starts first with the board of directors who take new decisions or pass new regulations. The undertaken decisions are then to be passed to the Secretary General who then evaluates such decisions. Agreed upon and authorized decisions would then be passed on to the Program Officers and Program Coordinator as well as the Administrative Manager, Financial Department, and the Secretariat in order to be implemented. Only under certain circumstances pertaining to

urgent cases when the President takes a decision which is then passed on to the Board of Directors for authorization.

With respect to the roles and responsibilities of women in the organization, reference was made to two major projects, which are currently being implemented by AOYE. The first is the Environmental Hotline Service Project. The goal of the project is to link society with the surrounding environmental problems and make it participate in the responsibility of protecting the environment, which can be achieved through the establishment of a telephone hotline service. This service aims at receiving citizens' environmental complaints and offers solutions in cooperation with the Ministry of Environment and Cairo Governorate for ensuring the implementation and application of Law 4 for the Year 1994.

All those involved in the project are females. Females receive complaints from the caller regarding a specific environmental problem. The complaints are either solved directly by the phone or sent to the specialized agent or ministry which, is part of the established committee made up of the different agents concerned with the environment. Females follow up with the agent and get back to the complainer. One thousand and seven hundred complaints have been received to date. Females were chosen for this project because they are much calmer, tolerant and willing to dedicate more time with the complainer. Moreover, this would in itself help encourage females to call and give in their complaints. This would reflect their level of awareness and help make them more alert to surrounding environmental problems.

The Arab Office for Youth and Environment carries out a process of stakeholder consultation by doing public hearings related to the hotline

service. The public hearings done usually involve the complainer, the governor of the concerned area, a representative from the concerned agent and representatives from the AOYE to further discuss the submitted complaint and the measures or steps that have been taken towards solving the issue.

The second project is the Community Solid Waste Management Project. Garbage is collected from three areas in Old Cairo (Manial, Zinhom, and Zahraa) then carried out to dumping sites where they would be recycled. A Pilot Project is to be carried out in these three urban areas to manage solid wastes. The whole project is based on the role of women and targets housewives. The rationale for the project was based on the need for an alternative option to waste management that centers on community mobilization and local-local dialogue to establish community run solid waste programs that ensure a healthier environment for all citizens. The project focused on the positioning of women as an economic force. With the number of women-headed households increasing and the large part that women are playing in the informal sector, it has been realized that women can easily take part in providing for their families' livelihood through this program.

In this project, the major role of the three females is to act as the local coordinators in such areas with the housewives and students. The local coordinators have been selected from the area itself in order to have better access to the houses. They help raise environmental awareness on the issue of solid waste management and the link with achieving a healthier environment and better health as well as are the ones that conduct the training sessions and carry out workshops. The awareness campaigns will be accompanied by training programs that enforce the local communities on two

levels. On one level, it will address the problem of wastes at home (especially for women), with topics such as how to minimize waste. On the other level, issues will be taken beyond the confines of home to the wider community, by developing a new cadre of local small-scale entrepreneurs that reuse the solid waste by providing them practically with low cost or no cost techniques.

Both the campaigns and the training activities will be conducted for the community at the actual sites. In addition, the female coordinators will organize the research and select the houses they are to work with. A survey has been done on a thousand two hundred units. They have worked with nine hundred units and seven hundred and eighty women have been trained. They teach housewives how to differentiate between solid and organic wastes. It is important to note that the type of awareness used is door-to-door communication. Complimentary to their work with the housewives, the female coordinators have also conducted awareness sessions in eighteen schools within the three areas the project is targeting. They have decided on the technical activities required in schools. In addition to their work in the field, they have been the ones to write the reports. On the other hand, males are found to be in the areas of recycling.

The project has a very distinctive stakeholder consultation process. The stakeholders are mainly the target women, who are approximately one thousand women. Stakeholders are consulted on the habits they want to change and the problems they are facing. Consultation is also done with them on the places they would like to take their training sessions to be held in, which has usually been the social club. They have been asked for their opinion on promotional materials such as posters and stickers. All

housewives receive boxes for sorting wastes. They choose the size of the box according to how big their kitchen is. The experience demonstrated that it was important to take from and share with them ideas and perceptions and not force on them ideas. In addition, Clean Up Campaigns also have a process stakeholder consultation. The process of consultation is usually carried out during the orientation workshop conducted prior to the campaign. In the event, the Minister of State for Environmental Affairs, people from the community, donors, government representatives, media, etc.. participate.

AOYE has an internal commitment to capacity building and to the development of its staff. A female Information System Specialist was hired to upgrade and maintain the operational MIS that will assist the AOYE staff in the gathering, storage, accessing the dissemination of information relevant to the organization's internal operations and local, regional and international activities. The Specialist trained the AOYE staff on how to use the internet and e-mail systems that are already accessible to the office in networking.

With respect to staff development, it is important to point out that conferences and training courses have been attended by the technical staff, who are the female Program Officers and the Management Information System Specialist. Female Program Officers have attended several conferences among which have been ones held in the United States, South Korea, Ghana and Turkey. Training courses have been received in the fields of proposal writing, management, as well as on the management of informal settlement upgrading projects. The orientation workshop on the Management of Informal Settlement Upgrading Projects was conducted within the framework of Netherlands-Egypt cooperation project "Training and Research

in Housing and Urban Development" – TRHUD. The workshop presented experiences from other developing countries and exposed the participants to some actual knowledge, planning tools and management instruments, which will assist them to plan and manage informal settlements upgrading projects in an effective way. The workshop awarded the participants with an Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies Certificate (IHS) of attendance and those with appropriate experience may be considered for collaboration with TRUHD Project in the future.

Females working on the Hotline Service were recruited with an experience in public relations and a background in environmental problems. They were trained in the Ministry of Environment and oriented with the different departments and divisions found in the Ministry as well as contact persons. Such training will enable the females to direct the complaints to the right contact persons for the solving of such complaints. In addition, they will be familiarized with the law executing capabilities of the Ministry. This is demonstrated in factories that do not abide by Law 4 for the year 1994 and do not conduct an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) end up in having their factories shut down.

The Arab Office for Youth and Environment (AOYE), has been one of the oldest organizations to participate in Clean Up the World (CUW) Campaign four years ago. Clean Up the World Campaign (CUW) is an event designed to focus international attention on the problems of garbage and solid wastes that are affecting the state of the world's environment. CUW is a campaign that involves communities from every corner of the globe, who participate in an international campaign in September of every year. Due to

the recognized success of the previous campaigns, AOYE was offered to be the Secretariat of CUW Australia in Egypt.

The objective of the campaign, is to organize activities in the area of Old Cairo, Ein El Syra, involving local volunteers from the Egyptian communities who will participate in an activity addressing the problem of the mounting solid wastes and its serious effects on the environment. The campaign will raise the awareness of the local community by demonstrating that through positive actions the benefits of a healthier and cleaner community could be achieved.

It is important to note that this project has involved a high percentage of females. Females played more of a community management role through participating in such clean up activities that consisted of periodically removing the leftover garbage from the settlement streets. Females joined the field visits that were carried out to the area of Ain El Syra in order to see the conditions of the area, decide on the streets in which the campaign was to be carried in, as well as decide on the places suitable for the disposal of wastes. Following the preparatory work, the proposal to be submitted to the donors for funding was written by the program officers whom are two females. The two female program officers were then to follow up with the donors through meetings in order to explain to them the benefits that will accrue to them from the sponsoring of such an international event. In addition, an orientation was held in the office for the youth participating in the event in order to explain to them the link between the environment and development, differentiating between organic and solid wastes, the effects of a healthy environment on the living standards, health conditions, etc... A high turnout of housewives was at

the preparatory workshop held a week before the campaign. Housewives were taught how to separate at the source between organic and solid wastes. The role of men was complementary to that played by females. They assisted in the lectures that were given to the community participants prior to the workshop as well as assisted in the collection of garbage.

Findings

In the case of the **Arab Office for Youth and Environment**, much of the work that was done on integrating women in the organization or on involving women in implementation levels, was done to add to the organization's credibility in the eyes of both the government on one hand and the donors on the other hand. Gender has become one of the "hottest and most fashionable" topics placed nowadays on the agenda. Many donors if not all require organizations to be gender sensitive and have as a criteria for funding, the integration of gender in the decision making levels and activities of the organization as well as conducting gender sensitive projects and programs.

If Program Officers were to be involved in the implementation of projects, this was because the organization is very much understaffed and they are considered to be the most professional employees in the organization aside from the other male and female employees that carried out the administrative work. Moreover, when we analyze the board meetings, rarely when the meetings were conducted with the full participation of all male members while on the other hand female members were not involved in any of the meetings. Decisions are to a high degree very much centralized and most of the decisions were taken by the president of the organization. The

president assumes the prime responsibility and sits on the committees responsible for the activities directed at women. It is important to note that women in the organization are more of implementers of decisions.

In reality, the decision making structure of the Arab Office for Youth and Environment does not move as smoothly and comprehensive as mentioned in the constitution of NGOs. High board meetings are not often carried out which as a result hinders possibilities for the discussion of new issues or following up on the work of the office. Therefore, it is rare when the board of directors as a committee takes new decisions or passes new regulations which as a result diminishes the effectiveness of the organization's functions. Often times, the president takes all new decisions and passes new regulations without consultation with the board of directors, which should usually evaluate and authorize the undertaken decisions. This would not allow for diversity of opinions on decisions taken. Undertaken decisions are then passed to the Administrative Manager who then distributes the new regulations to the employees. Due to this discrepancy, the Program Officers, Program Coordinator, Administrative Manager, and Financial Department take their instructions directly from the president rather than from the different supervisors according to each employee's specialization. For example, the Financial Department should be under the complete supervision of the Treasurer, while the Administrative Manager should be under the supervision of the Secretary General and Treasurer. As a result, it has become increasingly apparent that there is an over-lapping of responsibilities and duties which makes it difficult for the work to get accomplished smoothly. This situation then leads to a stressed out environment where everyone is trying to

get things accomplished. Aside from this discrepancy, work is most of the times finished and submitted on time with no delays.

The discrepancy found in the administrative structure of the Arab Office for Youth and Environment could be attributed to the fact that the president is the only full-time person in relation to the other members of the executive or high board. On the other hand, all the other members of the executive board are considered part-timers if not at all. Therefore, it becomes difficult for them to manage the work or their defined responsibilities under the constitution. As a result, the situation makes it necessary for the president to carry out almost all the functions of the high board specified in the constitution which results in a stressed working environment due to the President's efforts in carrying out work that should have been accomplished by the other board members.

Regardless of the fact that there are women on the board of directors, they are not involved in any of the decision-making. Despite the fact that there were no women involved in board decisions, the president of the organization represented women's interests in the projects that were to be implemented. This reflected the fact that the integration of gender with specific focus on women could be integrated into policies and programs due to representatives of women's interests. However, when it comes to implementing projects, the president consults with the Program Officers who are females because they are basically the technical group in the organization responsible for the writing of proposals and implementation of projects. In this regard, the Program Officers roles are more of implementers of projects. If it is a proposal for a new project, the president provides the new idea and the framework to be followed. The Program Officers are then the ones to write

the proposal, submit to donors for funding, and help with implementation. Aside from that, female Program officers are among the highly educated people in the office responsible for technical tasks such as the writing of proposals.

With respect to the degree of involvement of women in the stages of program formulation and implementation within the organization, it is important to note that the AOYE as an organization is understaffed. On the board level, women do not participate in any of the decisions taken. On the technical level, the Program Officers who are females write proposals, coordinate all conferences, seminars and workshops relating to the NGO. In addition, there is another Program Officer responsible for all the LIFE and GEF work along with updating the Management Information System of the Organization. With respect to the Hotline Service Project, the females involved in the project are mainly the ones implementing the project. The follow up done on the complaints is a kind of monitoring done for the project. Based on the outcome they get from their follow up, the project is evaluated and new innovative ideas are suggested for improving the service for the public. In the Community Solid Waste Management Project, the role of women is more of community management, which is reflected in their participation in the clean up activities and their efforts in conducting awareness on the issue of solid waste management. Females feel the impact of the project arising from their role of raising environmental awareness.

In addition, to an extent there appears to be no clear division of responsibilities among the staff due to the fact of being understaffed and which often leads to an overlap of responsibilities. The technical staff, who

are the female employees have been involved in the implementation of many activities and sometimes in the stage of monitoring, which was reflected in the Clean-Up Campaigns, Solid Waste Management Project, and the Hotline Service Project. Females shared equally with men in such campaigns with much of the awareness raising being left to them. In the Hotline Service Project, females are one hundred percent in charge of the activity. They are the ones to receive the complaints, solve them if this could be over the phone, if not submit to the concerned ministry, follow up on the issue and answer back the complainer. Females involved in this project are still considered implementers with no input to add for improvement. The work in the end is evaluated by the president. However, it cannot be denied that this project reflected gender sensitivity and integrated women because it was believed from the start of the planning phase of the project that women being in charge of the project would be more effective since they are more tolerant. Moreover, this would encourage women to become more active and environmentally aware as well as call to complain about surrounding environmental problems.

In the Community Solid Waste Management Project, responsibilities are split among both the females and males depending on the task and skills required for the job. Females are responsible for awareness raising and sorting organic and solid wastes while men are in charge of recycling activities. Such a task is more of a community management role for females. They have succeeded in spreading awareness on both general and specific environmental issues through the use of such community projects. There has been a growing realization that as people become more environmentally

educated, prospects and chances for achieving sustainable development as well as a protected environment, will increase and gain more momentum. The initiative to organize such clean-up campaigns has come as a result of a realization that there is a need to translate the environmental message into positive behaviors and habits along with sufficient means and dynamism. However, it is also important to note that with respect to the Clean-Up Campaign, sustainability cannot be achieved from a one-day activity. The campaign needs to be extended in time and a series of campaigns need to be carried out continuously. Although it is a good idea that brings about the collective action of people and raises their awareness to a common problem, it cannot be denied that sustainability and change of habits and behaviors is a gradual process.

With respect to the level of involvement in decision-making on the project level, the female coordinators have not been involved in the planning of the project along with the male Program Manager. The objectives and targets of the project and the means of achievement have been planned by the male Project Coordinator. It cannot be denied that the decision to conduct door-to-door awareness with the housewives, the training sessions carried out, and the environmental awareness campaigns carried out in schools reflected some degree of gender awareness of the Project Coordinator. Monitoring of the project is considered to be done on a daily basis through the interaction with people. However, the female local coordinators are not represented in the evaluation stage which is usually carried out by the Social and Technical Coordinator of the AOYE.

A community-driven approach is pursued in which the communities of these three areas are involved at all levels. The reasoning is that if you are involved in the project from scratch, you will be more committed to its implementation. This is because the very nature of the program involves all activities taking place at the target areas. In addition, the approach of the project is more of anti-poverty because women are viewed as an economic force that should take part in providing for their families livelihood. Women are perceived as poor beneficiaries and therefore should be provided with income generating activities. Gender and development in terms of stressing on women's important role in the conservation of the environment with emphasis on solid waste management which is the responsibility of women. The approach focuses on altering people's behaviors by raising their awareness on the value of solid wastes (garbage). Also, the project aims at community participation.

On the issue of solid waste management, targeting women by raising their awareness has proven to be effective. Females involved in the implementation of this project, realized that to change behaviors and practices with respect to this issue, it was important to target women and not men in the start. By raising women's awareness on the issue of solid waste management, they can become aware of the health hazards associated with garbage. The second step would then be to teach them how to separate at the source between solid and organic wastes in order to later get involved in recycling activities which would be a source of income generation. This step in a sense was a form of empowerment because of building upon the existing skills of women in waste management and sorting. The community solid

waste management project succeeded in targeting the gender dimension and the relation of women with the environment by focusing on the role of women in waste reduction, reusing and recycling as part of the overall waste collection and disposal system in the target communities.

Women often have the motivation for change since they are the most affected. When the beneficiaries of the project are also the implementers, the results will tend to be sustainable. The Community Solid Waste Management Project demonstrated the joint effort between the project staff and the beneficiaries, whereby the role of the former was mainly to act as facilitators and catalysts to the work determined and carried out by the women beneficiaries. This has helped empower women through the experience of being directly involved in managing their own projects. To help communities, it is important to tap into the motivation and skills of women with respect to the design of programs (Reaching the Unreached, 1996, 188). This was clearly represented in the Community Solid Waste Management Project in which the intention was to start with women, whom are the most affected and involved with the issue. To integrate them in decisions as stakeholders, one will guarantee better results and high commitments.

With respect to the staff development and capacity development, it is important to point out that most of the international conferences that were conducted were only attended by either the technical female Program Officer at the time because they were mainly youth conferences, the President of the organization or rarely a member from the board of directors. Training courses were not conducted for the other employees, whether males or females involved in either the administrative or financial departments. Rarely when

any of the female board of director members was given a chance to participate in such events. The training sessions conducted usually concentrated on a certain target group of the organization hence ignoring other potential calibers. As result, it could be concluded that there was no equality in access to and control over resources among the staff members.

The workshop attended on the Management of Informal Settlement Upgrading Projects by the female Program Officer was necessary for her work that was concerned with the informal settlement upgrading in Egypt. It was relevant to the work concerned with carrying out of solid waste management programs for some areas in order to improve living conditions and raise living conditions. The participant was exposed to basic planning and management concepts along with the rationale for the informal settlement upgrading. Moreover, strategic planning and action planning methods and techniques in participatory project planning were introduced. It is important to note that all these workshops, conferences and training courses attended would normally fall under capacity building of the staff and the organization's ongoing commitment to the training of the staff and gender equality. However, this would not apply in this situation since most of these events targeted a special working group within the organization.

It is important to point out that the fact that the training courses and workshops are attended by women does not necessary mean that the organization is strong on the development of women capabilities nor empowering them. This could be linked to the fact that the organization is understaffed and the female Program Officers are the only technical staff.

In the end, it is important to point out that gender has been one of among many other factors that have contributed to the success of this NGO. Among the other factors has been that of leadership. The President of the organization has been heading the organization for a long number of years and is praised for his strong connections in the field of environment. In addition, he has been appointed recently as the Head of the Federation of Non-Governmental Organizations that reviews and coordinates the activities of NGOs. The second factor contributing to the success of the NGO has been the funds that have been received from the different donor agencies for implemented projects and events. The third factor is the technical level of the Program Officers, which was reflected in their capability to write proposals and raise funds. The forth factor has been the policy environment. The Arab Office for Youth and Organization appears to be one of the environmental NGOs that has succeeded in maintaining a stable relationship with environmental leaders and agencies as a result of its active role and carried out activities in the field of the environment.

It is important to point out that the degree of gender sensitivity or level of awareness of gender does not need to be present only in women nor does not require only women to represent such issues. The case of AOYE has proven the opposite. The President of the organization has appeared to be gender aware on the level of the executed projects but not on the level of the organization. On the level of the project, planning was done to take into account women's interests. On the level of the organization, gender sensitivity was not practiced. Integration of women was not in senior management decisions but rather as implementers of such decisions.

Association for Health and Development (AHED)

The second environmental NGO interviewed is the **Association for Health and Development (AHED)** which falls within the second category (single issue) of environmental NGOs. AHED is an Egyptian Non-Governmental Organization established and registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs in November 1987 (See Table H). The association is a multi-disciplinary organization focusing on addressing the health, disability and environmental questions in our society and in the region from a community development perspective. The association aims at promoting awareness on the relationship between environmental issues and health and to investigate the impact of social, economic and behavioral factors on health care in Egypt. AHED provided training courses on topics relating to gender, the environment, human rights and the interrelations between these topics to smaller NGOs and community development associations. AHED is currently working on developing an "environmental statement of Egypt" from peoples perspectives, outlining the environmental problems as felt by the local communities.

The main objectives of AHED is to promote awareness on the relationship between environmental issues and health and to investigate the impact of social, economic, and behavioral factors on health care in Egypt. AHED assists in identifying appropriate strategies and policies, which respond to the needs of the health, environment and disability questions particularly to the needs of the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups from a development viewpoint. Second, awareness raising and advocating issues through campaigning, dissemination of information and publications, training,

etc.. Third, developing and/or assisting the development of grass root comprehensive models through which these strategies could be tested, evaluated and their lessons discerned and disseminated. Fourth, helping in strengthening cooperation and integration between the different bodies working in the concerned fields of the organization particularly on the NGO level. This is to help identify areas of joint action and cooperation. This is particularly on the level of national and regional NGOs. Finally, the association helps in facilitating and assisting in the empowerment of marginalized groups through the development of organizations representing the most disadvantaged and marginalized groups with the aim of becoming forceable to influence policy making and policy change.

Working towards this vision, AHED was formed of a multidisciplinary group, which strives to assist in the evolvement and implementation of alternative policies and systems in the area of community development in general and in the areas of health, environment and disability in particular. Policies of the association focus on responding to the needs of the Egyptian Society, which should be identified through their active participation, as a whole and the most disadvantaged and marginalized groups. Hence, AHED does not see itself as a service provider, but rather as an advocate and an actor of change along with other activists and interest groups.

AHED is a member of the Women's Forum in which 105 NGOs participate. The forum is funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The aim of the forum is to gather NGOs dealing with women issues and providing them with training. AHED has been nominated by the other NGOs to function as one of the three focal NGOs. AHED is assigned to

coordinate activities of 22 NGOs on the subject of "Women's Health and Girl Child" a rather arbitrary selection as such. AHED is in general known as being gender sensitive or integrates women in the different decision making levels and activities as well as has many of its members work on this subject or related issues.

Regarding the structure of the organization, the organization has a structure of two bodies. The first consists of the members of the association who work on a completely voluntary basis. The second consists of the officers of thematic programs and technical supportive units working through the Center for Health and Environmental Services (CHEDS). CHEDS functions through three major programs which are the three major themes of the organization, namely: Health Policies and Systems Program (HPSP), Disability Program (DP) and the Environment and Development Program (EDP), in addition to a technical support unit, namely the Resource, Information, Publications and Documentation Unit, one of the oldest units established as well as an Administrative Unit. The three programs are founded on the basic principles of equity, human rights, comprehensive integrated development and active community participation. All three programs are tied to the administrative unit. Nonetheless, each program has its own membership, director, coordinator, assistant, and possibility of hired consultants. On the other hand, the Resource, Documentation and Publication Unit has a coordinator and an assistant while the Administrative Unit has an administrator, two secretaries and a clerk.

All members of the board are professionals meaning people with appropriate educational or working background experience. The lines of

authority begin with the board that approves plans, policies, and budgets. The board has in principle decision-making power on all CHEDS's matters. The board nominated an executive, being the General Director of CHEDS. He has been delegated the authority to manage CHEDS on a daily basis in collaboration with the secretariat which is comprised of three Unit Heads. The General Director reports back to the board in the monthly meetings.

AHED's total membership is one hundred, forty of whom are women, and the board of directors is always been equally divided between men and women. There are seven elected board members in the association, four are men and three are women. All members of the board are professionals, the General Assembly has sixty percent men and forty percent women. It is important to note that the ratio for both women's and men's representation with respect to the membership and the board of directors vary from time to time. At a time when the board was formed of five members, three were women and two were men. It is important to note that women's participation has always been encouraged. The organization has two male directors and one female. There are two male coordinators and four female coordinators.

With respect to the staff composition of AHED, in the Resource, Documentation and Publication Unit, there are three females, two assistants and one coordinator. The Administrative Unit is made up of two males and two females. The Health Policies and Systems Program is made up of five males and two females holding the positions of consultants. The Disability Program is composed of two males and four females holding the positions of coordinators and consultants. Finally the Environmental and Development

Program is composed of three males and one female who is the Director of the program.

With respect to the system of the organization, AHED's underlying approach is a holistic approach to health, community development is a prerequisite to health and environmental development, human rights and social justice, comprehensiveness and multi-sectoral approach to interventions and community development and empowerment. A holistic approach refers to having inter-relationships between people and the environment and between ecosystems. Focus is on households and communities as units, e.g. poverty and health in urban areas (Report on Integrating Gender and the Environment in Egypt Appendix 5). In addition, such an approach ties in with empowerment. By conducting a needs assessment and having women of the target groups share in the identification of their problems and solutions, this would be a step towards their empowerment. Women's empowerment is central to achieving gender equality.

AHED's identified role and strategy recognizes that health and environment are outcomes of community development as well as significant entry points to the realization that policies representing people's needs can only genuinely evolve through their implementation. Implementation requires the actual participation of people in the process of grass root levels. Grass root level models can be liable to setbacks and failure if they do not have the back up and support of action on the national level.

With respect to the culture of the organization, the stakeholders of the association on the level of the beneficiaries are the target groups which are the most disadvantaged groups, women and children, families of disabled

people and people exposed to environmental hazards. Stakeholder members have joined the membership of the association particularly from Waily. The second level of stakeholders are the non-governmental organizations working in the field of health and environment as well as other coalitions such as the coalition on FGM and the coalition for the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. Moreover, on a higher level, stakeholders are policy makers and legislators and in this case would be the Ministry of Health, which has no approach nor policies for gender while consequently having projects targeted for addressing gender needs. On the level of the Ministry, gender sensitivity is still not recognized and there is still vagueness on differentiating between the concepts of both medicine and health. It is important for stakeholders to come to a point where it is necessary to realize that some interventions are required to bring about gender equality. In addition, stakeholders should have gender policies that could be either implemented through donors or real participation. The restructuring of policies should be according to the needs of people. In Egypt, this started taking place after the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) when the different governmental bodies started to address the issue.

AHED is strong on staff development and has involved most of them in relevant in-house and external training courses. Staff development was initiated in terms of capacity building of the human resources in which most of the staff members were involved in relevant in-house and external training. Different training subjects have been introduced to the staff such as gender training, management and leadership. Seminars were either on general topics or specific relating to the activities that came out of the programs

implemented. Training courses were offered to researchers, workers, and NGOs in the fields of health and environment. The staff is characterized by high capacities whether technical or administrative. AHED has carried out a strategic planning exercise, which improved their planning, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Training courses reflect the organization's strong commitment on developing women's capabilities and empowering them by increasing their equal access to knowledge and skills. On the level of the beneficiaries, women have been informed on the details of the projects initiated in their own settlement through workshops and the needs assessment. This points out to the role of participation in development and the importance of involving women in decision making, giving women an equal say to information sharing and consultation as well as a chance to initiate activities.

With respect to the Environment and Development Program, the Director is a woman. The program seeks support from experts outside of the organization in specialized legal and environmental issues. AHED is currently undertaking an action research on pesticides and its impact on women in an Egyptian village. The program was first initiated by Dr. Hassan Abu Bakr and Dr. Hala Barkat who was sent for a training program in England. Upon her arrival back to Egypt, Dr. Hala has facilitated the gender training in AHED with special emphasis on gender in agriculture. The program focuses on environmental hazards that women are exposed to, such as the use of pesticide containers, and is looking into conducting public hearings on such issues. The program highlights the fact that environmental problems affect women and men differently. For example, while men use pesticides, women

might use the containers for water and get affected. The association helped the local community in EL Manzalah district deal with the pollution in Lake El Manzalah. In addition, the association helped in supporting the residents of El Waily district in their campaign against lead poisoning that resulted from industrial activities in the district (Gomaa, 1997, 25-6). This reflected the fact that environmental activities have different effects on both men and women. In this case, it was the women who got exposed most to the pollution and this affected their reproductive system.

With respect to access and control over resources, the Resource, Documentation and Publication Unit demonstrates the importance of research and documentation for improving the knowledge base. Each unit of the organization has its own resource documents allowing easy reference and direct access to staff and consultants. Copies of documents are shared with the Resource and Documentation Unit. The organization is working on enhancing the link between the unit systems of the organization with the Resource Documentation and Research Unit. It is important to point that by having equal access and control over resources, the organization's commitment to the capacity development of its staff is further enforced.

A group within AHED took a leading role in establishing a Primary Health Care Center in Waily, one of the poor and financially deprived areas in Cairo, and were capable of leading a successful campaign to close the two lead smelter factories in Waily, who were using primitive techniques to transform lead plates of old car batteries into sewage collecting equipment, a process that also produced lead and sulfur oxides that were emitted into the air. (Gomaa, 1994/1995, 31). These groups of people were catalysts for

community mobilization. They managed to mobilize volunteers and resources, to lobby and to alert people to the dangers surrounding them. The people of Waily were eager to change the hazardous conditions that affected their lives but many had felt powerless to do so. The success of the project demonstrated that community involvement was central to that success. This was an empowerment experience for the people of Waily and for the group from the PHC.

Women played a key role in approaching the Waily community through newsletters raising the awareness of people through a series of newsletters about the dangers of lead pollution, methods of protection against the pollution, and the symptoms and signs of lead poisoning. A campaign was conducted and volunteers were encouraged to join.

Another project in which AHED was involved in is the Ain-Helwan Child Disability Project. The project is lead by a disabled woman, Dr. Azza Mohamed Ali, who has a Ph.D in English Literature. The aim of the project was to establish a model built on the basic principles of Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR). CBR is primary health care in the area of disability. It is built on the basic idea that health is part of community development, and that neither can the underlying causes of ill-health or disability nor their consequences be effectively addressed without addressing the questions of community development, such as poverty, education, human rights etc.. The health care center reflects the community management role by building health centers to provide health services as well as responding to the practical gender needs, which in this case would be health care.

The general objectives of the project were to:

1. To improve the availability, accessibility and utilization of information on the size, types, causes and risk factors of impairment and disability.
2. To raise the general awareness of the community to the question of disability and to develop the capacity of the community members on the community level to prevent impairments and their early identification.
3. To develop the capacity of community workers in providing rehabilitation to children with impairments or disabilities.
4. To help empower disabled people and families of disabled children with the final aim of assisting the integration of disabled children into their families and communities and in achieving their rights for equal opportunities.

During the first phase of the Ain-Helwan Project, awareness-raising seminars were conducted with community leaders to sensitize them to the project. Three types of groups of community members with around 50 women were trained on different levels in the field of disabilities, five girls out which were chosen as community based rehabilitation (CBR) coordinators. The training of the community members included around:

- 15 women trained in portage and 5 of them were chosen to run the project after successful completion of the course of settlement.
- Around 20 women were trained on prevention and early detection of disabilities in the community.
- Around 15 community women workers were trained as companions of the disabled children.

Another program being led by women is the Capacity Building of NGOs Project for the implementation of the Beijing Platform of Action. The project is a joint one with the UNICEF and is to work on six themes chosen from the Beijing Conference and that are most applicable to Egypt. The six themes are women's health, girl child, female education, equity before the law, female headed households, and violence against women. Three NGOs are working on the implementation of these six themes while AHED is working specifically with women's health and girl child. Dr. Afaf Marei is responsible for the implementation of these two themes. The program is to be implemented in seven governorates. The idea of the project is to empower NGOs to work on the implementation of the Beijing Platform. The real targets are the NGOs in order to raise their awareness about the issue of women's health and the reasons behind discrimination between men and women. The first phase of the project aims at targeting NGOs and conducting training workshops for awareness raising. The second phase would be to target groups.

Findings

Dating back to the establishment of the Association for Health, Environment and Development, it is important to point out that there has been a clear strategy of political commitment for achieving gender equality whereby women have been involved in decision making, designing, planning, implementation and monitoring of projects. The initiators of the association have been a group of active women and men doctors. A decision has been reached to develop a health program for community development. One of the first programs established by the association has been a woman's health program, which was established by women. The Primary Health Care center

in Waily has been established by both men and women. In addition, women have pushed for the establishment of a health clinic for the Waily women. It is important to point out that women's involvement in health issues was important because they were able to point out and direct people in the direction that health problems are linked to gender issues such as increased work load and not necessarily psychology. The gender role involved is community management because it involved the building of a Primary Health Care Unit (PHC) to provide health services.

To continue demonstrating the commitment of AHED to gender, it is important to note that the association has succeeded in providing the necessary resources to transform the political commitment into policies that were then transformed into procedures. This has been reflected in the association's commitment to staff development and capacity building through the conducting of training courses and equal access and control over resources. AHED has successfully conducted three programs on gender to the staff members of the association. By carrying out training programs, women are given the chance to mix such training experiences with their God-given gift of intuition and attendance to details of matters. In addition, training will help empower women, which is central to achieving gender equality. Training programs point out to the organization's strong commitment on developing women's capabilities and empowering them by increasing their equal access to knowledge and skills. Women are not only represented equally on the board of directors but also have a say in senior decision making levels. In addition, women are employed as directors and coordinators of programs, as well as in other technical positions. On the level of the

beneficiaries, women have been informed on the details of the projects initiated in their own settlement through conducting a needs assessment. This points out to the role of participation in development and the importance of involving women in decision-making and giving them an equal say to information sharing and consultation.

Meanwhile, AHED is in the process of developing a program on women's health to work against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). In addition, AHED has taken the coordination of an initiative started by UNICEF around women's rights in order to follow up on the Beijing's recommendations. The organization is working with the girl child, women's health, women single household, and violence against women themes.

There was an equal division of responsibilities, roles, positions and autonomy among both females and males. Women held positions ranging from administrative positions to very senior positions represented in being Project Managers and Coordinators for the three major programs of the association which are the three major themes of the organization, namely: Health Policies and Systems Program (HPSP), Disability Program (DP), and the Environment and Development Program (EDP). Women board members attended all board meetings and were consulted on all projects implemented by the association as well as the new plans set for new projects that are to be undertaken by the association. Women shared in the design, planning, implementation, and monitoring of projects. As a result, projects were successful in targeting women. It is important to note that the involvement of women in the decision-making levels helped to build the capacity for the integration of gender sensitive policies. Male staff have strengths like mobility

and being available at all times. On the other hand, women have the capacity to understand the perspectives of women and the possibility to talk to them directly. In this regard, it is apparent that women's role in the fieldwork is crucial.

Within the organization, women play different roles ranging from being directors of programs, coordinators, to general active staff members such as assistants and secretaries. Women fully participate in the different stages of the program formulation and implementation ranging from planning to implementing, advising, evaluating, monitoring etc.. Decision-making is in general participatory, involving all organizational levels in policy and planning.

In terms of internal planning, each program delivers its plan for three years. All members participate including women and discussions are encouraged. The plan is then taken to the board of directors. Once the plan is approved, women help in the formation of community focus groups and conduct seminars with women. For example, in Aswan twelve focus group discussions were formed, eight of which targeted women. The eight discussion groups were successful in terms of getting women to participate and share in the discussions, which is not usually the case in Aswan. As a result, this facilitated the process of conducting a needs assessment for women. In addition, in conservative societies such as Aswan and El Wayli, it was more effective to have women from the organization talk about subjects such as female genital mutilation (FGM). In return, girls were more understanding in terms of realizing the effects of FGM and promising in terms of realizing the necessity of changing such practices and habits. This illustrates the fact that women have been consulted on developing solutions

for problems and as a matter of fact it did not challenge the existing division of labor as long as the target groups were approached and positively responded.

With particular reference to the Ain-Helwan Disability Project, it is important to note that first, the role of women was very essential in the sensitization of the community and community leaders both of which their support was achieved. Second, their role was most essential in equipping and preparing the basic cadres with the basic skills. This was particularly on the community level of the women who will take on the job. The female responsibilities related to the raising of community awareness with regards to the causes and risk factors of disability and working with families of the disabled. Hence communication and teaching skills were felt as an essential requirement of this role as well as to change negative attitudes towards disabled people and children.

Dr. Azza's role as a leader to the project was very important because she demonstrated to the target groups the continued strong will. She organized several workshops on the rights of the disabled and was able to illustrate the importance of gender in every aspect of our daily life. Workshops carried out represented the participatory process for understanding people's needs. She illustrated that gender inequality makes women disadvantaged, makes them inferior and in a subordinate position, as well as less capable and helpless. Furthermore, she led a campaign demanding rights of education as well as work opportunities for the disabled because there is a law that states that a certain percentage of disabled people are to be employed. However, this law has not been implemented yet. The project was successful in empowering people in terms of becoming capable of

identifying their problems and how to organize themselves to defend their rights and it was easy for women to raise their concerns with Dr. Azza.

The experience has shown that when the needs of women with disabled children are to be addressed, in many instances the interventions required will be mainly to help those women develop. Needs assessment, training, providing job opportunities, literacy, etc...to the mothers proved to be more important to the welfare of the child rather than medical or rehabilitation services directed to the child. Tackling the social and environmental causes of poor health has proven to be necessary. Such an approach would necessitate the transformation of society; "a process that with community participation and education, must occur in such areas as sanitation, personal hygiene and child care" (Gomaa, 1994/1995, 30). Meanwhile, the obstacle to the disabled children's integration in society is not their disability nor their ill health as much as its attributed to the negative attitudes, lack of awareness and ignorance found in their communities and societies. All these factors are related to development.

The experience of Ain-Helwan Disability Project has demonstrated that lecturing communities does not mean empowerment. Limiting empowerment to the mere receiving of knowledge does not empower people. Empowerment is basically a process of involving people in identifying their needs and prioritizing them, and working together to achieve such goals. Among the factors that led to the success of the project has been the carrying out of a needs assessment of women in the area. Such a process was carried out by Dr. Azza, who is a disabled woman and very familiar with the situation of the community. Such a process should be in addition to their involvement in

decision-making, planning and in having power to ensure accountability. It is in essence a question of community ownership.

The success of the Ain-Helwan Disability Project has demonstrated the important role that stakeholders can play in the formulation of plans. Consultation has proven to be effective in achieving gender equity because different perspectives are presented and negotiated. Women were consulted before the start of the project following the needs assessment that has been conducted. During the planning of activities, it is always important to consult with the women who will share in the implementation and those whom are going to be affected by the project. Several meetings were conducted with the target groups in order to have them identify their problems and means they see as suitable for dealing with such issues. This was important because some needs were identified from a different perspective other than the professionals working on the project. The process in itself was a form of empowerment for the women disadvantaged group because they were encouraged to form solidarity groups of disabled mothers.

Women were trained and were involved in strategic meetings. A committee was formed for workers and leaders in the Helwan Community. This served as a forum for the target group to voice their needs, express their views, thus bringing forth such ideas. In addition, they were involved in the planning of the project, implementation and monitoring through systematic meetings. Monitoring was done on a daily basis when the committee would meet to put the daily program and activities. Another weekly meeting would be held with the consultants from AHED. The fundamental role of AHED was to help initiate community self help groups and activities that "will ultimately

transform communities...the essence of the developmental process" (Ibrahim, 1999, 20). Such activities pointed out to a potential to address strategic gender needs by calling for participation of the local community. AHED's role was more of a consultative role.

Another dimension of the project that should be considered and that reveals the success of women's leadership is the issue of sustainability, which is defined as the ability of the project to continue on its own after the period of receiving an initial grant. The experience of the Ain Helwan Disability Project has demonstrated the extent to which the sustainability of the project has depended on the ability of the project's leadership to gain the necessary support, links, and access to power and resources within their communities as well as outside. Resources in this sense range from continued technical support represented in the role of Mrs. Azza Mohamed Ali to the staff as well as financial support. If local leadership is equipped with the necessary dedication to the project and skills in improving the service as well as the links to power and resources, the sustainability of the project will be guaranteed.

It is important to point out that the integration of selected women in the ENGO has been among the factors that have led to the success of the NGO. Women were assigned directors and coordinators of programs that helped achieve gender sensitive projects. Secondly, the managerial and technical skills of the Directors and Coordinators in the writing of proposals and raising of funds. Third, the availability of funds for the undertaken projects from the various donor agencies.

Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development

The Third NGO interviewed is the Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development (AGCCD). AGCCD is one the oldest NGOs that has been initially registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs in April 1974. Primarily concerned with the interests of the *Zabaleen*, it was formally registered again as an environmental non-governmental organization in 1990. With its transformation into an ENGO, the organization played a significant role in all the environmental projects introduced to develop the settlement (EQIs Report, 1997, 54). The association was initiated by a group of families that have migrated from Upper Egypt (Assiut and Qena) to start this business. The Moqattam settlement of the *zabaleen* (garbage collectors) was established after the *zabaleen* living in Imbaba were evicted and as a result began settling in the suburbs of the city. The main objectives of the association is to offer social, medical and cultural care to the garbage collectors and their families to raise their standard of living. The goals of the organization are health, social and economic. AGCCD's board of directors is made up fifteen members, fourteen of whom are men and one woman. With respect to decision making, the board of directors takes all decisions and the administrative board coordinates and implements the decisions. The only female employee in the organization is employed as a secretary. The association has the following projects: small industries, loans for women, medical care, vaccination, family planning, kindergarten, internal cleanliness, sewerage removal, animal medical care projects and miscellaneous services.

One of the most important projects that have been implemented by AGCCD has been the *Zabaleen* Environmental Development Program which aimed at "improving the squalid living conditions in what had been an impoverished and deteriorating squatter settlements and incorporating the existing *zabaleen* garbage collectors into a more efficient overall solid waste management system for Cairo" (Assaad and Garas, 1995, 1). The program revolved around improving the living conditions of the *zabaleen*, and upgrading the waste management process as a whole.

The following projects were initiated to achieve the above mentioned objectives.

1. The Community Upgrading and Infrastructure Extension Project: The project was developed to improve the quality of life of the *zabaleen* settlement, through the provision of the basic infrastructure, health and environmental services. The project intended to address maternal and child care needs as well as animal health care and breeding problems. Two sub-projects emerged which were the Animal Health, the Production Project and the Mother and Child Health Care Project (Motaal, 1995, 46).
2. The Internal Clean-Up of the Main *Zabaleen* Settlement Project: The project was designed to improve the quality of the Moqattam settlement, but had as its objectives the clean up of the settlement. It was designed to provide regular waste collection services to the *zabaleen* settlement itself in order to remove the large quantities of the waste material that has been accumulated over the years (Motaal, 1995, 47).

3. The Small Industries Project: The project was designed to provide the *zabaleen* with new business opportunities related to their trade as well as to increase the income of garbage collectors by providing the credit and technical assistance necessary to establish a small-scale waste recycling industry. The main objective of the project was to establish community based small scale recycling workshops and to maximize the resource value of the waste. It included the extension of the technological know-how in the area of waste recycling to the *zabaleen* in addition to a credit extension component (Motaal, 1995, 47).
4. The Route Extension Project: The project was designed to extend *zabaleen's* waste collection services to the new low income residential districts of Cairo. The new routes created as a result of the project are operated on a commercial basis, in the sense that the community residents pay the *zabaleen* for the services that they receive (Motaal, 1995, 47).
5. The *Zabaleen* Mechanization Project: The project was initiated in response to a decree issued by the Governor of Cairo in the 1980s banning the use of donkey-drawn carts. It had as its objective the modernization of the *zabaleen* system in order to meet the requirements of the government to upgrade the waste management process and its service delivery standards in Cairo. Motorized vehicles replaced the donkey-drawn carts and the *zabaleen* were encouraged to form private waste collection companies in order to enter into formal arrangements with the local government (Motaal, 1995, 47).

6. The *Zabaleen* Composting Plant Project: The objective of the project was to establish a composting plant at the settlement to convert organic wastes and animal manure (from the pigs and the animals raised at the settlement) into useful fertilizers. As a result of the project, a plant was established with a daily production capacity of 160 tons (Motaal, 1995, 47).
7. The Women-Headed Households Project: The project was designed to provide income-generating opportunities for the women who are the bread winners in their families. A revolving fund was established at the settlement along the lines of the Grameen Bank created in Bangladesh, and has provided many of the women with small loans (ranging from L.E 100-150) for the promotion of enterprises. The project was the first planned intervention specifically targeted at women (Motaal, 1995, 48).
8. The Institution Building of the *Zabaleen* Gameya (AGCCD) Building: The project was initiated with the objective of supporting the *Zabaleen* Gameya in their daily business of maintaining the waste collection trade. A board of directors was created and did not include women. It is through the AGCCD that most of the ZEDP projects have been launched (Motaal, 1995, 48).

Findings

In the Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development, the activities of the association involve the following roles:

Productive Roles: through the project that encouraged the income generating activities connected to garbage processing, the credit program to finance the creation of small recycling enterprises in the community. This

small industries project catalyzed a significant process of economic transformation in the settlement. The organization also launched a small credit program addressed to female-headed households in the settlement (Ibrahim, 1999, 16).

Community Management: through the clean-up project that consists of periodically removing the left over garbage from the settlement streets with trucks owned by the organization. Another project addressing the community management role is the one for the expansion of the *zabaleen* service of garbage collection to poor income districts often neglected due to the low value of the household refuse (Ibrahim, 1999, 16).

The gender needs addressed by the organization are entirely practical in nature by servicing the community's immediate perceived necessities. These services are concerned with the inadequacies in living conditions such as health care, employment, sanitation, etc... The addressed needs have risen out of the traditional gender division of labor. One of the critiques of the organization is that it fails to promote the interests of women.

On the issue of access and control over resources with respect to the level of membership, the different stakeholders comprise volunteer members who constitute the general assembly and the board membership as well as staff members. All the stakeholders are male and there are no females at all. Initially all the community members working in the trade of garbage collection and those outside the trade can have access to the membership but there appears to be very little interest to do so. The general assembly is composed of all community members who pay the annual fee of L.E. 3 to the organization. Thus, this amounts to only 400 people of the total population of

about 17,000. The control of this membership, however, is in the hands of the members of the big families. These are the families with the highest numbers of male members. When they collect votes from friends and relatives they reward them by the personal favors upon their election. The majority of the board members are constituted by the outsiders of the community. They are the ones who can provide good connections to the state, donors and church etc... (Ibrahim, 1999, 17)

On the level of activities, the participation of the target group, which is the Moqattam settlement encompassing men, women, and children, or community members is very low. Whether males or females they act as passive beneficiaries who only receive help or aid. They are not involved actively in the identification of problems, projects, nor means of solving their problems. This reflects that there is no process of stakeholder consultation. Hence, it is important to note that the power dynamics that exist in the community, whether between the big families, the male community members or the males and females is perpetuated by the Community Development Association.

Furthermore, it has been argued that the *Zabaleen* Environmental Developmental Program is gender blind by means of not integrating women. However, it is still important to point out that where some of the projects have been launched with the intention of being gender neutral, others were gender specific in terms of setting as their objective the improvement of the living conditions of only one of the sexes. Almost all the projects implemented were to target men thus increasing their income.

Through the Mechanization Project, it is the men who were given the soft loans to purchase the vehicles as a step towards the abandonment of their donkey drawn carts. Followed this was men being able to increase their income as a result of being able to transport large quantities of wastes. Through the Route Extension Project, it is the men who were able to increase their income by servicing new areas and being able to collect more quantities of wastes. Similarly, it is the men in the Small Industries Project who were given the technical training to establish recycling workshops (Motaal, 1995, 69). In addition, they were able to reap the increased financial rewards of the recycling activity undertaken.

In terms of capital accumulation, it is the men who have tended to be the prime beneficiaries. This was well reflected in the Mechanization and Small Industries Projects. Women did not come to own nor share in the ownership of such vehicles as well as in the recycling machinery (Motaal, 1995, 69). Moreover, economic growth in terms of increased provision of services and the growth of the waste management industry as a whole has tended to focus on men despite the fact that the projects initiated in this regard were presented as gender neutral. This was well represented in the Route Extension Project (Motaal, 1995, 69).

In the Female Headed Household Project, the target group, were women of the settlement as it was clear from the title of the project that it was not introduced as gender neutral. The project has been designed to provide women with small loans for income generating activities. This reflects the anti-poverty approach, which perceives women as poor beneficiaries and thus intends to ensure that they increase their productivity by providing them with

income generating activities. However, it is important to point out that the project has succeeded because of its recognition that economic growth cannot be gender blind (not integrating women). This also demonstrates that economic growth for women can only be achieved when projects are designed from the start to target women needs and interests. In addition, it is important to point out that having a women Project Coordinator for the project has been the major force to the success of the project.

The project reflected the perception that women's development should be confined to separate women's projects. Women's development is seen as a process of women's increased welfare, production and skills. The implemented project was part of this process. On the other hand, it is important to point out that in the case of the other implemented projects that were introduced as gender neutral, there was no contribution to women's development. Therefore, at this point, conscientization would be the most important amongst the implementing team in order to understand that the sexual division of labor should be fair to both sides and not involve the domination of one sex over the other.

It is important to point out that one of the factors that had led to the success of the project has been the fact that the Project's Coordinator was a woman, Mrs. Nadia Kamel Garas. Ms. Garas believed that the main challenge of the project was reaching the female population of the settlement and obtaining their participation as borrowers and decision-makers in the areas directly affecting their lives. Traditionally, the idea of any woman being engaged in any form of employment was not acceptable. The actual contribution made by women in their households was not recognized. At this

point, the project has succeeded in empowering women by providing them with both credit and technical skills and additional income generated from the carried out activities. Women's development is seen as a process of women's increased welfare, production and skills. It is also important to point out that this project has succeeded in addressing the strategic interest of women in an indirect way because slowly the community accepted the role of women outside of the household.

In addition, one of the key components that led to the successful implementation of the project was linked to the selection of extension field workers from the settlement itself, who could go out among the women to promote the project. The board members of the Gameya were very resistant to women's involvement as community workers responsible for the day-to-day management of the project. Finally, this resistance was overcome and the association employed women as extension field workers for the project. Mrs. Garas added that there was great resistance to the project in the settlement because it was shameful for women to go out of their households in addition to their non-existent awareness of small business activities (EQI, 1997, 125).

Mrs. Saman has been a key player in helping to overcome opposition to the employment of women outside of their homes because she has been trusted by the women in the settlement for having worked among them for several years. The four extension field workers that were selected were trained by EQI and as a result helped to create a group of women who were able to maintain the project. The four extension field workers were trained on how to promote the project among the women they visited, how to deal with loan candidates to undertake small-scale feasibility studies of their chosen

project. Day to day management of the project was left to the four extension field workers. Through the expansion of the project, many women in the community became part of a network through which they exchanged information about the project, its activities and their experiences managing different micro-enterprises. It is important to note that the procedure through which the project was carried out involved women not only as beneficiaries but participants as well.

The results of the project have been very promising. Between 1986-1993, 506 families benefited from the project and 138 credit groups were formed. In 1993, the Gameya extended loans to 87 borrowers who formed 21 credit groups. In addition, four semi-literate women from the community have been trained as community workers and are actively involved in the management of the project. The technical and analytical skills they have gained from the job have enabled them to better identify and respond to women's needs. This as a result demonstrated the empowerment of women in terms of the skills learned and the additional income generated through the undertaken projects.

The ZEDP project has failed to reach women by being based on the fact that economic growth is gender blind and does not incorporate women. The male members of the *zabaleen* community have only been the ones to benefit from the projects in terms of achieving economic growth. With the exception of the Female Headed Household Project, which was initiated due to the fact that women of the Moqattam settlement have been excluded from the development process, none of the projects have succeeded in targeting women equally as men, and therefore failed in improving the economic

situation of women. "The projects presented as gender neutral, which have been based on the fallacy that economic growth is gender-blind, have proved to be extremely gender specific by neglecting women and focusing on men" (Motaal, 1995, 70). As a result, they have perpetuated the existing differences between both women and men and helped demonstrate the tradition of gender bias.

Due to the fact that the projects launched within ZEDP have been geared towards men thus neglecting women, the "definition of the term gender bias put forward by Jacobson has materialized" (Motaal, 1995, 73). According to Jacobson "gender bias ranges from the exclusion of women from development programs to wage discrimination and systemic violence against females. In its most generic form, such bias boils down to grossly unequal resources whether for food, credit, education, jobs, information or training. And in most cases, because they do not address this bias, the development policies meant to provide more of these resources to society end up taking more away from women" (Jacobson, 1992, 9).

The AGCCD, with the exception of the income-generating project for the female headed households, has failed to organize women in the Moqattam settlement as well as enhance their organizational skills and capabilities. There has been no representation of women interests in the organization, whether by other women or those with gender sensitive views, which as a result contributed to a gender bias program. Women's participation has been low on the board of directors as well as on the participatory ladder. The lack of women participation has resulted in the absence of women's interests and perspectives in projects and programs undertaken by the organization and

initiated as gender neutral in order to target the whole community. As a result, women's interests have not been represented in the implemented projects. It is important to point out that the Female Headed Household has demanded that women form credit groups with a minimum of three persons in order to be able to qualify for the loan. However, most of the groups were formed of mothers and their daughters. This demonstrates the fact that women were not able to branch out of their nuclear families and therefore have failed in building up their organizational capacities (Motaal, 1995, 77). Hence, the organization has succeeded in providing loans that will help the female-headed households in meeting their immediate survival necessities and practical needs. However, what should have existed was a group of women at the organization helping women in the settlement organize themselves in order to have started reflecting on their problems collectively. This would have provided the women with a forum to express their views and to have a say in the initiated projects.

With respect to increasing women's access to knowledge and skills, women of the Moqattam settlement have not gained much education since most of the projects have been geared towards males despite the fact that they were presented as gender neutral. The organization has directed most of its educational and technical training towards men. This was well demonstrated in the Small Industries Project in which the men have been trained on the recycling process and as a result were capable of opening up their own recycling workshops (Motaal, 1995, 80).

This leads us to conclude that projects targeting women have a better chance of succeeding when supported by women representatives in the

organization. Had a forum existed for women to bring forth and express their ideas, there would have been a better chance for them to push for technical training. In addition, they would have been to express the importance of their performed sorting activities and the need to direct assistance to such activities that would have helped increased their income. Women in the Moqattam settlement have played an integral role and have acquired specialized skills in the sorting of waste (organic and solid) process. This has led to the disempowerment of women as well as diminishing the value of their work because no efforts were exerted in building upon their skills in waste management and sorting.

In terms of increasing the accessibility of appropriate information to the women of the Moqattam settlement, the project has been disempowering to women. Women have been uninformed of the details of the development projects initiated in their own settlements. This also demonstrates that there has not been a process of stakeholder consultation by which community members or target people are aware and familiarized with the projects targeting their community. This as a result points out the importance of the role of participation in development. If the AGCCD's formation had come from the grassroots, then women of the settlement would have been able to select representatives for them in the organization in order to voice their needs. However, this was not the case in AGCCD.

Finally, it is important to point out one of the factors that led to the success of the organization as an intermediary between the *zabaleen* settlement residents and the government authorities and donor agencies, has been the shift in the membership of the organization. The organization shifted

from being under the chairmanship of Bishop Samuel, and all its key positions filled by members of the *zabaleen* community to having such positions filled by outsiders. The rationale was that the educational background and outreach capabilities of the outsiders would better serve the organization's objectives. However, in spite the fact that the role of outsiders would be crucial, it is still necessary to have representatives from the community itself represent and act upon the interests of the community. Second, the availability of funds from the donors helped the association carry out its wide scale projects.

Selected Non-Governmental Organization

This section will present a non-governmental organization, which is not operating in the field of environment in order to analyze the degree of women's representation and participation in comparison with the environmental non-governmental organizations.

Egyptian Human Resources Development Organization (EHRDO) ✓

The Egyptian Human Resources Development Organization is a non-governmental organization that has been established in 1992 and was registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1994. The main objective of the organization is the intellectual, economic and social development of society. The organization aims at the development of small and micro scale enterprises, women development, development of young entrepreneurs through the establishment of a Private Higher Education Institute, development of an information system on small and micro scale enterprises, fighting poverty, illiteracy, and illnesses, connecting the Egyptian communities abroad with the mother country, and finally raising the level of environmental awareness. The organization encourages the development of people to become entrepreneurs in high tech-industries in order to connect with global markets as well as be integrated with Egyptians abroad.

The structure of the organization is made up of three levels. The first level is made up of a consultative committee in which women represent forty percent and the board of directors, which is made up of five members, one of whom is a woman. Women make up twenty percent of the board of directors. The second level is the staff level, which is made up of eight members, three of whom are women. The third level is that of membership of the organization

in which women make up forty-five percent of the total membership. Women volunteers represent one third.

There are three lines of projects in which the organization is involved. The first is small and micro scale enterprise line of projects. A line of credit has been obtained from the Social Fund for Development (SFD) worth six million pounds for the Development of Projects Program. The project is monitored by the National Bank of Egypt. The aim of the project is to give loans to small entrepreneurs in order to establish small-scale industries. The project aims at establishing and developing one hundred small-scale enterprise projects with the aim of providing five hundred job opportunities. Women represented thirty percent as beneficiaries in these projects and later increased to sixty percent. The loan to be given for each individual is approximately fifty thousand pounds with a seven percent interest rate. The organization targets youth, graduate students, and those with the potential of establishing and managing small-scale enterprises. The organization will help write the proposal for the entrepreneur, negotiate with the Social Fund for Development, and follow up on the progress achieved.

The second is social programs targeting the various interests of women. These programs deal more with women issues and address the multi-disciplinary poverty issue of women in Egypt by reaching out for example to women whose husbands are in prison and help provide them with jobs for survival. Findings from a sample survey conducted by the organization, has indicated that, thirty percent of Egyptian families are headed by women. Women are to be provided with literacy classes and computer training courses for increasing their level of skills, which will facilitate their finding jobs,

as well as providing them with one hundred sewing machines to help increase their income. In addition, the programs deal with issues like the girl child, street children, and community development.

The third kind of projects is concerned with the environment. A very small percentage of the organization's programs deal with the environment through conducting beautification and tree plantation projects as well as converting domestic solid wastes into ethanol. The project concerned with the conversion of domestic solid wastes into ethanol is being operated in Abu Gawash on the Cairo-Alexandria Desert Road. The project is led by three female program officers who are responsible for the writing of reports, and responsible for international communication to facilitate the transfer of technology.

The fourth type of projects is concerned with training arranged for the achievement of social programs. Various training programs have been conducted on themes such as management, reporting, writing reports and proposals, mobilization of resources and negotiations with donors.

Findings

From the above studied non-governmental organization, it is important to note the following. There was no equal representation of women on the board of directors as there was only one woman to four men. However, it is important to note that while woman was a member of the board of directors, it was not all always that she participated in the board meetings. Her low participation level is attributed to the fact that as a senior person, she is required to attend several meetings as she is involved in various activities and holds different positions, therefore has no time for full commitment. It is

important to point out that most of the projects of the organization succeeded in taking women's issues into account. This represented the gender sensitivity of the board members regardless of the fact that there was one woman on the board, who did not attend often the meetings. They have succeeded in targeting women's needs in the various projects through their efforts in conducting a needs assessment.

On the staff level, women have been hired as program officers being involved with projects, from the stage of planning to the stage of implementation. However, it is important to note that, unlike many organizations where secretarial positions are occupied by women, the secretarial and administrative positions within EHRDO were occupied by men with the exception of one female who is employed as a secretary. This represented a power struggle and a challenge to the division of tasks because men would not give up their positions simply because they considered themselves among the early employees of the organization.

On the issue of staff development, it is important to note that the training programs were given to those occupying technical positions. On one hand this signaled the commitment of the organization to the development of the capacity of the staff members which will eventually lead to empowerment. However, the process was not inclusive because it did not include all staff members. On the other hand, the target groups were involved in this process of capacity development by attending training programs on the writing of proposals, negotiating with donors, marketing and technical skills. Different training programs have been offered to the beneficiaries. On one hand, in the small and micro scale enterprise project, training sessions were offered on

managing small projects as well as in the technical, financial and marketing fields. On the other hand, in the projects targeting poor women, women were provided with both literacy and computer training sessions. Such training sessions will eventually lead to the empowerment and capacity development of the target group, which is the key to the achievement of gender equality. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that in the project targeting women interests, women were perceived as passive beneficiaries so they were therefore provided with sewing machines that will help increase their income.

With respect to the system of the organization, EHRDO addresses poverty alleviation, skill acquisition, training design and implementation, proposal writing, sales/marketing expertise, business, and accounting. The underlying strategy of the organization is one of empowerment at the level of the beneficiaries and target groups who are to receive the loans and start implementing projects. The target groups become empowered through attending the training sessions that is the first step towards identifying their needs. Those who are on the staff level attend various training programs. And finally those on the intermediary level empower other NGOs working in the same field.

On the level of the beneficiaries, the youth, women, and entrepreneurs are the stakeholders. On a higher level, donor agencies and the Giza Governorate are stakeholders. There is a process of stakeholder consultation since the beneficiaries are the ones in charge of their projects and are the ones to decide on the production line plan, new products and markets.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

From the above conducted survey, it was clear that women's representation on the board of directors and the high number of female members in the NGOs was not necessary equal to their participation level and is not an efficient indicator for measuring women's participation levels. However, what matters is the actual degree of women's involvement in decision-making and the different stages of policy making in order for them to convey their views in the projects that are to be implemented. It is important to point out that there was no big gap between the representation and participation of women in environmental NGOs and those, which do not operate in the field of the environment. Women's representation and participation in the non-environmental NGOs was equal to that found in environmental NGOs. This reflects the fact that women's role and position in the field of development is becoming more and more acknowledged along with their role in the environment. The selected non-environmental organization has women's role and representation in the industry field with particular reference to the small and micro scale projects. Second, it is important to consider the degree to which women have access and control over resources. Women can have access to the membership of an organization and not to the board of directors. Training should be given equally in order to reflect the equal access to knowledge and skills, which will eventually lead to the empowerment of women. Women can play a crucial role in identifying means of reaching out to the target groups in order to increase their participation in the project. There are few women in senior

decision-making positions such as programming and implementation and over concentration in areas traditionally seen as women's work such as administrative positions and community development. However, it is still important to note that female participation and representation in environmental NGOs is to a great extent higher than community development associations and other non-governmental organizations.

Gender has been among many factors that led to the success of environmental NGOs. The first factor that can lead to the success of environmental NGOs is leadership, where the majority of organizations are centered around the leader of the organization, who contributes to the existence of the organization. According to Dr. Salwa Gomaa, "this is in reality typical of the Egyptian political system as a whole, where leadership figures command the upper hand in decision-making" (Gomaa, 1997, 31). Nevertheless, the existence of internal democratic structures for NGOs is greatly required. The second factor is the availability of funds received from donor funding agencies, which will allow for increasing and expanding the number of funded projects. The third and forth factors are the managerial and technical skills which refer to the staffing of the organization and the capability of both the volunteers and employees to write proposals, formulate projects and raise funds. Finally, the policy environment, particularly government's support of the non-governmental organization in its policy, approach, and activities undertaken is very important.

The achievement of gender equality has been recognized as one of the political commitments of the environmental NGOs that integrate women into decision-making. Nonetheless, the effective integration of women in

development is a gradual process that should start with the recognition of gender equity and the importance of the linkage between gender, development and the environment. Success depends on the degree to which there is a formal recognition of this issue. The acceptance must then be followed up through the whole chain of the project-cycle (Ostergaard, 1992, 194). For the quality of projects to improve, women should be involved in analyzing the process and outcomes of program delivery so as to continue improving the quality of the program and its ability to empower women (Goetz, 1997, 130).

The political commitment of the organization to the achievement of gender equality is an important step for the proper integration of women in NGOs. Designed policies and programs of the NGOs will reflect the degree to which gender equality is realized as a goal to be achieved and integrated. Resources are needed to transform the political commitment into policies. Policies should then be transformed into procedures to allow for the participation of women.

The achievement of gender sensitive policies does not always require women because sometimes men can act from a gender perspective. The degree of gender sensitivity does not need to be present only in women. Male members could act on behalf of women. However, it still cannot be denied that the integration of women on board of directors and decision making levels of environmental non-governmental organizations will help balance perspectives as opposed to those of men which might not be gender sensitive. Women will play a role in directing attention to women's needs as well as highlight situations and problems by making people at the grassroots

level more aware of the situations around them. Moreover, they will help suggest ways for approaching their target groups.

When analyzing the relationship between gender and the environment in the selected environmental non-governmental organizations, it is important to point out that women are the main social sector dealing with solid waste management at the household level. Their role in mobilizing the household members towards sorting plastics, papers and metal cans should be empowered through the supportive actions of the solid waste management system adopted by the country.

Health is an integral part of development because people are both the means and the ends of development (Ostergaard, 1997, 112). "The human energy generate by improved health should be channeled into sustainable economic and social development; and economic and social development should in turn be harnessed to improve the health of people" (Ostergaard, 1997, 112). By considering gender with health and development, it is recognized that health opportunities and health hazards are not the same for men and women. In the modern health care systems, most health workers are women. However, they occupy low status positions while authority and decision-making lies in the hands of men. Therefore, because of women's crucial role in the health care of their family as well as being care-givers and clients, they must be integrated directly while having full responsibility in the planning and decision-making process as well as in the process of implementation. Otherwise, primary health care will prove to be an insufficient means of achieving health for all (Ostergaard, 1992, 130).

Education is an important component of development. Empowering people with "basic cognitive skills" is the best way "to render them healthy and self-reliant human beings" (Ostergaard, 1997, 118). Because of women's crucial importance for health issues, women have been involved directly with full responsibility in the planning, decision making and implementation processes.

Women are a tremendous social resource, which no society can afford any longer to undervalue or underuse. They are required to be treated as partners in development practice and planning. However, it cannot be denied that bringing women to the center will require profound changes in the way societies conceive of relations between men and women and the dismantling of the old structures of thought and practice embedded in societies. The incorporation of the knowledge, insights and experience of women has been recognized as essential for the achievement of effective and sustainable development.

Attaining women's full participation as equal partners in the development and decision making process is important to the achievement of sustainable development. It is important to consult women directly and involve them in planning at all levels. It is essential to meet women's practical needs that will eventually lead to meeting their strategic needs. Women's participation in decision-making as well as in determining the objectives of a project and making their knowledge and skills available will help in conducting effective projects. It is important for projects to include women or directly target women. Some projects claim to include women but in fact do not provide for their direct participation. The criteria outlined by Caroline Moser: welfare,

equity, antipoverty, efficiency, and empowerment are important to see if a project can push for changes in gender relations and empowerment.

Women's empowerment is judged by the increase in welfare and their participation in decision making, access to and control over resources. In the end, it is important for women to gain from development as much as men.

It has been noted that higher levels of women's participation have led to a better chance of achieving gender sensitive community projects. Integration of gender considerations with more focus on women, is important for both achieving effectiveness and equity. Effectiveness in this context means better implemented projects that are gender sensitive and that take into account the needs of both women and men. Equity means equal opportunities being made available for both women and men with respect to representation in decision-making on all levels and women's right to access and control over resources and training, which is part of capacity building and staff development. Women's empowerment is central to achieving gender equality because through empowerment, women gain control over their lives and a greater voice to challenge inequality in their home, workplace and community.

Women play a very highly and beneficial role in community management especially through the raising of environmental awareness. The advancement of women will continue to remain a developmental goal. Inhibiting factors still exist but innovative ideas are being developed for encouraging an enhanced involvement and role of women.

The general lack of attention to women's needs within the development process stems from a general lack of awareness amongst those who plan and implement development projects. The project target group is recognized as

an undifferentiated group of people without recognizing the special needs of women. It is important to be recognized that development is about meeting the needs of those who are most in need and about increasing participation and equality. Moreover, the central issue of women's development is women's empowerment, to enable women to take an equal place with men, and to participate equally in the development process in order to achieve control over the factors of production on an equal basis with men.

The strategic goal of having gender sensitive environmental interventions is to protect or improve women's access to and control over resources and decision-making in environmental management procedures. Objections to interventions that attempt to be equitable in this sense should not be tolerated, whether they are framed in cultural terms or other. No program should worsen the position of any already disadvantaged social group.

Project management procedures should be designed to give full representation to women's interests. In many situations, it may not be possible to challenge male decision making powers directly. However, there is some scope for "constitutional intricacies" to be exploited in committee procedures to ensure that women have real decision making powers over matters that concern them (Joeke, 1996, 39-40).

Gender planning includes considering the differentiated needs of both women and men in order to achieve a more effective and equalitarian development. This means permanent consultation with women not only as informants but also as decision makers, reflecting their different claims in the interventions and assessing the impact of the interventions in a desegregate

way. Every action directed towards women and/or men in a target group has an effect on women or men outside the target group, within the households, jobs or communities and vice versa. It is never too late to integrate gender planning and to identify procedures for gender integration.

Women's participation will soon become the rule rather than the exception. Women in effect have to fit into a system that was made to fit men. Although some NGOs have created and gave more space for women's voices to be heard, either by using participatory methods in needs assessment and decision making, or by operating with an open rather than a closed agenda, this seems to be the exception rather than the rule (Lalonde, 1997, 9). If women are well represented at high decision making levels, grassroots participation will be more effective. According to Kate Young, NGOs should be seen as a channel through which planners could be kept informed of women's needs and priorities so that women's views constitute essential inputs into the revision of projects and plans (Lalonde, 1997, 7). In this way, NGOs could fill in a link to integrate gender into development planning.

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TABLE A: Gender Split of NGOs Board of Directors

Type of Membership	Males (%)	Females (%)
Head of Board of Director	92.1	7.9
President of Organization	86.2	13.8
Secretary General of Organization	89.7	10.3
Members of Board	89.6	10.4
Paid Employees	40.7	59.3
Volunteers	80.3	19.7
Members of General Organization	80.5	19.5
Total No. of Members	80	20

Gender Gap = 60%

Source: Amani Kandil / 1993

TABLE B:

Total Gender Split in Board of Directors of 316 NGOs

Total No. of Board of Directors	Male Percentage	Female Percentage
2655	79,7	20,3

Source: Amani Kandil / 1995

TABLE C: Representation of Women in Non-Governmental Organizations and Board of Directors in 1084 Organization

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	NO. OF ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Members			No. of members in Board of Directors		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Motherhood and childhood	174	26831	9627	36458	1126	620	1746
Family plannin	108	11576	8044	19620	787	438	1225
Social aid	259	62168	14044	76212	2581	305	2886
Care for special cases and retarded people	72	4304	1111	5415	538	130	668
Cultural and religious services	230	50040	11439	61478	2278	174	2452
NGOs dealing with more than 1 activity	241	75993	22568	98561	1989	488	2477
Total	1048	23,912	66,833	297,745	9299	2155	11454

Source: Amani Kandil / 1995

TABLE D: Gender Split of Board of Directors in the Selected Non-Governmental Organizations

Name of Organization	Male	Female	Total
The Arab Office For Youth and Environment (AOYE)	6	3	9
Association for Health and Environment Development (AHED)	4	3	7
Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development (AGCCD)	14	1	15
Egyptian Human Resource Development Organization (EHRDO)	4	1	5

TABLE E: Staff Composition in the Arab Office for Youth and Environment (AOYE)

Solid Waste Management Project

Position	Gender
Manager	Male
Local Coordinator	3 Females
Technical Coordinator	1 male
Social Coordinator	1 male

Hotline Service Unit Project

Position	Gender
Manager	1 Male
Administrative staff	2 Females

On a Broader Level

Position	Gender
Program Coordinator/Management Information System (MIS)	1 Female
Administrative Assistants	2 Males and 1 Female
Secretary	1 Male
Administrative Manager/Accountant	1 Male

TABLE F: Registration Information of the Arab Office for Youth and Environment

1. Registration with MOSA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1990
2. Total Membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over 300
3. BOD Membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 9
4. Female BOD Membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3
5. Board Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very loose, no scheduled dates for meeting.
6. No. of Full-Time Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 employees, 9 after the ending of the Solid Waste Management Project.
7. Percentage of Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 50%
8. Female Technical Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 Program Officers / 1 MIS Specialist
9. No. of Volunteer Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0
10. No. of Volunteer Women Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0
11. No. of Projects Specifying Women & Budget	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Solid Waste Management Project (*, ***, ***) • Hotline Service (**, ***)

TABLE G: Staff Composition in the Association for Health, Environment and Development (AHED)

POSITION	ASSIGNMENT	GENDER
General Director	3 days	1 Male

Resource, Documentation & Publication Unit

POSITION	ASSIGNMENT	GENDER
Coordinator	3 days	1 Female
Assistant	4 days	1 Female
Assistant	Volunteer	1 Female

Administrative Unit

POSITION	ASSIGNMENT	GENDER
Administrator	Full-time	1 Male
Secretary	Full-time	2 Female
Clerk	Part-time	1 Male

Health Policies and Systems Program

POSITION	ASSIGNMENT	GENDER
Director	1 day	1 Male
Coordinator	Full-time	1 Male
Assistant	4 days	1 Male
Consultant/Coordinator Women's Forum	Full-time	1 Female
Consultant/Women's Forum (Media)	Full-time	1 Male

Consultant/Women's Forum (Girl Child)	Full-time	1 Male
Consultant/El Waily Project	Part-time	1 Female

Disability Program

POSITION	ASSIGNMENT	GENDER
Director	3 days	1 Male
Coordinator	3 days	1 Female
Assistant	Volunteer	1 Male
Consultant	Volunteer	1 Female
Consultant	Volunteer	1 Female
Consultant	3 days	1 Female

Environmental and Developmental Program

POSITION	ASSIGNMENT	GENDER
Director	3 days	1 Female
Coordinator	5 days	1 Male
Assistant	3 days	1 Female
Consultant/Research Pesticide/Gender	Part-time	1 Male

TABLE H: Registration Information of the Association for Health, Environment and Development

1. Registration with MOSA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1987
2. Total Membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 100
3. BOD Membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7
4. Female BOD Membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3
5. Board Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meets regularly, every two weeks
6. No. of Full-Time Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 9
7. Percentage of Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4
8. Female Technical Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 8
9. No. of Volunteer Staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4
10. No. of Volunteer Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3
11. No. of Projects Specifying Women & Budget	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health Policies and Systems Program (***) • Disability Program (*, ***) • Environmental and Developmental Program (***)

TABLE I: Staff Composition of Association for Garbage Collectors for Community Development (AGCCD)

POSITION	GENDER
President	1 Male
Administrative Manager	1 Male
Financial Officer	1 Male
Secretary	1 Female

Mechanization Project

POSITION	GENDER
Project Manager	1 Male
Supervisor	1 Male
Mechanic	1 Male
Drivers	12 Males

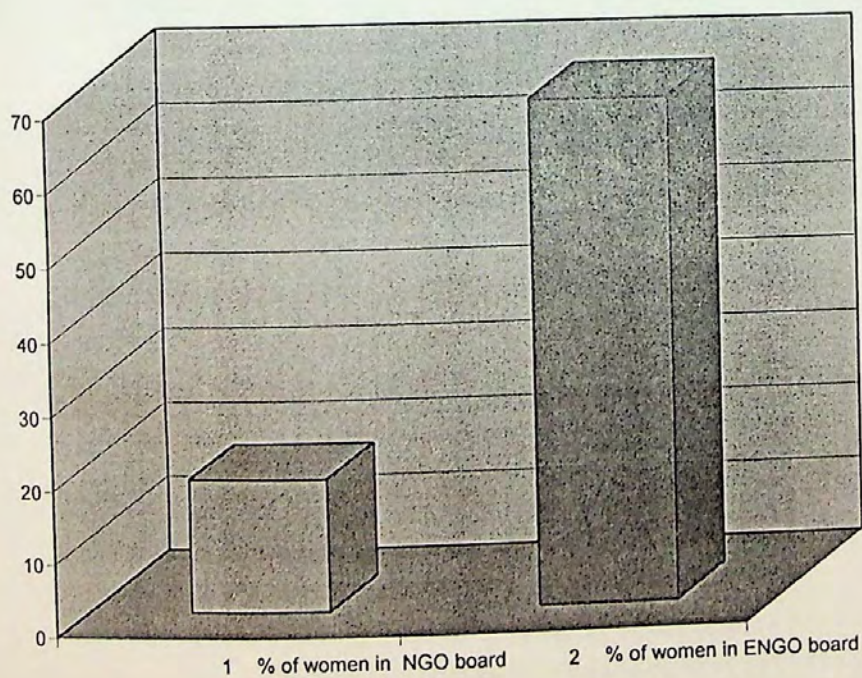
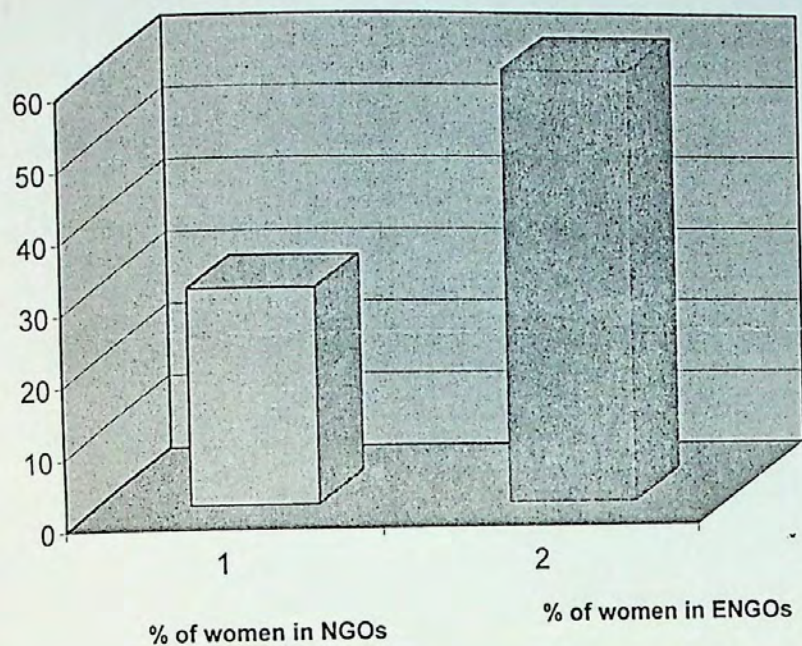
Income Generating Project for Female Headed Households

POSITION	GENDER
Project Coordinator	1 Female
Project Officers	4 Females

**TABLE J: Registration Information of the Association for Garbage Collectors for
Community Development**

1. Registration with MOSA	• 1990
2. Total Membership	• 700
3. BOD Membership	• 15
4. Female BOD Membership	• 1
5. Board Structure	• meets once every 1-2 month
6. No. of Full-Time Staff	• 5
7. Percentage of Women	• 1 woman
8. Female Technical Staff	• 1 woman
9. No. of Volunteer Staff	• 15 (Board of Director members)
10. No. of Volunteer Women	• 1
12. Projects Specifying Women & Budget	• Income Generating Project for Female Household (***)

TABLE K: REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN
NGOs & ENGOS



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