Women, irrigation and social norms in Egypt: "The more things change, the more they stay the same?"



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Gender and Irrigation

- Sources were explicit that gender norms play a role in how people are able to access and control water (e.g., how project coordinators understood and responded to women's concerns)
- Gender norms identified as the the root cause for why women's engagements with and contributions to irrigation are ignored or undervalued
- Gender norms are subject to change, constantly being reproduced, contested, and negotiated as part of everyday social interaction
- Lack of sex-disaggregated data on impacts of water policies and technologies



Study Objectives

In Egypt women participate actively in irrigation and water management, however, their contributions are poorly understood and undervalued by land owners (typically men in their own families and communities) as well as by irrigation engineers and extension agents, as such we aim to:

- Identify and describe women's contributions to the irrigation sector; understand how norms determine that and are changed through time
- Make recommendations for improving women's access to irrigation technologies and participation in water governance

Methods (inspired by Gennovate)

- Survey administered to 402 farmers (202 women and 200 men) in the Old and New Lands of Egypt (Kafr Sheikh and Noubariya)
- Unstructured interviews (150) with men and women farmers, their families, irrigation officials as well as participant observation between 2014-2016.
- The two sites differ significantly in gender norms, levels of economic development

and biophysical dynamics (land ownership, education, extent of development agencies involvement, training, labour availability, agricultural system)







Irrigation Roles and Norms: Disruptions, Contradictions and Continuities

Social **norms that regulate women's decorum, propriety and mobility** as well as the **perceived need** for **physical strength** to carry out irrigation activities were frequently cited as the reasons for women's inability or unwillingness to participate in irrigation.

"Women cannot irrigate because irrigation comes in monawba [rotations]. If the water comes at 2 am, how would a woman go?"

"How can a woman possibly irrigate? It would require her to roll up her clothes."







Contradictory Survey Findings

- 87 percent of respondents in Kafr Sheikh (Old Lands) reported that women participate in irrigation activities on their families' lands and 6.5 percent believed that women and men contributed equally to irrigation on family farms.
- 68.8 percent of respondents in Noubariya (New Lands) reported that women participate in irrigation on their farms and 2.5 percent believed that women and men contributed equally to irrigation on their own farms.



Underlying Social Norms

Differed between the two regions due to different educational backgrounds, institutional support, land status and training:

"For sure there is no man in the house, for a woman to irrigate or clean a drain, she is obliged," explained a water engineer in KFS.

"I irrigate at night. I irrigate anytime. There are no jobs. I have to rent land. I have to teach my children," explained a widowed female farmer in KFS.

"Our women are educated. Our women here are trained on how to irrigate." explained a village engineer in Noubariya.

"We got the training: we know which irrigation technique to use on what. Trees require drip and field crops require sprinklers. We know that we have to stop irrigating the trees before they flower. We know which pesticide works on which disease, aphids, mildew," explained two women landholders in Noubariya.

Irrigation Technologies: Adoption and Impacts

 Male and female landholders ranked irrigation as the most important innovation introduced in the Old and New Lands in the past ten years but fewer women farmers adopted improved irrigation technologies.

"By pressing a button, you irrigate the land."

- "Now life is much easier, we used to carry those heavy aluminum rods to irrigate and we also had to move the sprinklers. Now there is drip and fixed sprinklers for irrigating the land. This has made irrigation far less difficult," explained a woman landholder.
- New technologies not only reduced drudgery but afforded women greater visibility.



Participation in Water Users' Associations

- Survey findings indicative of how low the participation of women is on WUAs.
 - Members were predominantly affluent men
 - Women marginalized as a consequence of their lack of education and low status
- Due to donor agenda, women in the Old Lands represented domestic water users and in the New Lands represented irrigation water users
- Notable case of women landholders in the New Lands (received training, pumps, donor support)
- Both women and men lost interest in WUAs upon loosing development agencies' support, especially so after the Revolution of 2011.

Conclusions

- Women are far more actively engaged in irrigation efforts in Egypt than is generally assumed and documented in the literature on the topic.
- Although women's invisibility in irrigation may be a consequence of their lower status and association with the domestic sphere (as in the Old Lands in Egypt), it is more often a consequence of the continuing association of irrigation with masculinity.
- Land ownership for women, especially when supported by higher levels of
 educational attainment, training in irrigation technologies, and institutional
 support for participating in local governance institutions, such as WUAs, appears to
 optimize women's participation in irrigation management and adoption of irrigation
 technologies.
- In the absence of wider political awareness among women and men about the
 value to society of greater gender equity, women's optimal participation in
 irrigation, and in social, economic and political realms more generally, can only be
 partially fulfilled through legal measures and policy interventions.

