

**STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL MACHINERY FOR
ADVANCING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN YEMEN**

MOSAL/ILO

EVALUATION

26 March 2006

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ABBREVIATIONS

CTA	Chief Technical Advisor
DGWW	Directorate General of Women Workers
DWW	Directorate of Women Workers
LMIS	Labour Market Information System
MOSAL	Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour
NWC	National Women Committee
TORs	Terms of Reference

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“Strengthening the National Machinery for Advancing Women’s Employment in Yemen” is an ILO Technical Cooperation project funded by the Dutch Government with the aim of promoting women’s employment in Yemen by focusing on the creation of capacity in the Directorate of Women Workers (DGWW) in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (MOSAL). In the Project design, followed by its implementation, the Project Team took a holistic approach to the Project. It did not only focus on strengthening the DGWW, but also worked on the institutional building of other directorates of MOSAL, alongside organisations with the mandate to address employment issues in Yemen. This work was done through establishing dialogue, coordination and cooperation, in order to mainstream responsibility for gender issues in employment.

This was done through the four following objectives:

1. Building the capacity of DGWW in MOSAL (at Central and Governorate levels).
2. Establishing coordination and networking mechanisms between DGWW and other related governmental and non-governmental organizations whose mandate includes addressing women workers issues in Yemen.
3. Commission qualitative research that examines in depth, and from a gender perspective, the conditions of working women at work and outside it.
4. Developing and maintaining a databank and disseminating data and information on women workers in Yemen.

In the view of the evaluator, in its approach, methodology and impact, the Project could be seen as an example of ‘good practice’. This is reflected in the catalytic role played by the Project Team to mobilise the institutions responsible for employment in order to take ownership and responsibility for both women and men. However, given its short life span of one and an half years, the Project will need to be consolidated in a second phase. The following are recommendations for the continuation of existing activities and suggestions for additional strategies that could work towards strengthening gender mainstreaming with the ultimate aim of addressing women’s rights, interests and needs in employment.

1. Continue and consolidate the work that brings together DGWW with the different MOSAL Directorates and other partner organisations.
2. Consolidate and advance efforts towards gender mainstreaming in MOSAL and partner organisations.
3. Strengthen the media campaign focused on women’s work in Yemen from a gender perspective.
4. Commission qualitative research that examines in depth and from a gender perspective, the conditions of working women at work and beyond.
5. Advocate for gender issues in work at the policy and legislative levels.

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1. INTRODUCTION

"Strengthening the National Machinery for Advancing Women's Employment in Yemen" is an ILO Technical Cooperation project funded by the Dutch Government. The Project is part of a wider network of pilot projects under the 'Gender-Equality' theme implemented by the ILO-Netherlands Partnership Programme for 2004-2006. The project started in May 2004, in the Directorate General of Women Workers (DGWW), a Directorate in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (MOSAL). The Project's stated aim is to promote Women's Employment in Yemen by building capacity of the DGWW. Prior to the Project, the DGWW was given the mandate to coordinate the ten year National Women's Employment Strategy in Yemen, approved by Cabinet in 2001. The DGWW, as is common with Women National Machineries worldwide, was marginalised within the ministry, and had neither the resources nor the capacity to take on such a huge task.

In the formulation of the aim, the Project design team could have simply focused on the capacity building of the DGWW in relation to its organisational operation (TORs, work plans etc) and by providing them with training. However, the Project Team decided to take on a more comprehensive approach, going beyond building the capacity of DGWW. The Project has been formulated to work towards setting up an institutional infrastructure within the Ministry, but also with key partners who are in a position to institutionalise changes or advocate for change in legislation, policies and interventions that affect women's employment. Different mechanisms and interventions have been devised to achieve this aim which, as recognised by the Project Team, is a necessary short and medium term strategy to allow for the ultimate aim of addressing women's inequalities in employment. In other words, the Project is about institutional building through the use of 'Social Dialogue' (as one mechanism) to mainstream gender with the ultimate aim of promoting women's work opportunities and rights.

2. BACKGROUND

While addressing the situation of working women is a challenge that most societies in the world continue to face, in Yemen this is indeed a great challenge. With a GDP per capita of \$517, Yemen ranks 148 out of 174 on the Human Development Index and 76 out of 85 on the Human Poverty Index¹. According to the Gender Development Index, Yemen ranks 121 of 140 countries².

The government of Yemen issued a Millennium Development Goals Report (MDGR) in 2003 and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) progress report in 2005 highlighting the different challenges it faces in achieving its development aims. These reports detail the gap between intentions and results on the ground. The MDGR states that Yemen is

¹ http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/yemen/intro/2003

² http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_YEM.html 2005

unlikely to reach most MDGs based on recent rates of progress. The PRSP progress report shows that the PRS target on the growth rate will not be reached either³.

When it comes to women and work, a number of studies between 1999 and 2002 put the average of women's participation in the labour force at 24.5%⁴. According to the first Labour Force Survey (LFS) in 1999, women's labour force participation rate was 22%, with 72% working in agriculture as unpaid family workers in rural areas. In the formal sector, women are more likely to hold public sector jobs, such as teachers, nurses, etc. Most female employment, outside unpaid family work in agriculture, is in self-employment or informal work. A total of 62% of women's work is unpaid. In the formal sector, women's wages as a percent of men's wages, is 62% across all occupations in Yemen according to LFS (1999). The gap is lowest in administration (84%), whilst in agriculture it is 75%, and is highest in services and sales (36%)⁵.

While the Government of Yemen signed all relevant ILO conventions as well as UN gender equality international agreements, there is a large gap between policy level pronounced commitments to workers' rights and gender equality, as well as between legislation and its implementation.

Following the ILO emphasis on working with the tripartite institutions of government, Trade Unions and Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Project has chosen to exert a great deal of effort in establishing lines of dialogue, coordination and cooperation with these three institutions. The following is a brief background on these institutions.

The Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (MOSAL)

MOSAL combines, as its title indicates, two ministries. The 'Labour' side of the Ministry constitutes the mainline ministry responsible for all issues concerning labour and employment. Over time what was originally the Ministry of Labour was combined and then separated from a number of other ministries. For example before the Ministry of Social Affairs joined it in 2002, it was combined with the Ministry of Vocational Training. According to interviewees, this last merger does not mean that the two ministries are truly amalgamated. This raises a number of institutional concerns. Another major institutional problem with MOSAL is to do with the fact that the Minister is also the Director of the Social Development Fund. Each institution is demanding in its own right, and his energies and focus seem to be divided between these two large responsibilities. According to staff interviewed in the various Labour Directorates, inadequate budgetary allocation to the Ministry and lack of other resources in terms of personnel and equipment has curtailed its work and causes a great deal of frustration. Some members of staff in the Labour Directorates also pointed out that coordination and collaboration was not only lacking between them and the Social Affairs Directorates, but even amongst their own Directorates.

On the whole, the different directorates in MOSAL have carried out their work with little appreciation of commitment to gender issues. As a result of national level commitments to institutionalise women national machineries, in 1997 the Directorate General for Working Women (DGWW) was created within MOSAL under the Republican Decree no 19. Its mandate was to work towards enhancing gender equality, preventing discrimination in the world of work and improving women's employability through appropriate policies, legislation, programmes and projects. The DGWW started its work with three full time members whose number was increased to five. As is the case of most

³ See the full Statement by Ms. Flavia Pansieri, the UNDP Resident Representative in Yemen On the Launch of the Human Development Report 2005, http://www.nhdr.org/site/publish/article_66.html

⁴ See the Labour Force Survey (1999) and UNDP (2002), Programme On Governance in the Arab Region

⁵ Esim, Simel (2005), "Gender Mainstreaming in Chambers of Commerce in Arab States: A Comparative Analysis of Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen" ILO, Beirut, p. 12 (available in both Arabic and English)

women directorates in other parts of the world, the DGWW was marginalised in the Ministry and was allocated no resources to carry out its role. Despite these difficulties DGWW were able to conduct a number of national symposia on gender and labour market, some training workshops and contributed to the formulation of the National Strategy For Women's Employment (2001-2011).

The Trade Unions

The Trade Unions in Yemen have a long history characterised by a number of struggles. The first Labour Union was established in Aden in 1951 during the British occupation. After liberation in 1967, and for the first time, a conference brought together 25 Unions at national level leading to the formation of General Federation of Workers' Trade Unions in Yemen in 1968. This was quickly dissolved by the government of the time, as it was seen to be too much of a political threat. In 1970 a law was promulgated for the Federation's right to exist. While the Federation started to take shape by 1984, it was only between 1990 and 1993 that it was fully institutionalised, with its headquarter established in Sana'a. Since its inception, the continuous struggle between the Trade Unions and the various governments in Yemen, has led amongst other things, to the weakening of the position of the Trade Unions and their constituents (the workers) vis-à-vis the employers. According to various studies and interviewees, this is a struggle that is still ongoing especially under the neo-liberal policy that dominates the political and economic system of Yemen at the moment⁶.

Despite all this, the Trade Unions in Yemen are still in many ways an entity to reckon with. Interviews carried out during this evaluation point to the fact that neither the government nor the Chamber of Commerce seem to dismiss their role nor their power. However, the general agreement is that there is a great deal that needs to be done to strengthen the dialogue between these three tripartite intuitions.

Another major challenge regarding the Trade Unions is the low representation of women, both in the Unions and more specifically in their leadership. Some interventions were introduced to address this problem, such as putting in place some mechanism to increase women's representation both through elections and a quota system. A Directorate of Women and Children was also established in 2001. The Directorate's role includes enhancing women's awareness of their legal rights and their rights to represent other women in the Unions. As in the case of MOSAL, the Trade Unions still have some way to go in terms of gender mainstreaming.

The Federation of Yemeni Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

The first Chambers in Yemen, named the Commercial and Industrial Chambers, was established in Sana'a in 1958. In 1963, it was re-established by a Republican Decree and mentioned in the 1979 Constitution of Yemen. The activities and the role of the Chambers in Sana'a were specified in 1982 (Law No. 27) as an establishment contributing to the economic development of the country. In the early nineties, following unification, a Decree was issued to establish Chambers of Commerce and Industry in all governorates. The Decree also defined the tasks and role of the Chambers in the 20 governorates and established a Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry⁷.

According to an ILO study, Yemeni business women until recently had very little relationship with the Yemeni Chambers of Commerce and Industry. With the recent new leadership of the Yemeni Chambers of Commerce, there were some signs of commitment to bringing about a more dynamic presence of business women in the Chambers. There is plan on the part of the leadership to include the goal of integrating gender concerns its upcoming strategic plan. 200 business women in Aden are

⁶ Al Hakimi, Abdel Salam, Karash, Reda and Sheikh, Khalid (Supervisor), (2005), The General Workers' Union/Yemen, ILO/Geneva (Available in Arabic)

⁷ ILO (2005), "Employers' Organisation Taking the Lead on Gender Equality: Case Studies from 10 Countries", ILO Bureau of Employment, p. 81

registered with the Chambers of Commerce and they plan to form a women's committee⁸. In Sana'a, a women's committee was recently formed. As compared to the other two tripartite institutions, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry is lagging behind in terms of showing progress on commitments to women's rights and needs. Taking some initiatives towards the inclusion of business women constitutes only one dimension of what they could contribute in the area of gender equality.

The Project Team

The Project Team in full understanding and appreciation of these conditions briefly summarised above, seeks to address the challenge of building the institutional capacity and commitment of the institutions responsible for women's work through the following 4 objectives:

- Building the capacity of DGWW in MOSAL (at Central and Governorate levels);
- Establishing coordination and networking mechanisms between DGWW and other related governmental and non-governmental organizations whose mandate includes addressing women workers issues in Yemen;
- Developing a media strategy and launching a media campaign on Women Worker's Rights and Perceptions;
- Developing and maintaining a databank and disseminating data and information on women workers in Yemen.

The Project covers the DGWW in Sana'a, and in the four Directorates of Working Women (DWWS) in the Governorates of Aden, Hadramout, Taiz and Hodeidah.

The Project Team is composed of the ILO Chief Technical Advisor (CTA) whose role is to lead the project as the ILO representative in Yemen and provide the national team with her technical expertise on gender and employment. Within this context, the CTA has been playing a leadership role in the initiation and hands on implementation of all project activities. She also provides day to day capacity building of the Project Team and project partners (extending to on-the-job training on management and delegation skills, gender expertise, organizational capacity and budget management) with the aim to ensure ownership of the project and sustainability. The ILO Project Coordinator assists the CTA in the implementation and development of all project activities, capacity building of the Directorate and in the provision of technical expertise on project directions and assists in the correspondence between the Beirut Regional Office and the Project in Yemen. The Director General of the DGWW heads the Directorate and is in charge of the Directorate's management alongside the CTA and the Project Coordinator. The Directorate at central level is also composed of a National Project Coordinator, Field Coordinator, Project Accountant, Secretary and Office Assistant (as well as part-time consultants such as information experts, website designers etc.). At governorate level the team consists of three/four members of staff inclusive of the Director of the Women Department (see Appendix 1).

ILO Regional Office and Headquarter

The ILO plays a key role in the technical backstopping of the Project. The ILO's Regional Office for Arab States was involved in the establishment of DGWW in MOSAL and the development of the National Women's Employment Strategy. The Regional Office consequently played an important role in designing the Project with MOSAL. The Regional Gender Advisor in the ILO's Regional Office for Arab States in her backstopping role has been involved in the Project from the outset. Her responsibilities include the technical review of requests from the field, ongoing consultations with the Project Team and the undertaking of regular project monitoring missions. She also contributed to the

⁸ Esim, Simel (2005), "Gender Mainstreaming in Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the Arab States: A comparative analysis of Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen", ILO, Beirut (Available in both Arabic and English)

development of TORs (especially on studies) and revision of drafts. She has an important role in linking the project with other ILO activities in the Yemen and shares knowledge on the project's good practices and lessons learned within the ILO, the region and globally.

The Regional Programming Support Unit and the Regional Administrative and Finance Unit provided on-the-job training on administrative and financial procedures to the DGWW and DWW staff. At the same time these units ensure that the project operates according to ILO regulations in a financially accountable and transparent manner. The Project Team also has the support of the ILO Headquarters through two important Knowledge Sharing Projects (one on gender and one on employment projects) under the same ILO/Netherlands Partnership Programme umbrella. The Gender Bureau is an important advocate for the project organising presentations about the project in Geneva and highlighting its achievements in the Gender Bureau publications.

3. METHODOLOGY OF THE EVALUATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The evaluation was primarily based on a well tested methodology that uses at its core a conceptual tool for the diagnosis and operationalisation of gender mainstreaming⁹. In its application to diagnosis, the tool examines the extent to which gender has been institutionalised at the different levels of interaction between the state, the market and civil society: national, local or programmatic.

The evaluation was based on the following data collection techniques:

A desk review of the Project Reports, national reports and studies as well as Project commissioned studies on the situation of working women in Yemen.

- One-to-one interviews by the consultant with Project staff, staff members of MOSAL, and representatives of all partner organisations in Sana'a, Aden and Hadramout (see Appendix 2).
- Three meetings with DGWW staff during which the consultant shared the methodology of the evaluation and discussed its relevance¹⁰, de-briefed representatives of MOSAL and the DGWW Staff of the preliminary results and used the conceptual tool to discuss ideas for a Phase II of the Project.

The Report will be divided into the following parts:

- Part 1 is a review and analysis of the Project Objectives and their implementation. This section will highlight the main achievements of the Project to date, main remaining challenges and the suggestions of either stopping, pursuing or adding activities to a Phase II of the Project.
- Part 2 will more directly use the 'Web of Institutionalisation' tool in order to analyse the extent to which the Project has worked towards the institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming within the framework of its objectives. This analysis will be rooted in the Yemeni context as a way of providing a rationale for what will be needed in Phase II of the Project that will help get closer to its ultimate aim. Part 2 will also include an Impact assessment using ILO criteria.
- Building on the analysis of Part 1 and Part 2, Part 3 will make recommendations for Phase II.

⁹ Levy, Caren (1996) 'The Web of Institutionalisation', University College London, DPU Working Paper No74 (see Appendix 3)

¹⁰ A presentation of the 'Web' was given and it was used as a basis for a first round of diagnosis which the Project Team contributed to.

PART 1

4. THE PROJECT OBJECTIVES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

As mentioned above the Project has four main objectives. The main findings around key issues regarding activities and processes under each of the objectives will be reviewed below.

4.1. Building the capacity of DGWW in MOSAL (at Central and Governorate levels);

Following the rationale of the Project and its focus on institutional building, the first efforts were concentrated on the DGWW itself at Central and also at Governorate levels. As is the case in most Women National Machineries in the world, the Women Directorates in Yemen were set up as a result of international pressure to promote women's rights in development. At the Beijing world conference on women in 1995, national machineries for women/gender were identified as a key mechanism for gender mainstreaming. The role of national machineries is thus defined as follows: "A national machinery for the advancement of women is the central policy coordinating unit inside the government. Its main task is to support government-wide mainstreaming of a gender-equality perspective in all policy areas"¹¹. In practice, a number of critical areas of concern at policy level have emerged over the efficiency of national machineries:

- They often lack a clear mandate and have limited power at national level;
- They have insufficient resources (human, technical and financial);
- They also lack technical capacity (skills and tools) to mainstream gender at policy level;
- The gender focal point mechanism which has been widely used over the years has proved largely ineffective;
- National machineries work within weak monitoring systems and have insufficient data on gender issues to be able to influence policy making;
- Globally, they receive unreliable and insufficient political commitment from policy makers¹².

These are very much the challenges that faced and are in some ways, continue to face the Project. When the Project started, DGWW very much fitted this profile. "Prior to the initiation of the project, the staff of the DGWW in MOSAL had little influence and was largely marginalized amidst other directorates within the Ministry. At the time, DGWW had no defined organizational structure, work plan, nor terms of references for activities of staff. In addition, it had limited staff capacity, a confined office space and minimal office equipment"¹³. Besides for salary of its staff, the Directorate had no budgetary funds from the Ministry¹⁴.

Interviews with staff who founded the Directorate and worked in it in previous years showed their frustration around their marginalisation in the Ministry, the lack of resources and their unsuccessful efforts to establish an effective role for themselves. "Nothing was happening. We were promised donor support to implement Projects for women but these never materialised", one of the staff members of the Directorate in the late nineties explained. A current member of the DGWW staff confirmed this by saying: "All the women in the Women Workers Directorates were young and inexperienced and they were marginalised. The only job they did was to accompany the inspector to visits and this was only if they were allowed" (Interview, 2005). In one of the governorates, the Director of the DWW described her situation before the Project as follows: "I started my

¹¹ DAW Expert Group Meeting (1998), UN, 31 August - 4 September, paragraph 201

¹² Vouhe, Claudy (2005), "Workshop on Strengthening the Capacity of National machineries Through the Effective Use of ICTs: Report", UNDAW, pp. 7-8

¹³ ILO/DGWW, (2005), "Preparatory Concept Note for Phase 2", p. 1

¹⁴ See Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Progress Report, June-December 2004, ILO, p. 7

work in the Ministry ten years ago. I was the secretary to the Director. Then I was appointed to be in charge of the Women's Directorate. But there was no project and no budget. I did not know what to do. I never had the opportunity to participate in a meeting or in a workshop" (Interview, 2005). "All I did was to receive complaints from women when they came to the Regional Employment Office, and then had very little power to do anything about it" another one added (Interview, 2005).

Based on this reality, the Project started most urgently work on strengthening the position of the DGWW and DWWs in the governorates while creating a common system and a common language for the staff members of DGWW in Sana'a and in 4 other governorates. Three mutually reinforcing mechanisms were put in place in order to achieve this objective: Project retreats, supervision training visits and Project Team meetings.

4.1.1 Project Retreats:

This component of the Project started with a meeting in October 2004 with the representatives of DGWW in Sana'a and the four governorate Directorates of Women Workers (DWWs). The aim of this meeting was to bring all the staff together so that they could get acquainted for the first time and to introduce the Project to them. The meeting was also used to discuss their various roles, responsibilities and identify their needs as the main implementers of the Project. Remembering these first meetings one of the Team Members said: "We in Sana'a did not know the members of the governorate Women Directorates - we had no contact with them. Meeting and learning together has made us a real team" (Interview, 2005).

Following this meeting a number of Project Retreat workshops were conducted with the aim of building the capacity of the staff of the DGWW and DWWs. These workshops which were carried out over the following three months starting with a SWOT analysis and a training needs assessments for DGWW and DWWs. This led to putting together an organogram for the DGWW, and a first round of TORs and work plans. These were all revised as the Project progressed¹⁵.

During the early days of the Project, the Project Team also conducted meetings with related Directorates of MOSAL. These led to discussions and a better understanding of the different roles of MOSAL Directorates and potentials for collaboration.

More workshops were then carried out covering the areas of administration, both financial and technical, including topics such as management of technical cooperation projects, the preparation of works plans, progress review reports, budget revisions, monitoring and evaluations. On-the-job training was also conducted by the regional administrative management on financial management, covering expenditure systems, external payment authorizations, petty cash, external contracts, and procurement¹⁶. Following these workshops an annual work plan was developed for all Project work in the five governorates, the terms of references for staff members were further redefined and activities planned-out. Guidelines on "Project Procedures" were also developed¹⁷.

Training workshops also covered more substantial issues related to the work of the Directorates regarding gender and employment. "Equality and Indicators on Women's Work", and "Equality in Employment of Women and Men in Yemeni Legislation" and "International Conventions Around Women's Rights", are examples of topics covered by these workshops.

¹⁵ See Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Progress Report, June-December 2004, IL, pp. 4-5

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 4

¹⁷ See ILO/DGWW (2005), "Project Activities Update", August, p. 2

4.1.2 Supervision training visits

Supervision Training Visits by the Director General of the DGWW to the governorates were set up so as to monitor progress and consolidate capacity building efforts initiated during the project retreats and to ensure sustainability and continuity. During these visits the Director General of DGWW assists the DWW in each governorate to carry out their new work plans and undertake their agreed upon activities¹⁸. The need to set up a system for supervision training visits was identified collectively by the participants of the Project Retreats.

For example, between February and May 2005 the DGWW team conducted a supervision visit in each of the four governorates. Four main sets of activities were undertaken during these visits. The first set of activities consisted of on-the-job training following up on the training conducted during the Project Retreats regarding the administrative and financial procedures, the implementation of the work plans and the setting up of the first Coordination meeting with MOSAL directorates. The second area of activities was to assist the DWWs in its coordination efforts with national partners including the National Women Committee (NWC) and the Women Unit in the Trade Unions. Meetings were set up with the partners for DWWs to put into practice their newly developed abilities and knowledge around how to raise awareness on working women's issues and concerns as well as to establish links with partner organisations for future coordination. The third activity consisted of strengthening the DWWs' advocacy role through field visits to workers' sites both in the public and private sector factories and companies. After the training workshops carried out during the Project Retreats, the field visits were very important to adding another layer about understanding of the situation of women and work. These visits were also documented and added to the Project data base to be used in future advocacy undertakings. The final activity was around the development of 'Workers' Profiles' with a view to documenting the 'stories' of individual women and their experience with work¹⁹.

4.1.3 Project Team Meetings

Weekly meetings with the Project Team of the DGWW formed yet another mechanism for on-the-job training. The discussions in the meetings often help to consolidate newly acquired skills and information. Discussion around the implementation of the work plan often led to designing possible strategies to overcome any problems or constraints that may arise. This also helped identify the need for further clarification around planning tools or information gathering. Some of the meetings were also devoted to reading and commenting on key documents of relevance to the project's work such as the final draft of the "Gender and Employment Study" and "The Women in Chambers of Commerce and Trade Union" studies²⁰. This is seen not only as a mechanism for learning about the issues covered by the papers, but also as a way to advance the ability of DGWW staff members to read and analyse studies critically. Discussing such documents also allows the team to start thinking of how they can use these studies in their work (e.g. awareness raising, advocacy and/or training).

The three main mechanisms used under this first objective reflect a clear and systematic capacity building strategy. The Project Retreats and the delivery of training have been built on a participative identification of needs. The work undertaken under the Supervisory Visits and the weekly team meetings are an indication of a clear vision on the part of the Project Team that training conducted in workshops is only the start of achieving institutional capacity building. Without follow up and on-the-job training, there is a high risk that newly acquired skills and knowledge 'evaporates'. This is often the reason for the unsustainability of capacity building interventions in organisations.

¹⁸ ILO/DGWW (2005), "Project Activities Update", August, p. 2

¹⁹ For full documentation of the activities of the visits see (date?) 'The Supervisory Training Visits: An Overview', DGWW

²⁰ See Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Progress Report, June-December 2004, ILO, p. 6

A concrete outcome of the work done to strengthen the DGWW and the DWWs is demonstrated by the systematic documentation of the activities undertaken by the directorates. Each of the Women Directorates produces reports every month around their work plan and its implementation. They also use a unified system of filing out the different activities under the main categories of work they undertake each month (training workshops, meetings, field visit, coordination activities etc). The documentation does not only stop at listing the activities but also includes key outcomes, findings and recommendations.

Interviews with members of the team in the DGWW and DWWs demonstrated their appreciation of how much they have learned since the start of the Project. "Learning how to work" was what some of the Project staff agreed was one of the biggest achievements of the Project. "The biggest success of the Project is the huge leap that the Women Directorates have been able to make", one of the Project members said (Interview, 2005). Another added "I thought I was not capable of much. In a very short period of time I can organise my own workshops, devise a work plan and follow it, write reports and I am in charge of the monthly coordination meetings" (Interview, 2005). Gaining confidence through the involvement in the workshop was also stressed by another Project Team member: "In previous projects I worked with very individualistic people who did not want to share any of their knowledge. With this Project I learned about team work. I learned about responsibility and autonomy" (Interview, 2005).

4.2 Establishing coordination and networking mechanisms between DGWW and other related governmental and non-governmental organizations whose mandate includes addressing women workers issues in Yemen

The Project Team has utilised three mechanisms to implement this Objective, all of which promote a number of different activities for their achievement.

4.2.1 Establishing and Promoting a Coordination Model and a Platform for Dialogue within the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour

4.2.1.1 Starting contact and dialogue with the other MOSAL directorates

As mentioned above, since its inception, the DGWW has been isolated and marginalised from the other directorates of MOSAL. Working towards ending this isolation, was one of the decisions that came out of the initial Project Retreat workshop. The members of the DGWW decided that in order to be an established and effective unit in the Ministry, it was important to build ongoing relations and collaboration with other key directorates in MOSAL. As it transpired, it became clearer to the members of DGWW that in fact it was not only they who were working in isolation, but that in fact each of the other directorates work in an institutional setting that allows for very little cross communication.

'Orientation meetings' were held between the DGWW and representatives of the other MOSAL directorates (in Sana'a and in the other 4 governorates). These meetings were held to introduce the team to the MOSAL directorate staff members and to explain the Project objectives and activities, as well as to discuss possible future collaboration. Out of these initial meetings collaboration started with some members of staff of MOSAL by participating in the 'Project Retreat' workshops. Some key staff members were invited to give training on their respective areas of expertise to the DGWW. "These initial contacts helped demonstrate that DGWW is developing their own mandate and that it is not taking over other directorates' areas of work, but could be complementary and supportive instead. That is when the discussion and actual proposals for collaboration, cooperation and coordination came about"²¹.

²¹ See Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Progress Report, June-December 2004, ILO, p. 8.

4.2.1.2 Coordination meetings

The Project Team introduced the idea of carrying out monthly Coordination meetings. These were seen as mechanisms not only of establishing better coordination among the MOSAL Directorates but also to ensure gender integration within the other Directorates' respective programmes. Representatives from the Chambers of Commerce and the Trade Unions are also invited to meetings as a way of starting dialogue among and between the tripartite institutions.

In these meetings, the DGWW acts as "...a crucial catalyst in bringing all related parties together and initiating dialogue previously lacking in the Ministry offices in the governorates, establishing a 'coordination model' and a platform for dialogue within the Ministry. Within the MOSAL offices those initiated by the Directorates for Working Women are the only means to bring all the directorates together on a monthly basis, discussing issues of relevance to their work with a specific emphasis on the gender dimensions of these issues such as privatization, minimum wage, social protection, and labour rights"²².

For the first four or five months the DGWW and DWWs in the four governorates hosted and set the agenda of the meetings. Consequently, the Project Team found that it would be more beneficial to the spirit of the coordination meetings that the responsibility is shared and therefore rotates monthly among the different directorates. The meetings constitute a forum not only for discussions about daily work and responsibility but also a forum for learning through lectures and workshop style setups. The agenda of the meetings might include one or more of the following issues:

- Information on responsibilities and activities for the different directorates.
- Identification of problems and opportunities that face the work of the different directorates. This analysis was undertaken by all the directorates (at central and governorate levels) in the first coordination meeting. This discussion was then followed in more depth in meetings that focused on each of the Directorates in turn²³.
- Sharing and learning about areas of expertise from the other directorates. For example the Director of the Legal Affairs Directorate gave a presentation on Women's Health Insurance Rights in Yemen.
- Presentations from experts on particular topics related to the work of MOSAL. For example a paper was presented by a Gender and Development consultant on Information Strategy and the importance of Information production in supporting the development of programmes and projects. This was followed by small group work where different directorates analysed how they deal with their own information strategies. Another presentation was given by the participants of the Turin Training course on Social Dialogue.
- Invitation of members of other organisations to discuss and consolidate possible collaboration and coordination. For example, one of the Coordination meetings in Hadramout was dedicated to the discussion of the development of a Media Strategy. For this meeting, media representative were invited to discuss possible collaboration in the media coverage of issues related to women's work. Representatives from the Chambers of Commerce and the Trade Unions are also invited to meetings as a way of deepening Social Dialogue (this will be discussed below).

According to the majority of interviewees in MOSAL, the Coordination meetings have been one of the most positive additions to the work of the Ministry. While DGWW are praised for having taken the initiative, they think of the meeting as an important forum for the ministry as a whole. In this sense this is an indication of the success of DGWW in

²² ILO/DGWW (2005), "Project Activities Update", August, p. 3

²³ See Report on the 9th Coordination meeting in Sana'a- Inspection

creating a forum that benefits all who are involved. This also contributed to the partners' ownership of the process. One of the staff members said: "The monthly Coordination meetings are excellent and transparent. We were in charge of the last one. The topic we discussed was the challenges and obstacles to the work of inspection' (Interviews, 2005). "Our coordination meetings in Hadramout are very useful. We discuss employment issues generally and women's employment more specifically", another staff member added. Most acknowledged that the meetings introduced a much needed vehicle for communication that was lacking in the Ministry. "Without the Women Directorate we would not have meetings", was a comment made by a number of the interviewees. Some commented that they would like to see more representation on the part of workers and employers in the meetings.

4.2.1.3 Identification of joint project activities

One of the aims of the coordination meetings is to work with the directorates in order to integrate gender in their work plan. This is one of the major steps towards gender mainstreaming. While some initiatives have been identified and some steps taken to implement them, more of this kind of work will need to be undertaken in Phase II of the Project.

Some of the activities identified are as follows²⁴:

- Labour Force Directorate: The Directorate agreed to provide the DGWW with data regarding work opportunities for women and disaggregated data around women and men in employment
- Labour Dispute Directorate: The Directorate agreed to share information about working women's cases raised in this department with the Directorate General. In Aden, the Judicial Committee of MOSAL on labour issues in Aden requested the DWW to attend tribunal sessions for issues relating to women workers.
- Labour Inspection Directorate: This Directorate has agreed to work with DGWW on joint inspection visits and joint training programs for selected women inspectors as well as training and sensitizing the available inspectors on gender and working women's issues. In Aden, they agreed with the DWW to undertake labour inspections together to workplaces where there are women workers present.
- Health and Security Directorate: The Directorate in Aden identified a number of activities it could include to its work. Among these was the monitoring of women's work conditions in terms of the specificity of health and security hazards they may face, as well as highlighting to employers the positive contributions women workers provide.
- Labour Market Information System (LMIS) Project: DGWW is working with this project on an awareness raising program about Labour office and market demands, working women statistics and developing and disseminating the Gender and Employment in Yemen study.

While most of the MOSAL staff interviewed for this evaluation agreed that cooperation around the above mentioned proposals is possible, some issues seem to still need further discussions. One of these is the issue concerns the involvement of female inspectors in the work of MOSAL. The lack of well documented information about the situation of women at work, and the resulting weakness in the protection of women's rights, has been blamed by many on the lack of women inspectors. Some staff members explained that when visiting work places inspectors are meant not only to examine the books and inspect the place, but also to interview workers about their working conditions. When it comes to women workers, this might be problematic. There is also a real issue

²⁴ See Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Progress Report, June-December 2004, ILO, and Aden and Hadramout Progress Reports

around accessibility when it comes to women-only premises (e.g. dressmakers and hairdressers). For these reasons, they argue, women inspectors are needed. While they agree, other interviewees insist male inspectors should also be trained to look out for labour or health and security issues that are specific to women and should have the responsibility for both women and men. Others argued that the main reason there are no women inspectors, is that women themselves do not want to work as inspectors. One of the reasons they gave for this is that there are no protective measures for inspectors in case they get abuse by employers. "Women do not want to be exposed to this", one of the inspectors commented. However, this notion was challenged by a DWW staff member who said that she and her women colleagues use diplomacy and persuasion with employers and establish good relations. "This is something some of our male colleagues could learn from us", she commented (Interview, 2005). Another perceived obstacle is that inspectors have no proper access to transport, something women find a real problem. Where women are involved in inspection, staff members have acknowledged this to be of benefit. For example in one of the governorates a male inspector explained: "We do not have women inspectors, but we inspect with the director of the DWW. Women workers are shy to complain to men. Through her we are starting to understand women's problems. She also follows up. In one case, in a plastic factory, women were paid less than what was in the records. It is only through her talking to them that we discovered this". As a result of this experience the Office has made a commitment to hiring women inspectors for the first time.

4.2.2 Collaboration with the National Women Committee (NWC) in strengthening the role of the Women's Directorates in other ministries

4.2.2.1 The National Women Committee and Women Directorates in other ministries

In addition to the institutional building of the DGWW and the DWWs, and the MOSAL directorates, one of the Project objectives is to build collaboration and coordination with the other institutions which are involved in implementation of the National Women's Employment Strategy. Among these are the National Women Committee, which is responsible for Yemen's Women National machinery and the Women Directorates in the line ministries involved in sectors that relate to women's work.

Based on the 1995 Beijing conference recommendation, the NWC established women directorates and women focal points in 35 ministries in Yemen (including in MOSAL). One of the responsibilities of NWC is to build the capacity of these directorates and to monitor and support their work. After their establishment and after having gone through a number of training programmes over the years, the Women Directorates, as mentioned above, have been suffering the same fate of other Women/gender Directorates in many part of the world. A number of constraints have led to this situation²⁵.

The Project Team in discussion with the NWC decided to explore the possibility of 'reactivating' the Women Directorates in line ministries. Therefore, and in collaboration with the NWC, the DGWW organized a two day 'Networking Workshop' with all Women Directorates in the various Ministries in May 2005 in Sana'a. The objective was to share current activities and experiences, and start drawing up the components of a coordination mechanism among the Women Directorates. The DGWW also presented to the other Women's Directorates some of the activities in which they had been involved since the inception of the Project²⁶.

The discussions in the workshop²⁷ confirmed the need for finding ways of strengthening the various Women Directorates and it came up with a number of recommendations in

²⁵ See identification of constraints in the "Strategy to for the Revitalisation of Women Directorates in the Selected Ministries in Yemen" p. 1 (Author and date missing)

²⁶ ILO/DGWW (2005), "Project Activities Update", August, p. 4

²⁷ See the Workshop Report

order to achieve this goal. This led NWC and DGWW to form a committee in order to monitor the progress of these recommendations. The committee has appointed an international consultant to assess the current status of Women Directorates and to devise a strategy for the reactivation of their role²⁸. This strategy will then be implemented by the DGWW in collaboration with NWC in the second phase of the project²⁹.

In the view of the evaluator, the involvement of the Project Team should stop at providing the support to set the implementation of the strategy into motion. Each of the Women Directorates that play a part in the 'reactivation' project will have to get similar technical and financial support that the DGWW received for its current Project. All that the DGWW can now offer is to continue to share its experience and lessons learned as well as provide ongoing coordination around issues to do with women and work. The extent to which NWC can have a role is also unclear given that it also feels marginalised and disheartened. According to interviews with members of NWC, the organisation has been deprived of resources. "We are never invited to national level meetings. We are ignored by the line ministries. Even the Women Directorates that we set up do not communicate with us. The United Nation Department for the Advancement of Women, which is meant to be responsible for us, never contacts us directly. If they want something from us, they contact us through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The DGWW is a real recent positive change. They include us in many of their activities" (Interview, 2005). So in fact, rather than taking the role of implementer of the strategy, perhaps the NWC itself needs to be targeted by the intervention.

Another more manageable role that DGWW can play in relation to Women Directorates in other key line ministries is to collaborate with them around small activities. At present this is what DGWW is doing in collaboration with the Women Directory of the Ministry of Agriculture. Activities include highlighting the role of the rural women through the advocacy platform of the project, studying the issue of wages in the agriculture sector in the Labour Code and research to collect case studies entitled 'Workers Profiles'³⁰.

4.2.2.2 Conducting coordination meetings with national government agencies, NGOs and International organizations

The Project Team is also involved in other activities that relate to women and work with agencies outside government. Members of the Project Team participate in committees set up to work on the Millennium Development Goals. For example, the Project CTA is a member of the UN Core Group (UNICEF, UNDP and WHO) of the Millennium Development Goals in the Economic Growth and Gender themes. The ILO project also works closely with Oxfam and NWC on these two themes. The Project Team also actively participates with social partners in the two PRSP thematic working groups (on economic growth/employment generation and gender). This helped prioritize gender and employment issues in the ongoing preparations for the 3rd 5-year MDG-based development plan for poverty reduction (DPPR) 2006-2010. ILO representatives and partners have been involved in the thematic working group on gender, ensuring that gender concerns are being effectively mainstreamed into planning documents. They have provided key ILO research and materials to inform the process of the need for capacity building in the Women's Directorates in all ministries and implementation of the National Women's Employment Strategy in order to ensure women workers rights and address perceptions and attitudes towards working women in Yemen"³¹

While of strategic importance, the capacity in which the Project Team is involved and the role it can play needs to be clearly defined. A level of involvement that drains the resources of the Project Team would be counterproductive.

²⁸ See the "Strategy to for the Revitalisation of Women Directorates in the Selected Ministries in Yemen" p. 1

²⁹ ILO/DGWW, (2005), "Preparatory Concept Note for Phase 2", p. 3

³⁰ Workers profiles Report

³¹ See Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Progress Report, June-December 2004, ILO, p. 6-7

4.2.3 Promoting Gender Mainstreaming in Social Dialogue Institutions in coordination with the Federation of Yemeni Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the General Federation of Workers' Trade Unions in Yemen.

In addition to MOSAL, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the General Federation of Workers' Trade Unions in Yemen constitute the tripartite structure on which ILO builds its work. The Project sees collaboration and coordination with both institutions as yet another layer of its work around institutional building of partner organisations which are key to women and work.

While the Women Units within the two institutions constitute the Project's most obvious counterparts, the Project Team chose to work with the leadership structures of the two institutions. This was a strategic choice aiming to strengthen dialogue and collaboration between and among the tripartite institutions at all levels and at the same time establish a more effective approach to mainstreaming gender in the regular work of these institutions. In addition to this, close working relations have been established with the Women Units in the Trade Unions in the design and the delivery of training as well as in efforts towards gender mainstreaming in their institutions.

While 'Social Dialogue' is not part of the Project's mandate, it was still chosen by the Project Team as a mechanism to strengthen relations and establish the institutional structure conducive to efforts towards strengthening women's rights in the area of work. This is a challenge to the Project Team given the fact that 'Social Dialogue' is still at the very initial stages of development in Yemen. However given this fact, the opportunity is ripe for the Project Team and emerging leaders on 'Social Dialogue' to mainstream gender in key topics of 'Social Dialogue' and at the same time mainstream gender in the work of the tripartite institutions using Social Dialogue.

For this collaboration to be more effective, the Project Team suggested that there is a need for a number of studies to take place in order to reach a deeper understanding of the context in which the tripartite institutions operate. In addition, two direct capacity building opportunities have emerged targeting key representatives from the tripartite institutions. The first is a training initiated by the ILO on 'Social Dialogue'. The second is a Training of Trainers designed and implemented by the Project Team on 'Decent Work'.

The following is a more detailed review of the Project activities under this component.

4.2.3.1 The Studies

Five studies were undertaken by the project in collaboration with LMIS in MOSAL, Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Trade Unions. In preparation for the studies, detailed TORs were developed by the ILO's Regional Gender Advisor. Given that the first two studies were developed in tandem, the TORs were designed to allow for comparability between them.

- The first study is entitled "The Role of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Promoting Gender Equality"³². The paper covers an analysis of the situation of women entrepreneurs in Yemen, comparing them to women entrepreneurs in other parts of the world. The study then analyses the role of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries vis-à-vis women entrepreneurs. It then explores in more detail the conditions that allowed these women to start their businesses, their backgrounds and the constraints they face in their work.

³² Al Kaderi, Hasna, and Al Kaisi, Ahmed (2005), "The Role of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Promoting Gender Equality", Women's Institute Sana'a University, The Federation of Yemeni Chambers of Commerce and Industry and ILO

After the completion of the study, the project CTA and the Director General of DGWW conducted meetings with the authors to discuss the report, giving them feedback and recommendations. Further inputs to the text also took place in the ILO Regional Office before its finalisation.

- A second study is entitled “Gender Issues in the Work of Yemeni Trade Unions: A Social Study on Women Union Members in the Formal and Informal Sectors”. After a thorough review of the situation of women in development, the study undertakes an analysis of the Trade Union movement in Yemen since its inception. Following this, there is a discussion of the various constraints and potentials that face women in their role in the trade unions and the different interventions that attempt to meet their needs. The study then ends with a list of strategic objectives to strengthen the position of women both in the labour force and in the Trade Unions³³. The findings of this study have been extensively used in developing the materials for the training program on ‘Decent Work and Gender’.
- “Employment Trends for Women in Yemen”³⁴ is the third study carried out under this component. The study was carried out by an international consultant in collaboration with LMIS. The ILO’s Regional Gender Advisor provided the research team with a range of relevant materials. The Project Team facilitated the field work. The Director General of DGWW accompanied the research consultant to every meeting. After the finalisation of the study, the Regional Gender Advisor made extensive comments and revisions to the study. The Project is already utilizing the results of the study in its various activities. It has also been used as a key reference in the PRSP thematic working groups on economic growth, employment generation and gender. “The presentations of the study and its dissemination in English and Arabic helped prioritize gender and employment issues in the 3rd 5-year MDG-based Development Plan for Poverty Reduction (DPPR) 2006”³⁵.

The study is largely a quantitative analysis of the participation of women in the labour force, trends in employment and unemployment and in the labour market. It also highlights constraints on women’s participation and reviews existing policies and programmes targeting the enhancement of female employment. The study then concludes with a set of recommendations in the context of efforts to meet the MDGs.

- The fourth study³⁶ is entitled “A mapping study on Domestic Workers in Yemen”³⁷. This study is about domestic workers in Yemen, and in particular migrant and refugee women working as domestic workers. It is part of a series of studies carried out by ILO in Arab countries. In the past five years similar studies have been carried out in Jordan, Bahrain, Kuwait, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, and Syria. Paid domestic labour is a growing sector of employment for many women in Yemen. Given that the majority of these domestic workers are foreigners this poses new challenges for the Yemeni authorities and the embassies of the sending countries. The study is envisioned as a first step toward national dialogue and discussion in the country with the view of

³³ Al Hakimi, Abdel Salam, Karash, Reda and Sheikh, Khalid (Supervisor), (2005), The General Workers’ Union/Yemen, ILO/Geneva (Available in Arabic)

³⁴ Durr, Mona Lisa (2004), “Employment Trends for Women in Yemen”, ILO in collaboration with DGWW and LMIS.

³⁵ See Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Report, June-December 2004, ILO, p. 5

³⁶ This was a study finalised after the evaluation took place. It was funded by ILO’s Declaration Department and technically supported in its production by ILO Regional Office for Arab States in Beirut and the ILO/MOSAL Project.

³⁷ De Regt, (2006), “A mapping study on Domestic Workers in Yemen”, ILO/MOSAL

developing appropriate policies and strategies in responding to the needs and challenges facing this group of women workers in Yemen.

- The fifth study³⁸ is entitled “Women in Numbers in Yemen”. It was undertaken by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics which has extensive experience in analyzing and presenting sex-disaggregated data in a user-friendly manner with visual representation in charts. The study, which has been approved by LMIS, is based on the analysis and review of existing recent surveys. It will be produced as a booklet in Arabic with an executive summary in English. Alongside the other studies, this statistical booklet will be a useful resource in Phase 2.

4.2.3.2 Social dialogue training

While the ‘Social Dialogue’ intervention is a separate ILO initiative, given its importance to the Project, the Project Team decided to be part of the process as local coordinators. Three representatives (two women and one man), one each from MOSAL, Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Trade Unions were selected to attend a ‘Social Dialogue’ Training Course at the International Training Centre in Turin, Italy in May/June 2005³⁹. Before their departure to the course, the Project Team had preparatory meetings with the three participants to make sure that they were ready for the course and knew what they needed to get out of it. When they came back they were invited to the Coordination meeting to present the main issues that they learnt from the course.

According to one of the participants in the Turin training, ‘Social Dialogue’ is about creating space for sharing information and in case of conflict between employers and employees to resorting to negotiation and arbitration which might lead to a resolution of the conflict or strike. He added “... gone are the days of class divisions and conflict between employers and employees. Now we are into win-win solutions, achieving justice for all. Unions are not like they were in the 60s, with their strikes, sabotage and social conflicts. Workers want to keep their jobs” (Interview, 2005). This is a view that not all interviewees shared and can perhaps be a focus for discussion, initiated by the Project Team in its work on ‘Social Dialogue’.

The Project Team has provided technical assistance to the National Social Dialogue committee that was established upon the return of the team of trainees from Turin to develop a proposal for a Social Dialogue Strategy in Yemen. The proposal outlines a detailed plan involving a participatory process to come up with a ‘Social Dialogue’ strategy and develop a user friendly booklet⁴⁰. The plan is that the Group would first develop a strategy with the support of an international consultant then travel to four Governorates and share their understanding of the concept of ‘Social Dialogue and strategy with the tripartite partners (Interview with a Project Team member, 2005).

4.2.3.3 Training Program on Decent Work and Gender

According to the Joint Technical Review Report⁴¹, ‘Decent Work’ is not as yet a well defined concept. However “... within the ILO, the following characteristics have been attributed to it: it is productive and secure work, it ensures respect for labour rights, it provides an adequate income, it offers social protection and it includes social dialogue, union freedom, collective bargaining and participation”⁴².

³⁸ PCBS (2006).

³⁹ ILO/DGWW (2005), “Project Activities Update”, August, p. 5

⁴⁰ Project Team, (2005), “Strategy towards Promoting Social Dialogue in Yemen”, p. 2

⁴¹ ILO/Dutch Embassy (2005), “Joint Technical Review of the ILO-Netherlands Partnership Programme”,

p. 8

⁴² Ibid

Given the Project's commitment to all the above mentioned issues, the Project Team decided to take responsibility for implementing a Decent Work component. This component is seen as a way of reinforcing the 'Social Dialogue' of the tripartite institutions while focusing on the situation of women in issues regarding labour rights, secure work and adequate income. The 'Decent Work' component constitutes three main stages. The first stage was a 10 day Training of Trainers workshops targeting representatives from the tripartite institutions in Sana'a and the other four Governorates as well as media personnel (30 in all). They in turn, are to train a larger group in each of the governorates who will implement the next stage of activities in the field⁴³. The third stage involves an awareness raising Programme targeting workers. The latter phase is in fact the first activity by the Project that targets the 'ultimate target group'.

The Project Team designed the Training Programme on Decent Work based on ILO materials. Then a Tripartite Committee of national experts, supported by an international consultant, was set up to review the training materials with a view to checking its appropriateness for the Yemeni context⁴⁴. There were long discussions in the committee about key terms and how they could best be translated, starting with the term 'Decent'. Questions were raised as to whether to call it 'adel', 'kareem' or 'fadel' as each of these terms have different connotations in Arabic.

The output of the work of the Committee was the production of a training tool kit including three simplified and accessible booklets on 'Labour Laws', 'Personal Status Law' and 'Gender and Decent Work'. This material was then pre-tested at different points with employers and workers Sana'a and the other four governorates, as well as during the second stage of the training.

According to the Project Team the whole process was conducted in a participatory way during which a great deal of cross-learning occurred for all who were involved. Interviews with a number of participants in this component confirmed this view. One of the trained trainers commented "The course was really excellent. I learned a great deal not only from the content but also from the participative style of its delivery. However, I found the gap between the TOT and this second stage to be too long" (Interview, Hadramout, 2005). In fact the second stage of training was meant to take place in September 2005 but got delayed to December. This issue raises the very important point about the fact that the Project Team is really overstretched. This point will be discussed in consecutive sections of the Report.

Besides the importance of this component in terms of learning and also eventually reaching the ultimate target group of the Project, it also achieves other positive outcomes. The 'Decent Work' component of the Project is a good example that demonstrates the cross-fertilisation aspect of the Project. This activity of the Project added yet another layer to building alliances and coordination as it included members of the tripartite institutions among the participants of the TOT.

For example, the Director of the Chambers of Commerce in Hadramout participated in the TOT workshop held in Sana'a. This created a forum in which he worked closely around important issues regarding workers along side members of MOSAL and with representatives of the Unions. "During the workshop we developed a common language. I was reminded again how important it is to talk to the Trade Unions. We do have a similar position on certain issues. There is no doubt that women deserve our attention, they work really hard and face a great deal of hardship" (Interview, 2005). This experience has resulted in his full commitment to the process. This is reflected not only by the fact that he hosted the second phase of the workshop in the Chambers premises, but also by his involvement in contacting, negotiating and getting the agreement of 5

⁴³ This phase was being implemented at the time that the evaluation was taking place (December 2005). In fact the consultant carrying out the evaluation attended a part of the workshop in Aden.

⁴⁴ See ILO/DGWW (2005), "Project Activities Update", August, p. 5

employers to allow the awareness raising exercises to be carried out in their factories. I say to them ‘more justice more production’”, he added (Interview, 2005).

While some of the interviewees who will be delivering awareness raising in the work place said that they rely on the Chambers to make the first contact with the employers to allow them to carry out their work, others said that they can do the contacting and persuasion directly. For example, the Director of the DWW in Hadramout did not even find it necessary to wait for the second stage of training and she contacted some employers directly. Workshops were already conducted with the workers. “I was very impressed by how vocal some of the women were during the meeting. They were not at all intimidated by the presence of their supervisors” (Interview, 2005).

4.3. Developing a media strategy and launching a media campaign on Women Worker’s Rights and Perceptions

A number of interviewees pointed to the tendency in Yemeni society to either ignore the important role women play in the economy or to see women’s involvement in the public sphere of work in a negative light. Lack of awareness of pertinent issues related to women’s work is also seen to be predominant. As a response to this, in its third objective, the Project targets the media as an attempt to address some of these issues. As a result and starting with the establishment of a ‘Media Advocacy Platform’, a number of activities were put in motion including the design of a media strategy and training of media personnel.

4.3.1 The Media strategy

After a series of consultations with key women activists, members of civil society and donor organisations, the Project Team, with the support of a National Consultant, developed a media strategy. The Strategy aims at raising awareness about women workers’ rights, and at working towards changing the negative perceptions of working women among the public in Yemen⁴⁵. This is to be done through targeting media outlets such as TV, radio and newspapers.

The Media Strategy Report started with an analysis of the situation of working Yemeni women; it then reviewed International Treaties signed by the Government of Yemen, as well as key policies and programmes that aim at enhancing women’s participation in the workforce; this was followed by a review of available media strategies as well as examples of how different media outlets deal with development issues. In confirmation of the opinion held by most of the interviewees for this evaluation, the report points to the inadequate coverage of development issues by the media in Yemen. Despite the existence of many development challenges in Yemen concerning poverty, unemployment, education levels and health provision, the media does not engage in these debates. The general view is that while there are a number of efforts on the part of government to address these issues, the media even though largely state owned, fails to highlight it. This also applies to issues related to women and development that are still dealt with in a “shallow and irregular manner”⁴⁶. As an example, the report mentions a study by Haydari who examined TV broadcasting and found that 0.79% of the time is dedicated to women development issues, and she describes these interventions as ‘feeble’ in their preparation and execution⁴⁷.

The Report concludes with a number of recommendations including: to carry out capacity building targeting media personnel; to enhance coordination with partners concerned with working women; to establish a media platform with a network of the partner organisations

⁴⁵ ILO/DGWW, (2005), “Preparatory Concept Note for Phase 2”, p. 4

⁴⁶ Raja, Jamila (2005), “Media Strategy”, DGWW, MOSAL, p. 15

⁴⁷ This is a study by Nabiha el Haydari quoted in the “Media Strategy”, Ibid, p. 16

taking part in a national level media campaign; and finally to establish a data base to be used as a support to the media campaign advocating women worker's issues⁴⁸.

To operationalise this strategy, the consultant with members of the Project put together a six months Media work plan for the DGWW and DWWs. After its implementation this plan will be evaluated and on this basis the Project Team will come up with a plan for the second phase of the Project. Examples of the activities agreed upon in the media work were as follows: to monitoring the coordination work between the DGWW and the DWWs in the governorates as well as with other partners including tripartite institutions; to publish a weekly bulletin covering the activities of the Project as well as brochures covering issues related to women's work; to monitor the trainees who participated in the media workshop (see 4.3.2 below); and finally, to update and enlarge the data bank of the Project (see objective 4.4 below).

4.3.2 Training media personnel

As stated above, capacity building for media personnel, was one of the recommendations of the Media Strategy. Thus, to start off with, 25 media personnel from Sana'a and the four Governorates representing both government and opposition papers, TV and radio were trained.

The five day workshop held in Sana'a was run by members of the Project Team, an international consultant and the national consultant involved in the Media Strategy. The main objectives of the workshop were: to sensitize and train the participants around the women employment rights; to inform the participants of ILO and other international conventions signed by the government of Yemen; to train the participants to analyze and cover women workers' issues in a critically informed manner in their media reporting and coverage; and to train the participants in how to advocate women workers' issues⁴⁹. The workshop ended with a number of recommendations and commitments on the part of the participants. These included setting up a Media and Development League (see 4.3.3); to work towards getting the media to be more seriously involved in the development process in Yemen; and to get the commitment of decision makers in the participants' organisations to allocate appropriate space for the coverage of working women's issues in particular, but also development issues in general. Based on these recommendations, a number of participants committed themselves to work plans for the implementation of these commitments⁵⁰. This workshop was also repeated in the Project's four governorates. One was conducted for the media personnel of Aden and Hadramout and another for those working in Taiz and Hodeidah⁵¹.

According to the Project Team, these workshops were very instrumental in creating alliances between them and the participants. "I can always rely on them. Whenever I need something covered by the media, I simply contact one of them and I get positive results", one of the Project Team commented (Interview, 2005).

By the end of Phase I, over 100 Media personnel were trained in Decent Work and in Gender Equality issues. Twenty four articles, two TV spots and four radio interviews were produced advocating women workers' rights, in addition to a booklet on women workers rights in media.

4.3.3 The Media and Development League

A commitment was made on the part of the participants of the workshop to form an independent 'Media Development League'⁵² whose responsibility it would be to continue sensitizing and raising awareness among media personnel on gender equality, women

⁴⁸ Raja, Jamila (2005), "Media Strategy", DGWW, MOSAL

⁴⁹ DGWW, (2005), "Media Workshop", Sana'a, p. 1

⁵⁰ DGWW, (2005), "Media Workshop", Sana'a, p. 6

⁵¹ See Workshop Reports (2005)

⁵² This initiative started with seed funding from the Ministry of Information.

workers rights, and perceptions and attitudes towards women workers. This initiative received seed funds from the Ministry of Information.

One of the lead persons in the formation of the 'League' commented: "After attending the workshop a group of us came together wanting to consolidate what we learned. So we formed this League for media people interested in development issues. Our main goal was to raise public awareness of development issues in Yemen and beyond. We meet twice a month. A core group of 7 out of 30 members are really serious. We now want to carry out TOT to raise capacity on development issues among both women and men in the media. We want it to be a solid and good message with a gender perspective. We also want to target both women and men in the wider population" (Interview, 2005). While, the league has a fully developed plan for an established status as a formal organisational structure⁵³, the core members, according to the interviewee, feel some resentment that the other members do not show the same level of commitment to the League. The membership of the League and even its nature was therefore under discussion. One of the ideas of the core group is to turn the league into an NGO. This is yet to be confirmed and in this case, an analysis will need to be undertaken about the implications of such a change for the Project. A concern here, whether this group remains a League or an NGO, is how sustainable this entity can be.

The work undertaken under objective three in terms of engaging with the media, meets a double challenge. In other countries, similar work of using the media as a vehicle for advocating women's development issues often involves having to deal with the constraint that media personnel lack understanding and/or commitment to gender equality. While this represents the first challenge in the case of Yemen, the second challenge is about the lack or limited interest and/or knowledge on the part of the media regarding development issues in general. All interviewees who discussed this issue, including members of the media, agreed that media people were 'only interested in politics'. When it comes to development issues, the media may only cover news of events such as conferences or meetings. In some ways in its work with the media, the Project has also largely remained at that level. Most of the material relayed to the media is about either the coverage of the activities of the Project, or more regional and national events on women. While this is important in raising the profile of issues of concern to the Project, this might not be sufficient. The additional challenge for the next phase is to find strategies to deal with more substantive issues from a gender perspective.

4.4. Developing and maintaining a knowledge base and databank and disseminating data and information on women workers in Yemen.

This fourth and last objective aims, on the one hand, to collect data and information on women employment issues, and on the other hand, to process and disseminate this information. This information and data is to be used by the DGWW itself, but also, by all the partners. This is yet another dimension of consolidating the different components discussed under the three other objectives. The use of data and information is crucial in advancing a number of areas covered by the Project objectives, whether that is providing capacity building, raising awareness through advocacy or engaging in 'social dialogue'. The most obvious and direct link is around the work of the Project on the Media Platform.

While not one of the initial objectives of the project, this objective was added shortly after the project CTA and ILO's Regional Gender Advisor participated in a knowledge sharing workshop in Geneva in August 2004. The workshop was also attended by representatives of other ILO/Netherlands Partnership Programme projects. The knowledge sharing workshop emphasized the importance of communicating the learning from projects. As follow up, the Employment and Gender Knowledge Sharing Desk staff provides support to the ILO's Regional Office for Arab States and the Yemen Project

⁵³ The Media and Development League, 2005, "Organisational structure of the League".

Team whenever they ask for materials such as project report checklists, media booklets and training materials from other projects as well as some hands on tools for its implementation. The Knowledge Sharing Desk and virtual forum in connecting all field offices has been helpful in terms of exchange of ideas and experiences of gender issues in the field. Conference calls between HQ, the Regional Office and the project in Yemen also facilitate communications.

For Phase 2 of the Project, another very important role that could be achieved by this objective is for DGWW to be the main source of knowledge, information and data (both quantitative and qualitative) concerning women and work in Yemen.

4.4.1 Establishment of a data bank

The databank has been established as a knowledge management and sharing tool by the Project Team. It is a resource of data and information (in Arabic and English) on working women for institutions and individuals working on gender issues in Yemen within MOSAL and beyond. The data bank includes: a website in Arabic on Project activities, as well as links to relevant documents, and websites; a collection of downloadable documents, studies, and articles related to working women and gender issues; a comprehensive list of all Women Directorates and Organizations working on women's issues, their activities, contacts and events in Yemen; and a bulletin with newspaper cuttings and related articles on women's issues to be disseminated to all Women Directorates and related organizations.

At least two members of the DGWW have been given the responsibility for the identification and scanning of articles and other materials on a daily basis. These materials are then systematically codified under topics, and filed electronically.

4.4.2 'Workers Profiles'

These are case studies of Yemeni workers from all walks of life (agriculture, industry, public sector, informal sector, domestic work, etc.). Some of these profiles have been written up and are used in capacity building initiatives but more are to be collected. Terms of reference for the profiles focus on the documentation of "...the struggles of women in achieving their current work status, the social prejudices that they encounter, and the juggling act between work, home and family"⁵⁴. The DGWW is working closely with the Women's Directorate in the Ministry of Agriculture in order to highlight profiles of rural women and their work ⁵⁵.

It is unclear whether the profiles will include women only or also men. The extent to which the analysis of the cases will be put in the context of gender relations, is also unclear. Given that these profiles will provide much needed qualitative data, additional effort might be needed to refine the TORs and perhaps to decide a common methodology and approach among those responsible for the collection of the case studies. An interview with the staff member in the Ministry of Agriculture in charge of the profiles confirmed the need for such an intervention.

4.4.3 Production of brochures, calendar and project information sheets

In addition to the website, the Project Team also produces brochures, a calendar and project information sheets for the DGWW. It also now has its own logo. These materials for dissemination have been developed through consultation and testing with the DGWW and other MOSAL staff. This work helped create visibility and recognition of the DGWW in MOSAL and by national partners in Yemen⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ ILO/DGWW (2005), "Project Activities Update", August, p. 6

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 6

⁵⁶ Esim, Simel and Ksaifi, Najwa (2004) Progress Report, June-December 2004, ILO, 2004, p. 5.

PART 2

5. HAS THE PROJECT CREATED THE CONDITIONS TO INSTITUTIONALISE CHANGE?

In this section, the 'web of institutionalisation' (see Section 3) is used to summarise the key findings of the evaluation. The aim of this section is to synthesise the previous analysis to assess how far the Project has created the conditions to institutionalise gender mainstreaming in women's employment issues in Yemen. In Phase I, the Project focused on 'gender specific' activities, as well as 'gender mainstreaming' activities. However, given that gender mainstreaming can only be achieved in the long run, activities towards it in the short term can only put the seeds towards this aim.

The Web of institutionalisation (Appendix 3) has been developed to understand and operationalise what needs to be put in place for gender mainstreaming. The 'web' identifies 13 elements, each of which is regarded as a critical sight of power in the process of mainstreaming gender equality in the interactions between the state, the market and civil society. The elements are grouped into four spheres, each of which interacts with each other, to reinforce the conditions for change. These are: 'the organisational sphere', 'the citizen sphere', 'the 'delivery' sphere and 'the policy sphere'⁵⁷. It is only when all these elements and the relations between them are put in place that gender mainstreaming can really be institutionalised.

5.1 'The organisational sphere' (in the right/top hand corner of the 'Web', see Appendix 3), includes Mainstream responsibility for gender, staff development and procedures. This is the sphere where the Project has focused most of its work.

Mainstream responsibility for gender is a very important element in this sphere. As described under the background section of this report, the process of creating a women's machinery started in Yemen through the establishment of the National Women Committee and the Women Directorates in various institutions. These are the entities that are given the de facto responsibility for women/gender issues. However, women and men can only attain their full rights as citizens in all aspects of their lives when all institutions share the responsibility for gender issues. This is the goal that the Project Staff have been pursuing in working to spread this responsibility among all its partners.

For this reason, the Project targeted staff development. In its approach to staff development, the Project Team went beyond just training and worked towards institutional building through putting in place fora for dialogue, consultation, coordination and cooperation. As this Report has discussed in detail, the Project has been very successful in pursuing and consolidating capacity building over time and in different ways. These include lectures, workshops, exchange of information and knowledge in meetings, retreats, supervisory visits, critical readings of materials etc. Most of these activities involve representatives from all the partner organisations, creating a common language and possibility for debate. Phase II can only build on this and continue consolidating newly acquired knowledge and skills.

Another aspect of staff development relates to the DGWW and DWW staff who have not only expanded their capacity to fulfil the objectives of the Project but also demonstrate a deep commitment to their work. This has largely been due to their feeling that they are involved in a worthwhile project that has achieved positive results from the outset. The inspiring leadership of the ILO CTA played a key role both in achieving these good results, and in establishing enthusiasm and a team spirit among the staff. Both the CTA and Project Coordinator have established a non-hierarchical and participatory style of working that has created a dynamic that is conducive to work and to learning. The

⁵⁷ In this section I am using the methodological tool that guided this evaluation 'The Web of Institutionalisation' see p. 4 of this Report

backstopping work provided by the ILO's Regional Gender Advisor, daily contact and support as well as regular visits to the Project has also been crucial to the efficient and effective implementation of the Project activities. Support of the ILO Regional Office Programming Unit and the Administrative and Finance Unit have also been instrumental to the smooth running of the Project. Of particular importance was on-the-job training given by the regional administrative management in the field to the Project Team at the start of the project.

In discussing the issue of staff development, it is important to point out that for the work of DGWW and DWW to be sustainable there is a need for continuous revision of workloads and the way in which they approach their work. While they are very clear that they should not go beyond their mandate, in their total commitment to the Project they run the risk of taking on more and more responsibilities. Perhaps there might be some potential in Phase II to hire staff that can help them achieve their vision for what the Project can achieve.

The Project Team has also been successful in putting in place clear and unified procedures such as job descriptions, terms of reference, work plans, which are all regularly monitored. The ILO Regional Office Programming Unit and Administrative Finance Unit, played a key role in facilitating bureaucratic procedures to allow for flexibility in responding to an ad hoc evolution of activities based on the demand in the field. The synergy created between HQ (Gender Bureau), ILO Regional Office (Regional Gender Specialist, Regional Programming Unit and Administration and Finance Unit) and the ILO/MOSAL Project Team on the ground, were instrumental in the progress of the Project.

Procedures also play a key role in institutionalising cross cutting issues, such as gender, in the daily work of the staff. While some work to integrate gender issues in the procedures of the other Directorates of MOSAL has already been undertaken, more work in Phase II could focus on working with MOSAL staff to revise their procedures and to examine the extent to which gender has been taken into account. For example, inspectors from MOSAL fill out forms and/or checklists based on their findings during their periodic visits to workplaces. While some items on these forms and checklists are designed for recording data in a sex disaggregated way, this is not systematised and in some cases non-existent. It is therefore not always possible to tell if there were certain health risks in a particular premise, who affects (women/men) and in what way. Issues around legal rights of the workers might not also be recorded in a way that indicates who is affected and how. Some of the interviewees explained that employers might not even record their employees' salaries by sex. This is something that MOSAL can insist on changing.

Systematic reviews of and integration of gender in all the procedures of MOSAL Directorates, could be an area of the work for the Project in the next phase. Again the team could provide technical support for this rather than carry out the actual work.

5.2 The 'citizen sphere' (in the left/bottom hand corner of the 'Web', see Appendix 3), is another sphere in which the Project has carried out some of its work. While in its organisational building the Project has not as yet directly addressed workers or employers, the element of women's and men's experience and their interpretation of their reality is central to the activities of the Project. Whether it is in the training or activities related to creating spaces for dialogue and coordination, women, and in some cases gender relations, are a subject of discussion and analysis. While most interviewees for this evaluation had some understanding of the realities of women's conditions at work, not all had a full appreciation of the layers of constraints imposed on them at the level of the household, society and the workplace and/or in the market place. However, some did highlight these restrictions which go beyond statistics. For example, a few interviewees brought up the way in which society's conservative attitude to girls'

education already puts them at a disadvantage. Studies and interviewees, discussed issues related to restrictions to women's mobility and negative attitudes to women's work outside the home; society's rigid views around gender division of labour at work, perceived as what is women's work and as men's work; the rigid gender division in the household, with women not only taking full responsibility for reproductive activities but also their very heavy family obligations around births, weddings, sickness and funerals. In terms of access to and control over resources, women have limited access to collateral such as land, capital and livestock. In rural areas they work as unpaid labour. When they work in the informal sector, they have less access to the market⁵⁸.

When women work in the public sector, while there are no policies that restrict women's promotion, they are mostly found in middle level jobs and jobs that are found to be suitable for women. It is in the private sector that Yemeni women are the least protected. While young unmarried women may find work in factories or companies, they often get pressurised/harassed into leaving their jobs when they get married. Even business women encounter obstacles and continually have to fight against customs and traditions relating to their perceived gender roles and stereotypes.⁵⁹

As mentioned above, the layers of restrictions that women face, while perhaps known to all the Project partners, does not really translate into an appreciation of its implications, nor a commitment to work towards lifting these restrictions. This is one of the main reasons the Project targeted the Chambers of Commerce and the Trade Unions as main actors who could play a key role in exerting pressure on behalf of their political constituencies.

The work in this sphere focused mostly on the element concerning the pressure of political constituencies. Partly this overlaps with the work done under the 'organisational sphere' as regards the Trade Unions and Chambers of Commerce. Women in the Unions are making some advances in terms of representation. According to interviews, this is not only because of the commitment of some of the male leadership in the Trade Unions, but also because of the strong women leadership in some of the Governorates. In addition, some argued that recently both female and male workers are changing their attitude towards women as leaders. "There is tendency towards not trusting men's commitment. They are seen as wanting to advance their own interests, and they have their own allegiances. Women are seen as more non-partisan and more trustworthy", one of the interviewees explained (Interview, 2005).

As in the case of MOSAL, the Trade Unions still have some way to go in terms of gender mainstreaming. While the situation of women in the Unions might have improved slightly, there is still work to be done in this area as women are still greatly under represented (range from 10 to 15% at different levels)⁶⁰. Interviews also confirm some of the findings by Al Hakimi et al⁶¹, about the fact that women in the Unions face daily struggles to affirm their full membership position vis-à-vis their male colleagues. For example, women are often excluded from fully participating in decision making as meetings are often held outside working hours in men-only gatherings. While some powerful women in the Unions have challenged this and asked to be debriefed before final decisions are made, this system has not as yet been institutionalised. "Despite the challenges, we have

⁵⁸ For more details see Al Hakimi, Abdel Salam, Karash, Reda and Sheikh, Khalid (Supervisor), (2005), The General Workers' Union/Yemen, ILO/Geneva and Durr, Mona Lisa (2004) "Employment Trends for Women in Yemen", GDWW/ILO

⁵⁹ ILO (2005), "Employers' Organisation Taking the Lead on Gender Equality: Case Studies from 10 Countries", ILO Bureau of Employment, p. 84

⁶⁰ Al Hakimi, Abdel Salam, Karash, Reda and Sheikh, Khalid (Supervisor), (2005), The General Workers' Union/Yemen, ILO/Geneva

⁶¹ Al Hakimi, Abdel Salam, Karash, Reda and Sheikh, Khalid (Supervisor), (2005), The General Workers' Union/Yemen, ILO/Geneva

recently started to have a better status and we are more listened to in the meetings” (Interview, 2005).

The full commitment of the Unions to advance the rights of all its constituents, both women and men workers, and to put this commitment into action still needs to be institutionalised. Some members of the Women Committees are determined to achieve this aim. However, they still need to work towards learning from the DGWW as to how to be the catalyst for gender mainstreaming rather than to take the full responsibility for activities related to women’s issues. According to interviews, the relation between the DGWW, DWWs and the Trade Unions has been a solid one, allowing for more work towards gender mainstreaming in Phase II. A very supportive and appreciative letter was written by the Director General of the Trade Unions that demonstrate a clear commitment to the Project. The letter was written to the ILO Regional Director highlighting the uniqueness of the Project in creating dialogue and cooperation with MOSAL⁶².

Less success has been achieved in relation to the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. While representatives from the Chambers are involved in all the tripartite activities of the Project, it seems their commitment to gender issues is lagging behind. This resistance obviously goes beyond the Project and what it can achieve, as it relates to the position of the Chambers of Commerce themselves and their constituents vis-à-vis workers rights in general, and women’s rights in particular. “Women spend half of their life on leave. The employer cannot afford that – business comes first”, was a comment made by one of the Chambers of Commerce interviewees (Interview, 2005). Another added “Employers only like younger unmarried women. It is very expensive to have married women as employees”. Despite this, the Project has made some gains, and has been able to solicit the commitment of some individuals among the leadership structure as shown under section 2.3.3. More work in Phase II will have to consolidate and deepen this work.

Another big challenge that the Project has taken on in its work with the tripartite institutions is to involve them in most of its activities, and by creating opportunities for dialogue. “For a long time they had stopped talking to each other”, was what a senior MOSAL staff member said referring to the Trade Unions and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Interview, 2005).

The historic and institutional tensions between the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Trade Unions keep manifesting themselves in a number of ways. Interviewees from the Chambers of Commerce and Industry kept bringing up their doubts about whether the Unions are really interested in cooperation or whether they are still, as they said ‘stuck in the 60s’ with their strikes. The Trade Union interviewees said that their main aim was to protect workers’ rights as well as their jobs, and if employers go by these principles then there is no need for conflict. However, they added, employees keep resisting this and often do not even agree to the formation of unions in their enterprises.

There is a general agreement that the Project has opened venues for dialogue between the two institutions alongside with MOSAL. The degree that this can be translated into cooperation and coordination between and among the tripartite institutions remains to be seen.

Another institution that belongs to pressure of political constituencies is the media. While there has been some advances in this area of work, this needs to be consolidated during Phase II by identifying experts in the area of gender and employment in Yemen to either directly address these issues in the media or support media personnel to cover these issues in a more substantive way.

⁶² Letter from Mr Yehya Al Kohlany, Director General of the General Federation of Trade Unions, to Mr Taleb Al Rafi, ILO Regional Director, 11 November 2005

Representative political structure has not yet directly been addressed by the Project in the first phase of its activities. Given the power that, for example, the Parliament has in terms of legislation and policies that affect women's employment, more concerted efforts to find allies in these structures could be included in Phase II of the Project. One strategy to achieve this could be to help form a network of activists and, as mentioned above, members of pressure groups that the Project is involved with, who would act as a 'watch dog' for any changes that occur at policy or legislative levels that might work counter to women's interests and rights. It is important to make alliances not only with women but also with men who strive for social justice and social change. Lobbying and forming alliances with both male and female members of representative political structures could constitute valuable support for an effective advocacy campaign in the future.

5.3 'The 'delivery' sphere', (in the right/bottom hand corner of the 'Web', see Appendix 3), constitutes a very good opportunity for a concrete demonstration of gender mainstreaming through the 'delivery' of programmes and projects. During Phase I, gender mainstreaming efforts were primarily carried out in the 'organisational sphere'. Pilot projects delivering directly to women workers (as the 'ultimate target group') could be introduced in Phase II. These projects could be chosen from among on-going or new project carried out in one or two other MOSAL Directorates, Labour Union, Chambers of Commerce and/or another line Ministry (e.g. Ministry of Agriculture). The DGWW would play the role of catalyst not implementer. The aim would be to concretely demonstrate how gender can be mainstreamed in such projects.

There would be at least three outcomes from this process. First, to start targeting the ultimate beneficiaries; second it could demonstrate through 'learning by doing' how to design and implement a properly 'gendered' project; third it would enable lessons to be learned so that gender mainstreaming can be extended in the directorate and/or to other organisation/s involved in the pilot.

As mentioned above, the methodology of the Project follows a system of building blocks, cross fertilisation and the creation of synergies. No activity is 'one off', everything is part of a process aimed at gradual and mutually reinforcing elements. The methodology followed in all activities is also participative and consultative.

Another level of methodology that is important to examine here is whether the approach of the Project is 'women focused' or 'gender focused'. The debate about women and gender has been long and heated among academics, development practitioners and activists. Feminists, whether they favour a 'women approach' or a 'gender approach' have generally agreed that the ultimate aim of their work focuses on challenging the inequality and subordination of women. The main difference between them is both a methodological and an ideological one. Generally, those who use a 'women approach' aim to understand the situation of women and girls, and then work with other women to target women and girls with the aim to achieving societal change. On the other hand, generally, those working with gender, aim to understand the situation of women through studying women, men, girls and boys and the relationship among and between them. On the basis of this analysis, they can then strategically choose to work with women, or women and men, or men. Most working with a 'gender approach' tend to think that ultimately the situation of women will not fundamentally change, and power relations in society will not be transformed, until women demand it and unless men recognise it and both act to achieve social change. Not everyone involved in the Project follows the same approach. While some have a very clear gender focus, others have a women focus. This is not in itself a problem as long as it is recognised and there is no conflation between the two and as long as it does not constitute a constraint to the whole methodological approach to the Project. Perhaps this could be the focus of discussion amongst the Project Team in the near future.

Applied research is another element in this sphere where the Project has invested a great deal of effort. Three important studies were finalised and a fourth is on its way. All have been used to support the work around institutional building and will also be central to any future work that targets the ultimate aim of reaching the needs and interests of women workers. To do this effectively, a diagnosis of the situation of women in Yemeni society is crucial. Most quantitative research in this field, while necessary, often stops at an appreciation of the symptoms rather than the root causes for the constraints on women's work. More in depth research to unearth this can only happen through an analysis of how gender division of labour, access to and control over resources and power relations, manifest themselves in a particular context. This, as discussion under 'methodology', is amongst other, what makes a difference between a 'women' focus and a 'gender' focus approach.

More qualitative research could be commissioned in Phase II, in order to enrich and deepen the understanding of all the Project partners around gender issues in employment. As discussed under the element of 'women and men's experience and their interpretation of their reality', while many of those interviewed for this evaluation may know about the discriminatory practices against women in work and the statistics that demonstrate how women lag behind in education and employment, these 'facts' are often repeated a bit like a mantra. Some may even say 'women do all the work in rural areas but this is unpaid work', in the same breath they would say, 'yes but her needs are met by her husband – so what does she have to be paid for?' (Interview, 2005)

The results of both quantitative and qualitative research are key to advocacy work. In the context of this Project, the results of the research would strengthen the work around reaching and influencing politicians and policy makers through pressure of political constituents as well as reaching women and men citizens through the media.

Another type of research is more 'institutional' research. According to many interviewees, the main problems that face the employment sector, and more specifically gender issues within the employment sector, are a result of the gap between policy and legislation, and their implementation. Research that can properly diagnose this could also be a valuable addition to Phase II. Additional research for Phase II should be commissioned from national or regional researchers who would work with teams of junior researchers working in partner organisations. This could be another layer of capacity building.

5.4 'The policy sphere' (in the left/top hand corner of the 'Web', see Appendix 3), is another important dimension for gender mainstreaming as it deals with political commitment, resources and policy, planning and legislation.

Working towards widening the political commitment to gender issues among the Project partners, has been one of the aims of the Projects. As mentioned above, some successes have been achieved in this respect. However, the commitment seems to have stayed at the level of some individuals rather than at the level of institutions. Given that political commitment to gender often means change in deeply held attitudes and challenge to the status quo and to existing power relations, it often meets resistances. However, a strategy to address this is to build alliances and create common platforms with like-minded individuals to work towards the creation and consolidation of the political commitment at the institutional level. The beginning of this strategy has been put in motion by the Project Team. Phase II can be used to go further with this work.

Existing policy level commitments 'on paper' are an opportunity on which this work can be built. For example, in the context of Yemen, as mentioned earlier, the Constitution along with various international treaties and conventions to which Yemen is signature, uphold principles of equalities and justice for all Yemeni women and men, girls and boys. In the context of Yemen, as elsewhere, these commitments are not put into practice.

Highlighting how this is manifested in the context of Yemen, as discussed above, could be the focus of research.

The allocation of resources is often an important test for the level of political commitment to a particular issue. As mentioned earlier in this Report, the Women Directorates hardly receive any government funding. The work of the Project Team around creating political commitment to gender issues will need to be pursued during Phase II. The Project Team could play a catalyst role in securing that the government allocates resources to the DGWW and DWWs. This would be an important contribution to the sustainability of DGWW and DWWs, and a demonstration of more political commitment on the part of MOSAL. The Minister of MOSAL can be an asset towards achieving this aim. As in the case of the Director General of the Trade Unions, he wrote a letter to both the ILO Regional Director and to the Netherlands Ambassador, expressing his admiration for the Project and its success in promoting gender issues⁶³.

At another level, the management budget of the Project, has been efficient, smooth and transparent. The Project staff was trained by the ILO ROAS Program and the staff of the Administrative and Finance Unit around a unified system for financial reporting. The funds are decentralized in the sense that they do not sit in ILO Geneva, but in Beirut. Allocations are made based on proposals with full detailed budgets upon the review and approval of the Regional Gender Advisor.

Policy, planning and legislation is a very important level at which gender concerns need to be addressed in a way that equally protects women and men's rights and meet their needs. As mentioned earlier, there has been a general consensus that women's rights are somewhat protected at the level of policy and legislation in Yemen. When it comes to the enforcement of these laws (including labour laws) or the translation of policy into development programmes and projects, women's issues are not addressed.

One of the Project studies, by Durr, carries out a review of recent Yemeni strategies and plans highlighting how gender issues are addressed⁶⁴. For example, in the Five-Year Economic and Social Development Plan (2001-2005) there is an emphasis on the importance of enhancing women's opportunities in joining the labour market and the decision-making structures including having a role in drawing up laws and policies. The Plan, according to Durr, also stipulates the need to implement the labour law, 'which provides equal rights to men and women in regards to job positions and wages'⁶⁵. The National Strategy for Women's Employment (2001-2011), includes a number of strategic objectives to enhance women's employment opportunities and increase their labour force participation⁶⁶. As mentioned in the introduction of this Report, the Project is working towards the institutional building necessary to get these strategies implemented. While this is very important, government resources and commitment will also be necessary requirements for the full implementation of these strategies.

There are a number of national level policies which present challenges to the implementation of strategies aiming to address women's inequalities in work. One of these is privatisation and the promotion of foreign investment. A number interviewees argued that the situation of women has deteriorated a great deal under these two policies. "A public sector carpentry factory used to employ 15% women among its labour force. When it was privatised the employer got rid of most of the women. Now they are only 2%" a MOSAL employee said (Interview, 2005). Another added "The minute a company or a factory is privatised they get rid of women and the handicapped" (Interview, 2005).

⁶³ Letter from the Minister of MOSAL to Mr Taleb Al Rafai the Director General of the Trade Unions and Mr Johan F. L. Blankenberg, the Netherlands Ambassador, 21 June 2005.

⁶⁴ See Durr, Mona Lisa (2004), "Employment Trends for Women in Yemen", ILO in collaboration with DGWW and LMIS.

⁶⁵ Ibid, pp. 31-32

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 33

“Most of the new jobs in Aden are around tourism, restaurants and hotels. Because of our conservative society, women will have no access to these jobs” (Interview, 2005). Given the importance of these policies, one of the in-depth research studies that the Project could commission in Phase II could be the impact of privatisation and the promotion of foreign investment on women and men.

A number of interviewees also brought up the issue of legislation and the existing labour laws that have been put in place to protect women’s rights at work. Again these laws are often ignored or manipulated by the employers. For example the law says if an employer has more than 50 women employees, he/she has to have a crèche. As a result employers either employ only 49 women, or have more women working for them but without contracts. “We have no power to get the employers to do anything”, one of the inspectors in MOSAL said (Interview, 2005).

More concerted efforts are needed in this sphere. In Phase II coordination between different civil society organisations around building a strategy to influence decision makers and achieve better political commitment towards gender issues in employment and women’s rights is important (see the ‘citizen’s sphere’ above).

6. IMPACT ASSESMENT⁶⁷

6.1 Relevance

Enhancing women’s employment is the ultimate aim of this Project, and in the context of the socio-economic and cultural conditions in the Yemen, this is and remains a relevant focus. However, those agencies with responsibility for employment and working conditions, lack commitment and capacity to address the rights of women within this mandate. Therefore, the strategic choice to treat the organisations responsible as the direct target group of the Project is an important and legitimate rationale for achieving the ultimate aim.

6.2 Effectiveness

Despite the challenges the Project has been facing in terms of complex inter and intra historical institutional relations, which in some cases are conflictive, it has been able to establish good working relations with all concerned. Through the process, the DGWW has gained the respect of its partners and is seen to be doing a good job. Efforts for capacity building have already achieved some good results. Gender mainstreaming efforts are ongoing and some individuals in the different institutions involved in the Project have started to show signs of political commitment to gender issues. While ‘social dialogue’ is still in its infancy, a number of steps have been taken by the Project Team to support its introduction as a mechanism for coordination and cooperation among the tripartite institutions.

6.3 Efficiency

The Project, with its limited resources has been able to achieve good results despite its short life span. The main reason for this is the ability of the Project Team to deal with the different components and activities of the Project in a holistic way creating synergy among and between them, and leading to multiplier effects.

6.4 Sustainability

The Project established a good foundation through capacity building with not just one-off training but also through a range of other activities for follow-up in order to consolidate newly acquired skills. Also a number of channels for dialogue were established among

⁶⁷ The delivery rate of the project by the end of 2005 was 87.55%. This, it is believed, is one of the highest delivery rates under the NPP/ILO umbrella framework

and between the institutions involved with women's employment issues, and political commitment to gender issues among some key individuals was achieved. While these are all seeds for future sustainability, additional strategies are required to deepen the institutionalisation of these changes to ensure the sustainability of the outcomes and impact of the Project.

7. CONCLUSIONS

"Many donor funded projects want to get away from the bureaucracy by creating their own space separate from government institutions. This Project has located itself firmly within the Ministry. It has maintained its uniqueness and flexibility while not being separate. The members of the Team work truly like a unit. There is no struggle and no negativity between them. They are efficient, effective and well organised" (Interview, 2005).

This was an opinion expressed by a senior MOSAL staff member. Respect for and admiration of The Project Team and what it has achieved in 18 months, were central to the comments of many interviewees.

In its vision and approach, and the methodology by which it has been implemented, the Project can be used as an example of 'good practice'. In the view of the evaluator, very few Women Directorates/units have been able to achieve much success in their work because they loose the focus of their *raison d'être*. Women National machineries can only be effective if their mandate clearly remains as a catalyst not an implementer to mainstream gender in the sector in which they operate. This involves working towards strengthening the commitment to gender issues and providing the support for the translation of this commitment into action. This is what all the activities of the Project are clearly pursuing and will need to consolidate and strengthen with additional strategies in Phase II.

PART III

8. MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

While a number of suggestions for the Project's next phase have already been discussed throughout the Report, this section will select and summarise them under 5 main recommendations. Many of these recommendations build on the work that has already started in Phase I. Before getting into this discussion it is important to emphasise here the reasons for the need for this Project to continue its work.

Despite its short life span, Phase I of the Project is a demonstration of 'good practice' for the following reason:

- There is a clear and realistic vision about the Project focus;
- There is a clear and systematic methodology in the formulation and design of the Project which has been implemented effectively and efficiently;
- It reflects a rare understanding of the role of Women National machineries as catalysts and not implementers of women projects;
- It is effective in building alliances and opening up venues for cooperation;
- It works on the basis of cross-fertilisation between different interventions leading to the creation of synergies and value added.

Within the time frame and resources available in Phase I, the Project has succeeded in laying down the necessary foundations to achieving institutional building. However, these foundations need consolidation before it is possible to say that the ultimate aim can be met: that is, that organisations involved with women's issues in employment can

truly address the huge challenge of meeting women's demands for their rights and for gender equality.

In the following tables, related problems and potentials discussed in previous sections of the Report have been grouped in the first column, and a recommendation is made in the second column of the table, to address these problems and make the most of the existing potentials. These recommendations have already been discussed at some length in Section 5 of the Report. The recommendations were selected with the idea of being able to have a multiplier effect towards the Project outcomes. In the third and fourth columns of the table, the actions that will be needed to achieve the recommendation and the different actors that will be responsible for implementing them are identified respectively.

8.1 Organisational building through dialogue, coordination and cooperation

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATION	ACTION	RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL/ORGANISATIONS
<p>Problems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Historic and institutional tensions between and among the tripartite institutions. -Weak communication between MOSAL Directorates. <p>Potentials:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some gains by the Project to sustain dialogue. -Partners are brought together in different fora and for different activities giving an opportunity for different levels of dialogue and coordination. 	<p>8.1.1 Continue and consolidate the work that brings together DGWW, with the different MOSAL directorates and other partner organisations</p>	<p>8.1.1.1 Pursue meetings, lectures and workshops that bring partners together</p> <p>8.1.1.2 Suggest more concrete actions/projects that will bring the different participants together in addressing issues to do with gender and employment</p>	<p>Representatives from the tripartite institutions forming a task group with DGWW as coordinator</p>

8.2 Commitment to gender mainstreaming

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATION	ACTION	RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL/ORGANISATIONS
<p>Problems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Gender mainstreaming is still a vague notion for MOSAL and partners. -Commitment to gender issues has not yet been institutionalised. -Some interviewees said that they wanted to see the Project carry out activities with the ultimate target group (the workers). <p>Potentials:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Some individuals are committed to the idea of working women's rights -Capacity building activities and discussions have raised the awareness of representatives in MOSAL and partner organisations around the plight of women in work. 	<p>8.2.1 Consolidate and advance efforts toward gender mainstreaming in MOSAL and partner organisations</p>	<p>8.2.1.1 Demonstrating gender mainstreaming in a key on-going or new project carried out in other MOSAL Directorates and partner organisations. These will be projects targeting workers and/or employers directly.</p> <p>8.2.1.2 Systematically integrate gender in MOSAL procedures (forms, checklists etc).</p>	<p>The work will start with one or two MOSAL directorates. The Project Team will work in conjunction with the directorate staff to identify the pilot project, and give technical support for the way gender will be mainstreamed in it. The Project Team will work as catalyst not as implementer.</p> <p>Same as above</p>

8.3 Knowledge of gender issues in work

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATION	ACTION	RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL/ORGANISATIONS
<p>Problems: -While most who are involved with the Project might know the statistics around women and employment, their understanding and commitment often stops at rhetoric. - Complex issues such as those relating to power and its manifestation in gender relations, cannot be explained by large scale, quantitative research alone.</p> <p>Potentials: Phase I of the Project has produced good quantitative studies that can provide ideas for more in depth research.</p>	<p>8.3.1 Commission qualitative research that examines in depth, and from a gender perspective, the conditions of working women at work and beyond.</p> <p>Topics could include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investigating the reasons for the gap between policy/legislation and its implementation. The implications of existing protective laws on women's access to work. The impact of dominant policies (e.g. privatisation) on women and men. 	<p>8.3.1.1 Identify pertinent research that would challenge existing assumptions and/or explain in more depth findings that emerge from quantitative research.</p> <p>8.3.1.2 Identify a regional or national researcher who would work with teams of young local researchers with the aim of developing their research capacities.</p> <p>8.3.1.3 Write TORs for research to be undertaken following a 'gender focused' rather than 'women focused' methodology.</p> <p>8.3.1.4 Disseminate the research widely, including to working women and men and employers.</p> <p>8.3.1.5 Use the results for capacity building and advocacy work.</p>	<p>DGWW with local reseracher</p> <p>DGWW with key partners</p> <p>Senior Researcher working with a small team of researchers</p>

8.4 Effective Media campaigns

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATION	ACTION	RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL/ORGANISATIONS
<p>Problems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Media is not interested in development issues -Media staff do not have the capacity to cover development issues -The media often stops as covering women events and do not engage in substantive issues to do with women and employment. <p>Potentials:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -There is a media strategy in place and a Media and Development League. 	<p>8.4.1 Strengthen the media campaign focused on women and work in Yemen from a gender perspective</p>	<p>8.4.1.1 Identify development experts and activists who are interested in being involved in addressing gender issues in the media</p> <p>8.4.1.2 Identify with partners key topics to be covered in the media. This could build on the work under recommendation 3.</p> <p>8.4.1.3 Create cooperation between 'experts' and media personnel to produce substantial material that works towards attitudinal change in society.</p>	<p>DGWW as coordinators, activities and experts, and media personnel</p>

8.5 Advocacy at policy level

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATION	ACTION	RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL/ORGANISATIONS
<p>Problems:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Existing dominant policies do not prioritise social justice and equality. -Politicians and policy makers do not have enough political commitment to see to it that policies and legislation that promote human rights and equality (including gender equality) are implemented. <p>Potentials:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -There are already some policies and legislation in place that promote women's rights (the work will be around putting them into practice). -There are a number of knowledgeable individuals and strategically placed activists committed to gender issues. 	<p>8.5.1 Advocate for gender at policy and legislative levels</p>	<p>8.5.1.1 Identify activists, lawyers and members from among current or potential Project partners to form a network that can act as a 'watch dog' and as a lobby group for issues related to women's rights to and in work.</p> <p>8.5.1.2 Design and implement an advocacy strategy on gender issues in work, targeting policy and legislation changes and political commitment for their implementation.</p> <p>8.5.1.3 Build alliances with women and men among politicians, policy makers and legislators who are working for social justice and societal change.</p> <p>8.5.1.4 Build on outcomes of recommendations 8.3 and 8.4.</p>	<p>The Project Team in collaboration with key members in partner organisations, activist groups and experts</p>

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

List of interviews in Yemen (December 2-14)

- Saturday 2: Yaseen Abdou Saiid, Under Secretary of State, (MOSAL)
Najwa ksaifi (Chief Technical Advisor) and Lara Uhlenhaut
Project Coordinator (Briefing) -DGWW
Ali Mohamed Ahmed, Under Secretary of State for Labour
Relations (MOSAL)
- Sunday 3: Yehya Al Kohlany, Director General of the General
Federation of Trade Unions
Brief visit to the newly elected Labour Union women training
Reda Karhash, General Federation of Trade Unions
Meeting on MDGs
- Monday 4: Meeting with the Project team and presentation of evaluation
methodology
Mohamed Kefla, Director General, Chamber of Commerce and
Industry
Yehya Al Gony, Legal Advisor, Chamber of Commerce and
Industry
Nabiha Haidary
- Tuesday 5: Interviews with Project Team members:
Mona Mohamed
Sabah El Hindi, Field coordinator
Soad Al Kaderi, DGWW Coordinator
Tawfik Damaran, Director of the Directorate of Inspection,
MOSAL
Mohamed Salah, Director, Safety and Security Directorate,
MOSAL
- Wednesday 6: Abdel Raouf Al Kibssy, Project Team, Accountant
Rashida Al Hemdany, National Women Committee
Botheina Al Akwaa, Women Directorate. Ministry of
Agriculture
Lara Uhlenhaut, Project Coordinator
- Thursday 7: Jamila Ali Raja, Consultant for the Media Strategy
- Saturday 9: To Hadramout
Attendance of the Introduction to the Decent Work TOT
Workshop
Fouad Al Baoudy, Member of the Journalist Union
Nagat Saleh, Al Shourouk NGO
Omar Bawazeer, Director of Inspection Directorate, MOSAL
Latifa Basentof, Radio Presenter and Union member
Loffy Salem Balfekkeh, Director General Chamber of
Commerce and Industry
Darwish Abdallah Sowed, Director General, MOSAL
Hekmat Said, Director of Women Directorate MOSAL

Sunday 10: To Aden
 Ossman Kakou, Director General, Workers Union in Aden
 Kebla Said , Director General, NWC, Aden
 Sheikh Mohamed Bamashmoos, Sheikh Abdalah
 Ahmed Hady, Chamber of Commerce and Industry
 Fatma Mohame Yeslem, Director, Women Directorate MOSAL

Monday 11: Ayoub Abu Bakr Mohamed, Director General, MOSAL in Aden
 Dr Mohamed Al Baasi, Director, Office of Vocational Health
 Adel Al Ajami, Director, Office of Health and
 Security
 Abdalah Ali Ben Ali, Director of Disputes Office
 Mohamed Abdel Al Hag, Director of Labour Inspection
 Fayza Abdel Mougeed, Director, Women and Child
 Directorate
 Arwa Al Sayed , Director of the Arbitration Committee
 Nasser Elewa, Samira Ahmed, Ebtehal Bakhriba, Maktab al
 tachgheel

Back to Sana'a

Tuesday 12: Debriefing workshop with MOSAL representatives and Project
 Team
 Flavia Pansieri, UN coordinator, Resident Representative,
 UNDP

Wednesday 13: Workshop with Project Team

Appendix 2
DGWW/DWW STAFF

Sana'a

Maha M. A. Ghaleb	Director General
Suad A. Al-Kadiri	National Coordinator
Abdul Raoof Al-Kibsi	Accountant
Sabah Al-Hindi	Field Officer
Mona Abu Hatim	Executive Secretary

Aden

Fatima Islam (+2 assistants)	Director of DWW
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Taizz

Raja Al Akbari (+2 assistants)	Director of DWW
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Hodeidah

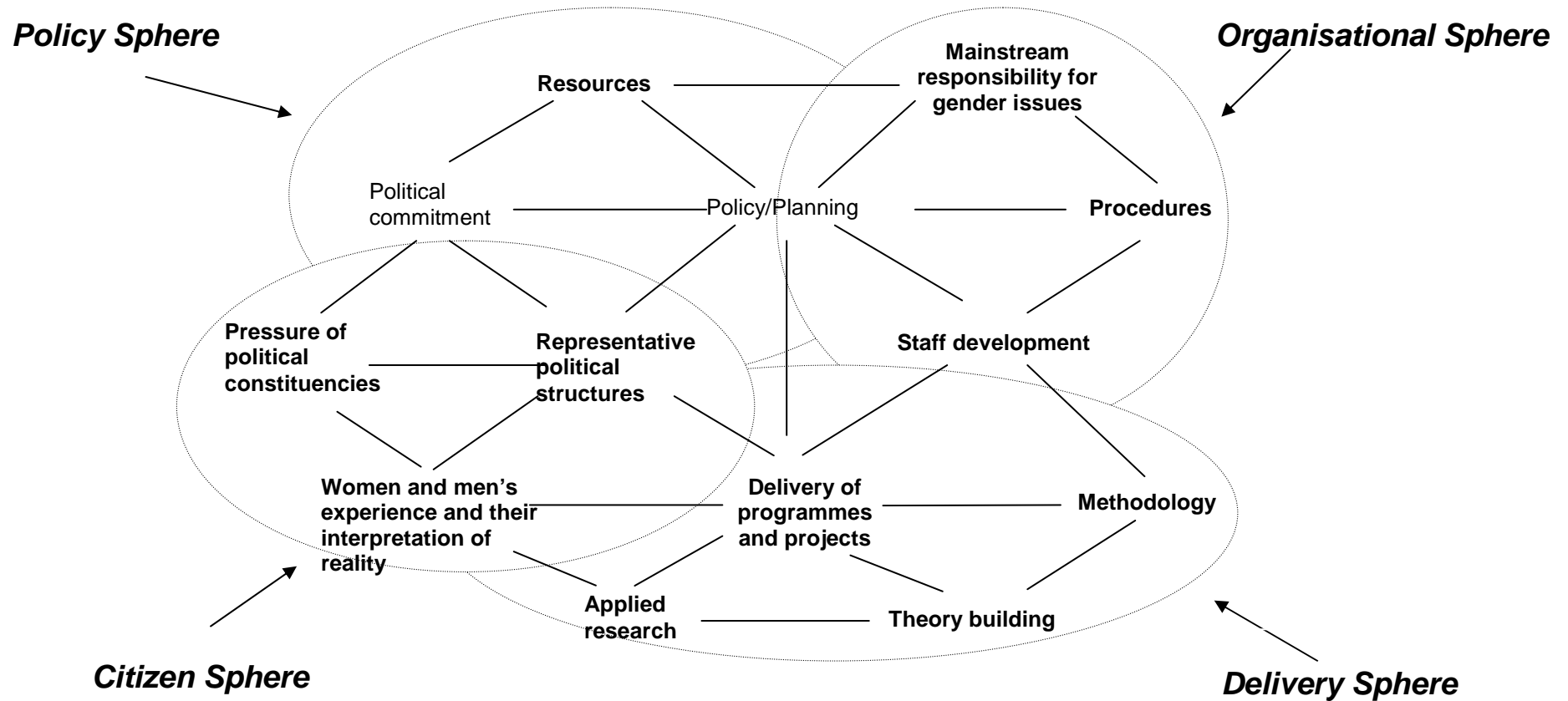
Raziki Abdallah (+2 assistants)	Director of DWW
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Hadramawt

Hikmat Al Shuaibi (+2 assistants)	Director of DWW
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APPENDIX 3

THE WEB OF INSTITUTIONALISATION



Source: Levy, Caren (1996) 'The Web of Institutionalisation', University College London (UCL), DPU Working Paper No74