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Rights-based approaches and social capital in addressing food and nutrition security of the poor and women:

A mixed-methods study of NGOs in Armenia and Georgia

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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SUMMARY

The role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for the improvement of women's and the poor's food and nutrition security and advancement of their human rights is gaining prominence in academic and public discourse. NGOs as civil society actors ideally should advocate for greater accountability of states' food and nutrition-related security programs and policies, support grass-roots efforts for democratized and improved food systems, and represent and protect the most food insecure groups. NGOs, nevertheless, have been criticized for creating dependency among the most food insecure, offering donor-driven top-down solutions and discouraging social mobilization efforts among the most disadvantaged and discriminated against groups. In this study we asked what encourages or prevents NGOs' engagement with the most marginalized and discriminated against groups, such as women and the poor, and what are the approaches NGOs use in addressing these groups' food and nutrition security. Applying a mixed quantitative and qualitative comparative analysis, this dissertation focused on NGOs in two post-Soviet countries located in the South Caucasus: Armenia and Georgia. During the twenty years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, both countries have experienced a rapid growth in NGOs and faced various political, economic, and social challenges. This study has produced three main sets of findings.

First, possible determinants for NGOs': involvement in food-oriented work; adoption of human rights-based approaches, including the right to adequate food; and gender mainstreaming were studied using results from an on-line electronic survey of 228 NGOs in Armenia and Georgia. Contrary to some literature claims that non-profits define their mandate in response to the shortcomings of the state, we found that NGO involvement was not determined by public demand alone, but rather as a compromise between various factors, including but not limited to the availability and support of donor funding and the organization's involvement in a relevant transnational network. We found that adoption of development and human rights concepts by national NGOs was associated with their involvement in networks with transnational donors or civil society organizations. Both adoption of gender mainstreaming and rights-based approaches were related to cooperation with UN agencies. These findings confirm and reinforce previous studies on vertical discursive flows from transnational actors to national NGOs. Organizations' self-reported engagement with the right to adequate food was rare in both countries, implying

both absent or weak ties with transnational actors propagating the right to adequate food on the one hand, and on the other hand to low priority paid to the right to adequate food by the food security oriented international organizations cooperating with NGOs in the South Caucasus.

Second, a qualitative study of fifty-seven local and international NGOs in Armenia and Georgia explored operational and institutional characteristics of NGOs involved in food and nutrition security. The objective of the research was to investigate how NGOs engage with food insecure groups, such as the poor, small-scale farmers, and rural women. The research found that NGOs' preferences in building networks and targeting specific groups were determined mainly by the identities of organization core members, most specifically by their gender and their social and economic status. National and international NGOs operating in Armenia and Georgia with male leadership pursued the collective organization of economically better-off male farmers and entrepreneurs, whereas female-led NGOs targeted better educated rural women. The overarching objective of male-led NGO interventions was improved economic gain, whereas female-led NGOs aimed to improve community-wellbeing through promotion of social justice and charity. NGOs were also different in terms of their composition: female-led NGOs relied significantly more on female members and rarely included men. Male-led NGOs often had men staff members, as well as male clients and programme participants. The study reconfirmed existing concerns that women's leadership, involvement, and participation is hampered in male-dominated groups. In addition to gender-based segregation, the extremely poor were represented neither by male or female NGO members, nor were they included in NGO attempts to encourage group formation or social mobilization. The findings support Pierre Bourdieu's argument that social capital accumulation is determined by social and economic proximities.

Lastly, the case study of a female-led NGO working with internally displaced rural women in Georgia demonstrated how the improvement of women's food and nutrition status was achievable when social isolation and structural discrimination in public and private spaces were acknowledged and addressed. As the case study showed, strengthening formal and informal communication networks and adopting participatory rights-based approaches enhanced the rural women's reach to public law and oversight, thus encouraging their self-determination. Supporting bottom-up livelihood

strengthening initiatives and addressing violence contributed to internally displaced rural women's potential to realize the right to adequate food.

The dissertation findings represent an advance in the understanding of the role of national and international civil society actors in improving food and nutrition security of the most marginalized and discriminated groups. The study enriches the limited but growing research on rights-based approaches in development as an alternative to technocratic solutions. The dissertation contributes to the research in international development, agriculture and rural development, and broader social theory.

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Betreuerin: Prof. Dr. Anne C. Bellows

Titel: Rechtsbasierte Ansätze und Sozialkapital in der Verbesserung der Ernährungssicherheit der von Armut Betroffenen und Frauen: Eine quantitative und qualitative Untersuchung von NGOs in Armenien und Georgien

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Rolle von Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NGOs) in der Verbesserung der Ernährungssicherheit der Frauen und der von Armut Betroffenen sowie in der Förderung derer Menschenrechte gewinnt derzeit an Bedeutung im akademischen und öffentlichen Diskurs. Im Idealfall sollten NGOs, als zivilgesellschaftliche Akteure, sich für eine verstärkte Rechenschaftspflicht in staatlichen Programmen und politischen Maßnahmen zur Förderung der Ernährungssicherheit einsetzen, Bemühungen von Basisbewegungen für demokratisierte und verbesserte Ernährungssysteme unterstützen, und die am stärksten von Ernährungsunsicherheit betroffenen Gruppen vertreten und schützen. Dennoch sind NGOs für die Schaffung von Abhängigkeiten unter den am stärksten von Ernährungsunsicherheit Betroffenen durch die Bereitstellung von gebergesteuerten „Top-Down"-Lösungen und die Entmutigung von Bemühungen zur sozialen Mobilisierung unter den am meisten benachteiligten und diskriminierten Gruppen kritisiert worden. In dieser Studie fragten wir, welche Faktoren förderlich oder hinderlich für ein Engagement von NGOs mit den am stärksten marginalisierten und diskriminierten Gruppen sind, beispielsweise Frauen und die von Armut Betroffenen, und welche Ansätze von NGOs verwendet werden bei der Auseinandersetzung mit der Ernährungssicherheit dieser Gruppen. Die quantitativ und qualitativ vergleichende Analyse dieser Dissertation konzentrierte sich auf NGOs in zwei postsowjetischen Ländern im Südkaukasus: Armenien und Georgien. Während der zwanzig Jahre, die dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion folgten, haben beide Länder ein schnelles Wachstum des NGO-Sektors erfahren und sahen sich mit mannigfaltigen politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Herausforderungen konfrontiert. Diese Studie ergab drei Hauptsätze von Erkenntnissen.

Zunächst wurden folgende mögliche Determinanten für das Engagement von NGOs unter Verwendung von Ergebnissen aus einer elektronischen Online-Befragung von 228 NGOs in Armenien und Georgien untersucht: die Mitwirkung an ernährungsorientierten Projekten; Anwendung menschenrechtsbasierter Ansätze, einschließlich des Rechts auf

angemessene Nahrung; und Gender Mainstreaming. Im Gegensatz zu den Behauptungen einiger Publikationen darüber, dass gemeinnützige Organisationen ihr Mandat als Reaktion auf die Defizite des Staates definieren, fanden wir heraus, dass das Engagement von NGOs nicht nur durch die öffentliche Nachfrage bestimmt wurde, sondern vielmehr ein Kompromiss zwischen mehreren Faktoren darstellte, einschließlich jedoch nicht ausschließlich der Verfügbarkeit von und Unterstützung durch Gebermittel sowie der Beteiligung der Organisationen an relevanten transnationalen Netzwerken. Wir stellten fest, dass die Anwendung von Konzepten über Entwicklung und Menschenrechte durch nationale NGOs mit ihrer Einbindung in Netzwerken mit transnationalen Gebern oder mit Organisationen der Zivilgesellschaft verbunden waren. Die Umsetzung von Gender Mainstreaming und menschenrechtsbasierten Ansätzen stand in Zusammenhang mit einer Kooperation mit Agenturen der Vereinten Nationen. Diese Ergebnisse bestätigen und untermauern frühere Studien über vertikale diskursive Ströme von transnationalen Akteuren auf nationale NGOs. Eigenangaben der Organisationen über ihr Engagement für das Recht auf angemessene Nahrung waren für beide Länder selten, was einerseits auf abwesende oder schwache Verbindungen zu transnationalen Akteuren, die das Recht auf angemessene Nahrung propagieren, hinweist, und andererseits auf eine geringe Priorisierung des Rechts auf angemessene Nahrung durch die internationalen Organisationen, die mit NGOs im Südkaukasus zusammenarbeiten und sich am Ernährungssicherheits-Ansatz orientieren.

Zweitens erforschte eine qualitative Studie von 57 lokalen und internationalen NGOs in Armenien und Georgien die betrieblichen und institutionellen Merkmale der in der Ernährungssicherung engagierten NGOs. Ziel der Untersuchung war die Erforschung des Vorgehens der NGOs im Umgang mit von Ernährungsunsicherheit betroffenen Gruppen, wie von Armut Betroffene, Kleinbauern und Frauen im ländlichen Raum. Die Studie ergab, dass die Präferenzen von NGOs für den Aufbau von Netzwerken und die Zielgruppenausrichtung hauptsächlich von der Identität der Kernmitglieder der jeweiligen Organisation abhängig waren, insbesondere von deren Geschlecht und deren sozialem und wirtschaftlichem Status. Sowohl in Armenien als auch in Georgien verfolgten nationale und internationale NGOs unter männlicher Führung das Ziel der kollektiven Organisation der wirtschaftlich besser gestellten männlichen Landwirte und Unternehmer, während weiblich geführte NGOs besser ausgebildete Frauen in ländlichen Gebieten als Zielgruppe hatten. Das übergeordnete Ziel der Interventionen männlich geführter NGOs

war der erhöhte wirtschaftliche Gewinn, während weiblich geführte NGOs darauf abzielten, das Wohl der Gemeinschaft durch Förderung der sozialen Gerechtigkeit und Wohltätigkeit zu verbessern. NGOs unterschieden sich auch in ihrer Zusammensetzung: weiblich geführte NGOs verließen sich erheblich mehr auf weibliche Mitglieder und schließen Männer nur selten ein. Männlich geführte NGOs hatten oft männliche Mitarbeiter sowie männliche Kunden und Programmteilnehmer. Die Studie bestätigt bestehende Bedenken darüber, dass die Führerschaft, Einbeziehung und Partizipation von Frauen in männlich dominierten Gruppen behindert sind. Neben der geschlechtsspezifischen Segregation waren die von extremer Armut Betroffenen weder von männlichen noch von weiblichen NGO-Mitgliedern vertreten, noch waren sie einbezogen in Bestrebungen der NGOs zur Gruppenbildung oder sozialen Mobilisierung. Die Ergebnisse unterstützen die Aussagen von Pierre Bourdieu über die Abhängigkeit der Bildung von Sozialkapital von sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Nähe.

Schließlich veranschaulichte die Fallstudie einer weiblich geführten NGO, die mit binnenvertriebenen ländlichen Frauen in Georgien arbeitet, wie die Verbesserung des Ernährungsstatus der Frauen durch das Erkennen und Angehen von sozialer Isolation und struktureller Diskriminierung im öffentlichen und privaten Bereich erreichbar wurde. Wie die Fallstudie zeigte, verbesserte die Stärkung formeller und informeller Kommunikationsnetzwerke und die Anwendung partizipativer rechtsbasierter Ansätze den Zugang der Frauen im ländlichen Raum zu öffentlichem Recht und Überwachung, was wiederum die Selbstbestimmung der Frauen förderte. Die Unterstützung von „Bottom-Up"-Initiativen, die auf die Sicherung der Existenzgrundlage abzielen, und das Vorgehen gegen Gewalt, trugen zum Potenzial von binnenvertriebenen ländlichen Frauen bei, ihr Recht auf angemessene Nahrung zu verwirklichen.

Die Ergebnisse der Dissertation stellen einen Fortschritt im Verständnis über die Rolle nationaler und internationaler Akteure der Zivilgesellschaft für die Verbesserung der Ernährungssicherheit der am stärksten marginalisierten und diskriminierten Gruppen dar. Die Studie bereichert die noch begrenzte aber zunehmende Anzahl von Forschungsarbeiten zu rechtsbasierten Entwicklungsansätzen als Alternative zu technokratischen Lösungen. Die Studie leistet einen Beitrag zur Forschung zur internationalen Entwicklung, Landwirtschaft und ländlichen Entwicklung, sowie zu allgemeineren Gesellschaftstheorien.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CSO Civil society organization

DEVAW Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

IDP Internally displaced persons

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development

IFPRI International Food Policy Research Institute

INGO International non-governmental organization

NGO Non-governmental organization

UN United Nations

UN-ECOSOC United Nations Economic and Social Council

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UNSCR United Nations Security Council Resolution

WFP United Nations World Food Program

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH MOTIVATION, IMPORTANCE, AND THE KEY QUESTION

In a developed or developing country, the democratic governance of food and nutrition is unthinkable without active participation and the contribution of civil society organizations (CSOs), including non-governmental organizations (NGOs). As advocacy or development actors, NGOs have the capacity to improve food and nutrition security, for example, through monitoring how states, the private business sector or others members of society respect the right to adequate food, offering solutions to hunger and malnourishment, and mobilizing communities for improved and sustainable production and the consumption of food.

Recent research restates that civil society actors are essential for monitoring the right to adequate food, defending and building sustainable and alternative food systems, and ensuring the voices of the most food and nutrition insecure groups, such as small-scale farmers, the poor, and women, are heard (Bellows, Lemke, & Scherbaum, 2011; Boyer, 2010; Brass, 2007; Claeys, 2012; Dowler & O'Connor, 2012; Gleeson, 2009; Jha, 2009; Koc, Macrae, Desjardins, & Roberts, 2008; Rosset, 2013; Shandra, Shandra, & London, 2010; Thakurta & Chaturvedi, 2012; Torrez, 2011). However, the majority of studies have been geographically focused on countries where historically long-lasting struggles between small-scale farmers, peasants, fisherfolk and indigenous groups and big agricultural industries in the post-colonization era shaped and founded social movements, and/or where the right to adequate food has been integrated into the local constitutions (cf. Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Boyer, 2010; Bradshaw, 2006; Caplin, 2008; Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2010; Warshawsky, 2013). The question remains whether civil society actors, including NGOs, contribute to the transformation of existing food systems or impact food and nutrition security in the countries where those changes were absent or, at the moment, are considerably weakened. Additionally, literature on the role of NGOs and other civil society actors addressing food and nutrition security is primarily underpinned by two methodological approaches: case study analysis, focusing on features of an often profoundly successful organization or network (cf. Borras, 2010; Claeys, 2012; Desmarais, 2007; Edelman & James, 2011; Hiranandani, 2008; Martínez-Torres &

Rosset, 2010; Rosset, 2013; Torrez, 2011), or historic and ethnographic analysis of the struggles of food and nutrition insecure groups (cf. Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Bellows, 2006; Bradshaw, 2006; Brass, 2007; Chilton, Rabinowich, Council, & Breaux, 2009; Dowler & O'Connor, 2012; Sarelin, 2007). These methodological approaches are necessary for an in-depth analysis of historical processes, or in identifying change-making contributions and the potential of an organization or a group. However, these approaches only partially answer what key institutional and operational characteristics of NGOs are that embrace human right or gender equality principles and target the most food and nutrition insecure groups and that are shaped and influenced by the economic, social, political and cultural environment.

The former Communist bloc countries, and specifically the ones belonging to the former Soviet Union, are among those that require research because of their distinctiveness in comparison to the majority of existing studies on the civil society's involvement in food and nutrition security. Points that set the post-Soviet states apart include:

- ideologically economic and social rights, including the right to adequate food, were prioritized over civil and political rights during the Communist rule (Lane, 1984; Marchione, 1996); the peasantry and the working class were emphasized in the state's propaganda;
- the centrally planned economy did not favor the presence of private agricultural businesses; there was no entry of transnational agricultural corporations;
- the Soviet state hampered the independence of civil society, including freedom of expression, assembly and association (Lane, 1984);
- since independence in many post-Communist countries, there has been a strong shift to favoring the entry of large-scale agricultural enterprises (Spoor, 2009);
- in the post-Soviet era , the civil society sector has enjoyed considerable freedoms, but, not without pressures from states and the influences of foreign actors (Abrahamian & Shagoyan, 2011; Babajanian, 2005; Buxton, 2009; Glinchikova, 2007; Hamilton, 2000; Ishkanian, 2003; Ishkanian, 2008; Ljubownikow, Crotty, & Rodgers, 2013; Matveeva, 2008; Narozhna, 2004; Stepanenko, 2006);
- since independence, there has been an increased awareness of the importance of civil and political rights among society members; the new constitutions have prioritized civil and political rights, with considerable recognition of certain social

and economic rights (e.g. the rights to health and education) (Ludwikowski, 2004).

This dissertation focuses on two small post-Soviet countries: Armenia and Georgia. During the twenty years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, both these countries, located in the South Caucasus, have experienced a rapid growth in NGOs (Abrahamian & Shagoyan, 2011; Babajanian, 2005; Broers, 2005; Grodsky, 2012; Hamilton, 2000; Ishkanian, 2008; Matveeva, 2008). Simultaneously, the rapid changes in political, economic, and social life brought with them various food and nutrition security related issues, ranging from the weak capacity of farmers to produce and sell foods, to an increase in the number of food insecure groups, such as internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees, and the inhabitants of remote mountainous villages. There has also been considerable growth in the food producing and importing private sector, and weak or absent control over food safety by the state.

The overarching aim of the study is to answer the question: why is the improved food and nutrition status of the most marginalized and discriminated against groups, such as women and the poor, not achievable in isolation from respecting, protecting, and fulfilling human rights. More specifically we ask: what determines or hinders food security-oriented NGOs' choice to engage with specific marginalized and discriminated against groups, such as women and the poor, and what are the factors that encourage NGOs to apply human rights-based approaches including work with the right to adequate food and with gender mainstreaming in addressing food and nutrition security? This research addresses its aim by employing a mixed quantitative and qualitative comparative analysis of NGOs working in the aforestated countries: Armenia and Georgia.

Understanding the above-mentioned issues is important, both from a scientific and a policy perspective. This study contributes to the growing body of research on the role of civil society in national food and nutrition security and its contribution and potential to improve food and nutrition status of the poor and women. The research demonstrates the contribution and impact of transnational actors in propagating rights-based approaches to food security and women's empowerment. Policy-wise, this research is significant for identifying trends and priorities in addressing food and nutrition security with the funding-donor organizations, transnational civil society actors, and NGOs themselves. Its findings help to explain and find ways to address the issue of non-participation or weak

engagement of food insecure groups, and show the potential of the human rights-based approach to food and nutrition security and gender equality for democratized food systems and improved well-being.

This chapter provides further background on the role of CSOs in addressing issues of food and nutrition security, and introduces a conceptual framework used in this study, as well as its key components. The introduction also presents general information on Armenia and Georgia, and explains the structure of the thesis.

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

While there are many definitions of what constitutes civil society, the majority share common features. Among these are that the presence and independence of civil society is a pillar for democracy; it represents a "good" space for public debate, participation and decision-making, comprised of actors that are autonomous from the state and business sectors, and who represent the public interest (Anheier, 2005; Edwards, 2009). The World Bank (2013) defines CSOs as a wide array of organizations that "have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations" (para. 2). As examples of CSOs, the World Bank provides different NGOs, community groups, labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations. Thus, in its essence, the term CSO refers to a formal collective organization of civil society actors (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2003, p. 11). While NGOs in this definition represent examples of CSOs, in practice, many authors and policy-makers use the terms "non-profits", NGOs and CSOs as synonyms. Anheier (2005) summarizes four approaches for defining non-profits (NGOs/CSOs): legal – based on existing national laws and regulations; economic – emphasizing the non-profit motivation; functional – representing public interest; and structural-operational – self-governing and often voluntary, and oriented toward the public good. While these terms can be used interchangeably, in order to avoid confusion in this study, we use the word "NGO" for two distinguishing reasons: a) to demonstrate the fact that they are legally registered within national legislation as non-profit and non-governmental organizations; and b) to prevent confusion with other formal CSO types, such as labor unions or professional associations.

For food and nutrition security, in the current research, we apply the most commonly referred to explanation as provided by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in "The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2001":

> Food security [is] a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 2002, Glossary, para. 10).

The role of civil society in improving food and nutrition security on global, regional, national and local levels has been emphasized by researchers, policy-makers and civil rights activists. The former Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Olivier De Schutter (2008; 2009; 2011; 2013; 2014), has repeatedly stressed the role of CSOs in the assessment and monitoring of food and nutrition-related security programs and policies. Hospes restates the opinion of many experts that CSOs, including NGOs, are the "most critical players, with their ears turned to victim groups and their mouths to policymakers and legislators" (2010, p. 21).

It would be an oversimplification to argue that all civil society groups share identical concerns or propose similar solutions for the improvement of food systems. On the contrary, different civil society actors often have opposing views and working approaches. Hospes (2010) summarizes the working approaches of NGOs in addressing food and nutrition security by suggesting several classifications: advocacy human rights versus development NGOs; NGOs relying on needs-based versus rights-based approaches; and NGOs that work explicitly with the right to adequate food or human-rights based approaches in general. Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) offer a useful typology of CSOs and movements based on their discourse and approaches to the food crisis, differentiating four distinctive, but yet overlapping groups: "neoliberal", "reformist", "progressive" and "radical" (see Table 1.1).

Table. 1.1. Typology of approaches by civil society groups and movements to the food crisis (adopted from Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011))

Indicators	*Neoliberal*	*Reformist*	*Progressive*	*Radical*
Discourse	Food enterprise	Food security	Food justice	Food sovereignty
Examples of civil society actors	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation	Slow Food, Oxfam America, CARE	Many Slow Food chapters; organizations in the Community Food Security Movement; many youth food and justice movements; some farm worker and labor organizations	La Via Campesina; other agrarian-based farmers' movements; many Food Justice and rights-based movements
Orientation	Corporate/ Global market	Development/ Aid	Empowerment	Entitlement
Approach to the food crisis	Increased industrial production; liberal markets; internationally sourced food aid; expansion of genetically modified organisms (GMOs)	Increased middle production and some locally-sourced food aid; microcredit; more agricultural aid, some support to biofortification; mainstreaming and certification of niche markets (e.g., organic, fair, local, sustainable)	Right to food; better safety nets; sustainably produced, locally sourced food; agroecologically-based agricultural development; new business models and community benefits	Right to food (community rights to water and seed); locally sourced, sustainably produced, culturally appropriate, democratically controlled food systems

As the framework demonstrates, among "neoliberals" are large, influential non-profit foundations, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, whereas "reformists" include international development NGOs and organizations uniting large-scale farmers

from the Global North. Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) agree that there is a thin divide between "progressive" and "radical" discourses. The "progressive" civil society actors are represented by NGOs working on community food security, environmental justice, and representing the interests of discriminated against groups in the Global North, and by some progressive NGOs of the Global South. The "radical" trend includes organizations and informal groups from the Global South supporting food sovereignty principles, joined by some movements from Europe (Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). The typology suggested by Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) focuses on the global policy levels, but one might notice dominant trends on regional and national levels.

Contemporary research on the role of civil society in improving and reshaping current food system and food and nutrition security in the recent two decades has concentrated on the organizations and movements representing "reformist", "radical", and "progressive" discourses. Vigorous research has been accomplished on the dynamics of food sovereignty movement on regional and global scales, emphasizing the role of La Via Campensia for its transformative potential as a transnational social movement (Altieri & Toledo, 2011; Borras, 2010; Burmeister & Choi, 2012; Claeys, 2012; Fairbairn, 2012; Giunta, 2014; Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2010; Patel, 2009; Patel, 2012; Rosset, 2013; Torrez, 2011). Research on the role of CSOs promoting community-based local food systems usually covers North America and Europe (Allen, 2010; Goodman, DuPuis, & Goodman, 2012; Levkoe, 2006), with some rare exceptions describing the role of community groups in developing and transition countries (Bellows, 2006). These studies prioritize the choice of an individual in reshaping the current food system, emphasizing the innovative potential of community-based groups. There is a tendency of civil society actors who are active at community food security levels to become increasingly engaged at national and local policy levels as well (Koc, MacRae, Desjardins, & Roberts, 2008; Wekerle, 2004).

Studies on "progressive" CSOs have a strong focus on case study approaches of development initiatives for improving community food and nutrition security, introduction of innovative technologies, and improved approaches to markets or nutrition interventions. The studies usually describe the experiences of developing countries by national and international NGOs (Altieri, 2000; Leahy & Goforth, 2014; Rahman & Islam, 2014; Sarelin, 2007).

The studies on neoliberal approaches to food and nutrition security profoundly focus on the role of private foundations in funding large-scale needs-based intervention programs in developing countries, which are aimed at enhancing food and nutrition security (c.f. Sgaier et al., 2013; Youde, 2013). These studies are contrasted with strong criticism of the non-profit private foundations by scholars who support food sovereignty and food justice discourses (c.f. Holt Gimenez, Altieri, & Rosset, 2008; Hursh, 2011).

As the typology demonstrates, "radical" and "progressive" groups have stronger orientation towards human rights in comparison to "progressive" and "neoliberal" groups. While "neoliberal" organizations may support the rhetoric of human rights, their approach to food security crises favors solutions that prioritize global markets and technological developments over grass-roots community initiatives, thus discouraging self-determination. A hybrid group between "radical-progressive" and "neoliberal" are the "reformist" organizations. While there is undoubtedly a stronger inclination towards human rights in comparison to the "neoliberal" organizations, their support to grass-roots initiatives reflects the multilateral or bilateral development aid policies and priorities, and is presumably less politicized.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND ITS KEY COMPONENTS

This work elaborates a conceptual framework as shown in Figure 1.1. We hypothesize that civil society actors contribute to improving the status of the most marginalized and discriminated against groups, including women and the poor, when their interventions recognize and aim to overcome discrimination and violence. In this regard, programming and advocacy action for improving food and nutrition should be framed within the logic of respecting, protecting and fulfilling human rights, including but not limited to women's rights and the right to adequate food and nutrition.[1] Participation and self-determination of the most marginalized and discriminated against groups is potentially achievable in an environment enabling their social mobilization and group formation.

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[1] Bellows et al. (2015) introduces and defends the use of "the right to adequate food and nutrition" instead of the more narrowly defined "the right to adequate food."

Transnational actors propagating rights-based approaches to food and nutrition security and gender equality (multilateral (including UN bodies) and bilateral development agencies, private foundations, social movements, INGOs, etc.)

Social capital accumulation (bonding, bridging, linking)

Human-rights based approaches to food security and gender equality that prioritize food insecure groups

Group formation, social mobilization, and networking of food insecure groups with national and transnational civil society actors

Civil society actors operating in a country, including local and international NGOs, social movements, etc.*

Food and nutrition insecure groups (women, the poor, and other discriminated against and marginalized groups)*

Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework of the role of transnational and national civil society actors in the realization of the right to adequate food and overcoming structural/symbolic violence of women and girls and other discriminated against and marginalized groups

Note: * The categories are not mutually exclusive, thus, food and nutrition insecure groups can establish, for example an NGO.

Source: Own illustration

For simplicity, the conceptual framework has only three type of actors: a) transnational civil society propagating the right to adequate food and gender equality, b) national civil society actors addressing food and nutrition security, c) marginalized and discriminated against groups, such as women and the poor. While these are separate entities in the framework, it is important to emphasize that those are not mutually exclusive categories. Thus, for example, some rural poor might organize and establish a local NGO representing their and their peers' interests. Moreover, some members of the organization might be involved in transnational civil society organizations or movements.

The framework also includes components that are based on interactions and processes, such as human rights-based approaches, gender mainstreaming, symbolic/structural violence, and social capital. While definitions of the human rights-based approaches, symbolic and structural violence, and social capital can be arguably contested as vague or ill defined in literature, below we briefly introduce the concepts.

Johan Galtung and Pierre Bourdieu independently proposed two similar concepts: structural violence (1969) and symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron 1970 and Bourdieu 1982 as cited in Wacquant, 1987).[2] According to Galtung (1969), the term "violence" semantically expresses the opposition to "peace". In this context, violence includes both physical and other types of actual and potential threats to well-being and peace. Galtung (1969) emphasizes that as such, these threats, in order to be regarded as violence, should be avoidable in the current historical and social order. Structural violence implies indirect violence, where the actor is not a concrete person, but where the violence is "built into [social] structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (1969, p. 171). In 1990, Galtung further elaborated the concept by introducing the term "cultural violence" as "any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form" (1990, p. 291).

Pierre Bourdieu's definition of symbolic violence has similarities with Galtung's approach of structural and cultural violence. Focusing on social power structures and the orders between dominant privileged and underprivileged groups, Bourdieu (2001) defines symbolic violence as a "gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims", which is operated "through the purely symbolic channels of communication and

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[2] Johan Galtung (1990) also used the term "symbolic violence" when referring to "cultural violence", however, without referencing Pier Bourdieu.

cognition, recognition, or even feeling" (p. 1-2).[3] For Bourdieu (2001), gender-based discrimination is an example of symbolic violence: it is a historical product of "labor reproduction…to which singular agents (including men, with weapons such as physical violence and symbolic violence) and institutions families, the church, the educational system, the state – contribute" (p. 34).

Paul Farmer (1999), in his research on public health, sharpened the idea that structural (as well as symbolic) violence is a human rights violation. In this view, systematic food and nutrition insecurity are the effect of structural/symbolic violence: powerful social structures impede the access of discriminated and marginalized groups to food production sources, and violate their dignity. Human dignity and equality are the basis of international human rights law. The human rights-based approach as a conceptual framework seeks "to analyze inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede development progress" (OHCHR, 2006, p. 15).

Rooted in the idea of equality, gender mainstreaming is an analytical and conceptual framework to understand the impact of development activities on women and men. Gender mainstreaming has been widely adopted by national governments and civil society actors. In order to avoid technocratic and apolitical practices that ignore or override women's concerns and issues, "institutional transformations" (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 61) are necessary to put women's rights and gender equality goals at the cornerstone of development strategies. These transformations include socio-cultural acceptance of gender equality and women's rights as well as changes in attitudes and behaviors at both institutional and individual levels.

Structural/symbolic violence will be persistent as long as there is no acknowledgement of systematic discrimination by dominated groups, social mobilization, and collective action. The solidarity within and between groups is key for change. Social capital is, therefore, a required component for overcoming structural/symbolic violence.

Similar to the concepts of violence described above, the theories of social capital evolved almost in parallel by James Coleman, Robert Putnam and Pierre Bourdieu. For American

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[3] See also an earlier manuscript by Bourdieu and Passeron, where the concept is introduced (1970).

sociologist Coleman (1988), "social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors" (p. 98); it is a public good, a rational choice of an individual, and formal organization is a way to increase production. For Putnam (1995), social capital is a collective production asset, which comprises of "networks, norms, and social ties that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 67). Putnam's idea of social capital had the most profound impact on civil society development sector in the post-Cold war period. In contrast to Putnam and Coleman, Bourdieu's idea of social capital is less pragmatic and rational. For Bourdieu (1985), social capital is a resource that enables the production and reproduction of social positions and power structures. Bourdieu defines social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition"(Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). In contrast to Putnam's approach where consensus and trust diminish conflicts between groups, in Bourdieu's view social capital and its symbolic aspects enable cognition and distinction between members and outsiders (Siisiainen, 2003). Bourdieu, in contrast to Putnam and Coleman, emphasizes the selective nature of social capital accumulation based on social similarities and proximities, such as class, gender, race, etc. (Bourdieu, 1986/2011, p. 88-89). In the current research, we apply Bourdieu's concept of social capital.

Finally, the last component of the conceptual framework is comprised of transnational actors that propagate rights-based approaches to food and nutrition security and gender equality. These include, but are not limited to, United Nations (UN) bodies, international NGOs, bilateral and multilateral funding agencies, private foundations, and social movements. Local NGOs, and other CSOs, establish links with transnational actors through joint advocacy work, by receiving funding, or through other types of partnerships. The nature and type of these relationships influence in which way, or to what extent, national NGOs choose to represent, or be represented by, the most marginalized groups, encourage social capital accumulation, and apply human rights-based approaches or gender mainstreaming.

CSOs, including local and international NGOs operating in a country, can assist in the realization of the right to adequate food and nutrition of women and girls and other discriminated groups via the encouragement of social capital accumulation among those groups, and the application of rights-based approaches and strategies prioritizing

women's participation and self-determination. We further hypothesize that the application of rights-based approaches and gender mainstreaming by civil society actors is linked to two-way networking ties with transnational actors, propagating the potential for a shift to democratic food systems and gender equality.

The potential benefit of confronting structural and symbolic violence and democratizing food systems lies in the presence of bottom-up grass-roots social movements having at their core demands for entitlement, self-determination, and empowerment. These demands allow localized struggles to benefit from global-local interactions endorsing human rights and gender equality by offering space for solidarity and embedding the local demands into international legal frameworks. In the typology of Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011), the principles of entitlement, self-determination, and empowerment that challenge existing power structures are features of "radical" and "progressive" approaches. While "reformist" groups may encourage and support gender equality and human rights, one may expect these to be less in-line with the international or bilateral development aid strategies, and supposedly, be less politicized and more embedded in bottom-up approaches. The so-called "neoliberal" approach is ideologically oriented to have less of a grass-roots origin and connections, and have the weakest human rights and gender equality agenda.

ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

The fieldwork was conducted in Armenia and Georgia, two relatively small neighboring countries in the South Caucasus region (see Figure 1.2).[4] Until the 1990s, Armenia and Georgia were among the fifteen states of the Soviet Union.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC COUNTRY CHARACTERISTICS OF ARMENIA AND GEORGIA: FOCUS ON FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

In 2014, Armenia's population was estimated at 3,017,100 (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2015), whereas Georgia's stood at 4,490,500 (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2013). It is estimated that 36.6% of the population in Armenia (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2015), and 46.3% of the population

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[4] Azerbaijan, although part of the region of the South Caucasus, was left out because of a relative difference in political order and the state of civil society organizations.

in Georgia, reside in rural areas (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2014a). The majority of the urban population resides in the capitals: Tbilisi (Georgia) and Yerevan (Armenia). Georgia's and Armenia's population is predominately Christian. Armenia is considered a mono-ethnic country (98.1% Armenians), according to the 2011 Census (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2012). Other groups residing here include Yezidis (Kurds), Molokans and Iranians. Georgia is characterized by a more diverse ethnic composition: besides Georgians, who comprise about 83.8% of the population, other groups, taken from 2002 data, include Abkhazians, Ossetians, Armenians, Azeris, Russians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Kists and Yezidis (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2014b).

Armenia and Georgia are classified as lower-middle income countries, with a GDP in Armenia of 10.43 billion (World Bank, 2015a), and in Georgia, 16.14 billion (World Bank, 2015b). Although there is no uniform comparable data, arguably, Georgia has lower poverty rates than Armenia. In Georgia, 21.4% of the population lives below the 60 percent of national consumption median; 9.7% of the population is registered under the poverty threshold, and receives the subsistence allowance (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2014b). The poverty headcount ratio at the national poverty line is estimated to be 14.8% in Georgia (World Bank, 2015b). The same indicator is almost two times higher in Armenia (32.0%) (World Bank, 2015a); the poor includes 13.5% "very poor" and 2.8% "extremely poor" (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2013).

Despite the differences in overall poverty indicators, rural poverty rates are slightly higher in Georgia at 29.6% (World Bank, 2015b), compared to 25.5% in Armenia (World Bank, 2015a). In Armenia, the highest ratio of the poor is concentrated in urban areas: 32.5% of the urban population is considered poor (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2015). Whereas in Georgia, according to World Bank estimates, only 10.5% of the urban population lives below the national poverty line. The GINI index is higher in Georgia (42.1) compared to Armenia (31.3) as of 2010 estimates (World Bank, 2015a; World Bank, 2015b), suggesting higher inequality in Georgia. Despite the poverty, literacy rates are high in two countries (99.6% Armenia; 99.7% Georgia) (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2015; National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2014b).

FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

Neither of the countries specifically articulates the right to adequate food and nutrition in its respective constitutions. There is a lack of reliable data on the prevalence of hunger and malnutrition in Armenia and Georgia. Most of the data for Georgia are based on the projections of the last General Population Census of 2002. The International Food Policy Research Institute's (IFPRI) Global Hunger Index estimates that Armenia has a score of less than 5, however, the score is based on IFPRI's own estimates based on available data from 2004-2006. No scores are provided for Georgia because of the lack of data (von Grebmer et al., 2014). Nevertheless, from the very beginning of the post-Soviet era, the populations of both countries faced food and nutrition insecurity. Armenia, which was beginning to recover from the devastating earthquake of 1988, was embroiled in an armed conflict with the neighboring nation of Azerbaijan from 1990-1994. Georgia had internal conflicts with the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and, more recently, in August 2008, with Russia, all of which contributed to the challenge of providing an adequate standard of living for IDPs.

Armenia and Georgia both implemented mostly inefficient agrarian reforms in 1992, redistributing collective and state farm land (Spoor, 2012). There has been an emerging trend in the re-establishment of monopolies in the form of large-scale farms, sometimes with illegalities in land procurement (Spoor, 2012). Both Armenia and Georgia experience the so-called double burden of malnutrition, with obesity and hunger existing side by side (Abe, 2013; Watson et. al., 2013).
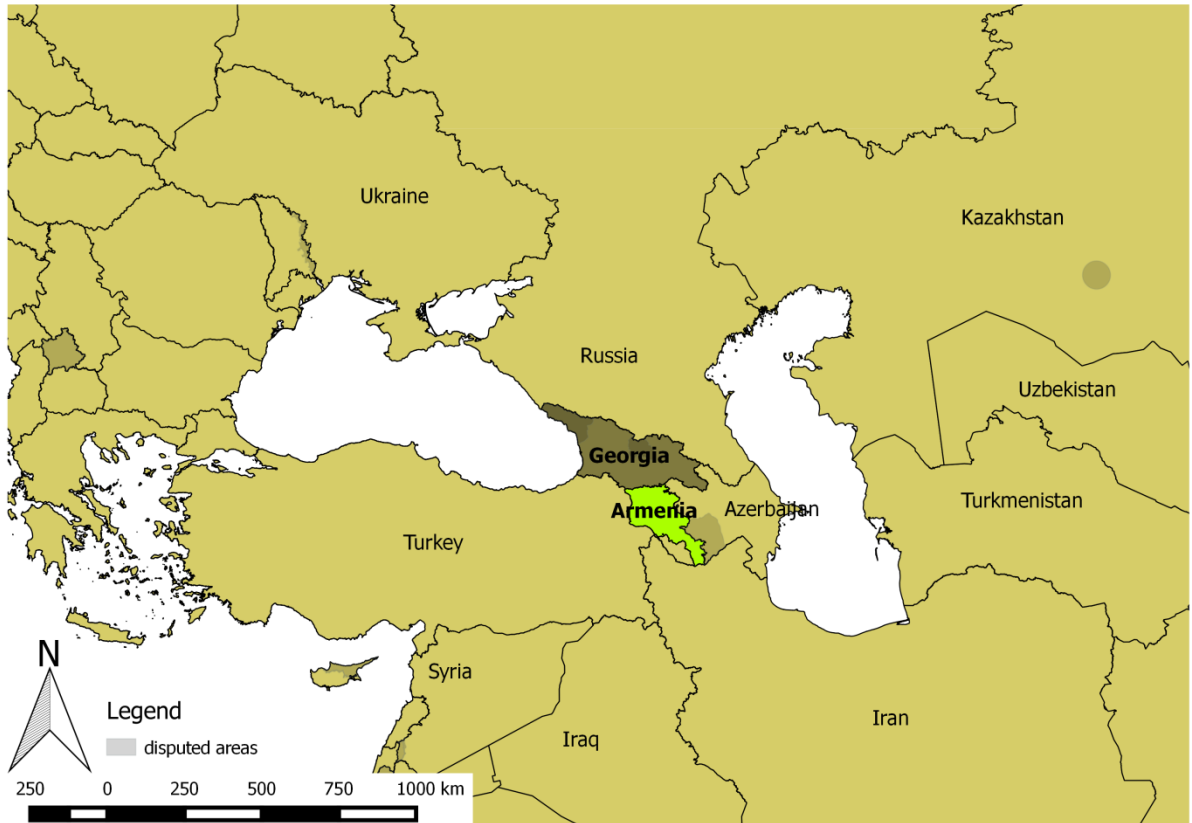
Figure 1.2: *Map of Armenia and Georgia*

Source: Conflict regions data from Croicu, M. and R. Sundberg (2012), UCDP GED Conflict Polygons dataset version 1.1-2011, UCDP, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. http://www.ucdp.uu.se/ged. Country boundaries from The Office of the Geographers's Large Scale International Boundary Lines and World Vector Shorelines (LSIB-WVS), US Department of State, Office of the Geographer. Map projection WGS 84.

POLITICAL CLIMATE IN THE POST-SOVIET DEVELOPMENT

Since independence, both Armenia and Georgia were embroiled in armed conflicts. Armenia remains in a state of unresolved military conflict over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh) region with the neighboring nation of Azerbaijan. Georgia had internal conflicts with the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and, in August 2008, with Russia. Currently, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Nagorno Karabagh are considered de-facto states.

Georgia, in comparison to Armenia, is noted for its better democracy indicators (see Table 1.2). During the fieldwork of 2012, the country's opposition started a strong

election campaign, and came to power in 2013. The governing Republican Party in Armenia has been in power since 1999, despite the highly contested elections of 2008 and 2013, and several opposition campaigns.

Table 1.2. Comparison of governance and power indicators across Armenia and Georgia

Indexes	Country	
	Armenia	*Georgia*
Corruption control[1]	39.7	18.66
Rule of law[1]	45.0	53.55
Political stability and absence of violence index [1]	49.8	30.81)
Voice and accountability[1]	29.4	54.50
Press Freedom Index[2]	29.07 (78/180)	29.78 (84/180)
Corruption Perception Index[3]	36 (94/177)	49 (55/177)

Note. [1]World Bank Governance Indicators (2013) measure on the scale from 0 to 100, where the highest score is equal to100 and the lowest is to 0.
[2] Press Freedom Index (2014) by Reporters without Borders is presented as a country rank, giving its position relative to other countries over its score. A smaller score corresponds to greater freedom of the press. The ranking includes 180 countries.
[3]Corruption Perception Index (2014) by Transparency International is calculated as a country rank, giving its position relative to other countries over its score. The ranking includes 177 countries.

STATUS OF WOMEN

Both Armenia and Georgia are party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and have adopted a number of legislative instruments on gender equality. In 2013, Armenia's Parliament adopted the law on "On provision of equal rights and equal opportunities for women and men", and in 2014, Georgia adopted its "Non-discrimination law". The laws in both countries address the unacceptability of discrimination based on one's gender identity or sexual orientation, along with other socio-cultural and religious characteristics. Despite some policy

initiatives on combating gender-based violence, there is an absence of comprehensive legislative tools to gender selective abortion in both countries (Duthé, Meslé, Vallin, Badurashvili, & Kuyumjyan, 2012).

There is a strong gender-related wage gap in Georgia: the monthly nominal salary for women is estimated at 585 GEL (230 Euro), while for men, it is 920 GEL (362 Euro) (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2013). While there is no data on the wage gap in Armenia, the data show that the majority of women (44.5%) are employed in the agricultural sectors (agriculture, forestry and fishing), whereas the ratio of men is lower: 28.7% (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2015). The unemployment rate among women is higher compared to men (18.1% compared to 14.4%) (National Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, 2015). The employment of women in the low-income agricultural sector paired with the higher rates of unemployment indirectly point at the male-female wage gap in Armenia.

According to 2012 data, 16 women parliamentarians worked with 131 men in the Georgian Parliament (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2013). Thus, women in Georgia hold 12% of the seats, which is similar to the share of female parliamentarians in Armenia (11%).

SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The following are specific research questions and hypotheses of the thesis:

Chapter 3 (Paper 1): DIFFUSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS: NGOS' APPLICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA IN ADDRESSING FOOD SECURITY

The paper entitled "Diffusion of human rights and development concepts: NGOs' application of human rights-based approaches to development and gender mainstreaming in Armenia and Georgia in addressing food security" comprises Chapter 3 of the dissertation, and includes the following research questions and hypothesis:

– First, is there a link between NGOs' understanding of food and nutrition insecurity and their engagement with human rights-based approaches?

– Second, what are the determinants for the adoption of human rights-based approaches to development, gender mainstreaming, and work with the right to adequate food?

We hypothesize that NGO members' understanding of the extent and issues of food and nutrition insecurity in Armenia or Georgia does not necessarily result in an organization's engagement with human rights or gender mainstreaming. Rather, the related involvement is connected to prior experience of an organization in a given area, and existing links with funding agencies and civil society actors. We hypothesize that transnational actors, such as funding agencies and international civil society partner organizations and movements, influence local NGOs' adoption of and work with human rights and development concepts, such as rights-based approaches to development, the right to adequate food and nutrition, and gender mainstreaming.

Chapter 4 (Paper 2): GENDERED NATURE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND UNGENDERED REJECTION OF THE MOST MARGINALIZED - EVIDENCE FROM NGOS WORKING ON FOOD SECURITY IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

The paper "Gendered nature of social capital accumulation and ungendered rejection of the most marginalized – evidence from NGOs working on food security in Armenia and Georgia" is the focus of Chapter 4 includes the following questions and hypothesis:

- – Is there a causal link between the gender of food security oriented NGO leadership and organizations' ideological goals, membership construction, choice of project, and programme participants?
- – Are there any differences in encouraging the collective organization of selected groups, such as women and the rural poor amongst female- versus male-led organizations? Under what conditions are female versus male factors in institutional and operational aspects of NGOs negligible, relatively speaking?

We hypothesize that female or male leadership plays an important and decisive role in shaping the institutional and operational characteristics of an organization. We hypothesize that the gender of NGO leadership determines organization's history, membership construction, ideology, and the choice of progamme/project participants.

Chapter 5 (Paper 3): A RIGHTS-BASED ANALYSIS OF GENDER, NUTRITION, AND STRUCTURAL EXCLUSION: CASE STUDIES FROM GEORGIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

In Chapter 5, based on the case studies of Georgia and South Africa, we ask:

- We again ask the question why is the status of women's and girls' food and nutrition security not improving at a time when so many call for their inclusion in policy agendas (Bellows et al. 2015)?
- And, more specifically, how does structural violence and discrimination interfere with efforts to improve women's lives?

We hypothesize that a central reason for ineffective efforts aimed at improving women's and girls' food and nutrition status is the under-acknowledged barrier of structural violence and discrimination that interferes with women's capacity to realize their human rights generally, and their right to adequate food and nutrition in particular. We hypothesize that a broad human rights-based approach that asks *why women cannot command* their entitlement to food is necessary to address the issues of non-participation, with a specific focus on women's bodily integrity, their right to self-determination, and non-discrimination.

NOTE ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis conforms to the doctoral research requirements from the University of Hohenheim. It follows the cumulative doctoral format, in which at least three thematically linked papers of publishable standard, along with an introduction and a conclusion, are submitted.

Two papers have been coauthored with Prof. Anne C. Bellows (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). For these papers, the data collection, analysis, interpretation of the qualitative and quantitative data, as well as drafting the papers, was solely the work of the PhD author. The third paper (Chapter 5) was coauthored by Anne C. Bellows, Stefanie Lemke and Veronika Scherbaum. The primary authors of the papers are Anne C. Bellows, Stefanie Lemke, and the PhD author. The work drew on fieldworks from Georgia, conducted by the PhD author, and South Africa, conducted by Stefanie Lemke, and was based partly on the collaborative report entitled "Gender, nutrition, and the right to adequate food", coauthored by Anne C. Bellows, Flavio Valente, Veronika Scherbaum, Stefanie Lemke, Anna Jenderedjian, Ana María Suárez Franco, Lida Lhotska and Roseane do Socorro Gonçalves Viana. In parallel to the thesis writing process, I coauthored a chapter with Prof. Anne C. Bellows entitled "Violence and women's participation in the right to adequate food and nutrition" for the joint civil society-academia collaborative publication *Gender, Nutrition, and the Human Right to Adequate Food: Toward an Inclusive*

Framework (Routledge, 2015). The conceptual framework and the development of these three papers have been greatly influenced by the working process on the book's chapter.

This thesis begins with an introduction that provides information on the motivation for the research, context and theoretical background. Following the Introduction and Methodology chapters, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are presented in the style of journal articles. The concluding chapter, finalizing and summarizing the main results, concludes the thesis.

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CHAPTER 2. OVERVIEW OF PHD METHODOLOGY

MIXED METHODS APPROACH AND ITS VALIDITY, RELIABILITY, AND GENERALIZABILITY

While each of the individual papers (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) has a methodology section specific to each study, in this chapter the overall methodological framework of the dissertation is presented. Reasons for the choice of the framework over other alternative methodological approaches, issues of validity, reliability, and ethical concerns, and an explanation of the role of the researcher are presented. The study followed the mixed methods approach by integrating quantitative and qualitative methods, as the incorporation of "words, pictures, and narrative" to quantitative data adds "meaning to numbers" (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006, p. 24). The mixed methods approach, in this context combines elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and has been regarded as a third alternative being able to "cancel respective weaknesses of each method" (Stake, Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005, p. 285).

The selection and use of qualitative or quantitative methods was determined by the research questions we posed at various stages. The initial questions "to what extent are NGOs involved in food and nutrition security?" and "what is the prevalence of the use of human rights-based approaches and gender mainstreaming?" were followed by inquiries requiring qualitative data, such as "how and why do NGOs engage small-scale farmers, women and the poor", and "how does an NGO incorporate human rights-based work with improving food and nutrition security?"

The use of a mixed methods design in the current study is justified by the following reasons:

- there is a lack of relevant quantitative and qualitative data on NGOs addressing food and nutrition security in Armenia and Georgia;
- an initial survey made it possible to cast a wider net and identify a specific, otherwise hard to locate, population of NGOs working on food and nutrition security;
- the combination of quantitative and qualitative data enabled systematic cross-checking and the opportunity to refine follow-up questions for the qualitative portion of the study.

The following quantitative and qualitative approaches were applied in the dissertation:

- − an internet-based survey of NGOs in Armenia (n = 106) and Georgia (n = 122) (Chapter 3);
- − in-depth interviews with representatives of NGOs working on food and nutrition security in Armenia (n = 26) and Georgia (n = 31) (Chapter 4);
- − a case study of an NGO in Georgia (Chapter 5).

The methodology is presented graphically in Figure 2.1.

Quantitative data	
October 2010 – March 2011	Internet-based survey of 106 NGOs in Armenia and 122 in Georgia (N = 228)
April 2011 - August 2012	Interviews with 46 local NGOs and 11 INGOs addressing food and nutrition security issues in Armenia and Georgia (N = 57)
June 2011, June - July 2012	Case study: Taso Foundation Georgia
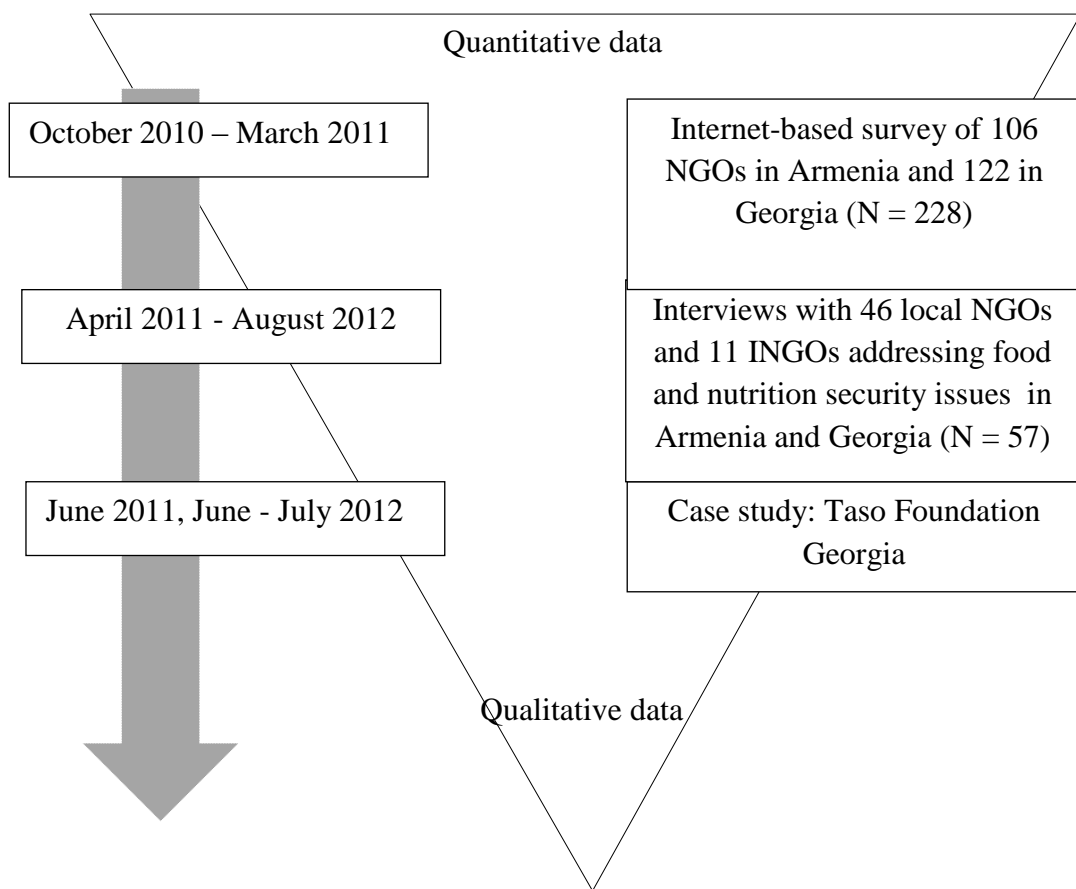
Qualitative data

Figure 2.1: *The study methodology*

The research transitioned from reliance on quantitative analysis at the first stages (in the period of 2010 - 2011) to a gradual shift to qualitative approaches (in the period of 2012 – 2013). In the dissertation, the shifting dominant focus from quantitative to qualitative data was sequential, meaning that the data collection was accomplished in three succeeding stages. The study, thus, corresponds to what Cameron (2009), Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) and others define as "a sequential mixed method design", in which the quantitative data are verified and supported with central and dominant qualitative data.

There are different opinions with regards to how and to what extent to measure validity, generalizability, and credibility (also referred as trustworthiness) when applied to qualitative components of mixed methods approaches (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Larry E. Sullivan, 2009; Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). While some researchers claim that mixed approaches provide complimentary data, which allows cross-checking and verification of the data across different methods (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Hesse-Biber, 2010), others raise the need for a broader integrative assessment of "subjective, intersubjective, and objective components and influences" (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006, p. 48). Agreeing with Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003), Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) suggest the term "legitimation" for covering the issues of validity, reliability, and generalizability and for addressing the main issues of data quality and its adequate interpretation. Below selected legitimation types are presented for the current dissertation based on Onwuegbuzie and Johnson's (2006) classification.

Sample integration legitimation shows the extent of relationships between quantitative and qualitative samples (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006, p. 56). The participants in the qualitative studies (interviews and a case study) were selected from the population of the quantitative survey. This ensured the involvement and representation of NGOs working on food and nutrition security in both types of studies and both samples. Even though random sampling for the survey was unachievable, the purposive sample of NGOs included in the survey corresponds to other estimates of active NGOs operating in Armenia and Georgia (Civil Society Institute, 2012; Gevorgyan & Matevosyan, 2013; USAID, 2013). Our selection of NGOs for the qualitative components of the study was based on the survey population: NGOs addressing food and nutrition security were chosen based on the survey responses.

Inside-outside legitimation refers to the degree to which the researcher accurately presents and utilizes the insider's and the observer's views (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006, p. 58). It is recommended to have a peer review to assess the researcher's interpretations. In the process of the research, I received feedback and comments from my supervisors, presented the work at at diverse university colloquia and regional and international conferences. While there always might be bias in interpretation, periodic critical review of the data helped to diminish the impact. In addition, when possible the information was double-checked. For example, interview records were compared to NGOs' reports, website information and other materials.

Conversion legitimation: Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006, p. 58) recommend a careful analysis of all interferences after qualitative and quantitative transformation of the data. As a solution, a combination of narrative profile formation derived from the counting of occurring themes was used to double-check the validity of interpretations (Chapter 4).

THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

Creswell (2007) and Yin (2010) emphasize the role of a researcher in qualitative data analysis. In this section, I as a primary researcher and data collector explain my own experiences and my approaches for mitigating my own subjective influences on the data collection and interpretation.

In qualitative research methodology there is a common recommendation to keep a diary and record reflections and observations. I used notebooks during and after interviews for recording informal discussions and observations, summarizing initial reflections. During the transcription and data analysis, I used NVivo to update three journals: ideas on research development, including motivation and objectives; reflections on individual organizations during transcription and coding; and another journal recording reasons for changing or modifying codes, hierarchies or attributes.

As a female researcher, I understood that asking questions on women's involvement might result in defensive or biased answers, especially by male interviewees. In order to diminish this possible impact, I avoided direct questions related to gender but rather asked questions on how an organization engages with multiple demographic and social groups, such as men, children, the extremely poor, farmers, ethnic minorities, etc. Initial questions were open-ended and neutral, for example asking the interviewees to list the

groups that their organization works with, including a profile of the group members' age, gender, education, social and economic status.

The second fieldwork period in Georgia during the summer of 2012 coincided with the rise of the opposition movement and a commonly voiced disappointment by many Georgians in the ruling party. The opposition movement often referred to problems with mono-ethnic nationalist ideology. During this time, some other interviewees expressed negative views on ethnic minorities, including Armenians residing in Georgia. As an Armenian, I found it hard at times to keep a neutral attitude and proceed with the interviews. My strategy was to continue with the interview questions and avoid any discussions. During the interviews, I disclosed my nationality when only specifically asked. Even though I managed to stay neutral and focus on the interview questions, transcribing and coding those interviews became particularly hard. It took some time for me to detach myself from the experiences and view those interviews within the political and social context, rather than more narrowly as expressions of intolerance.

From my previous professional experience in both Armenia and Georgia, I personally knew representatives of some of the NGOs. Even though I had concerns that my previous role would impact the data collection process, on the contrary, those interviews were among the most open and easiest ones, since little or no time was needed to build trust and establish a good rapport.

Two sets of questionnaires were prepared for the survey: English and Armenian for NGOs in Armenia, and English and Georgian for NGOs in Georgia (Annex 1). The interviews were held in Armenian, English, and Russian languages depending on the interviewee preferences. Only during one interview in Georgia there was a need for translation from Georgian to English: a member of an organization kindly agreed to translate my questions and answers of the organization's leader. The interviews with rural women during the case study were held in Russian.

INTERNET-BASED SURVEY WITH NGOS IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

The first stage of the data collection was an internet-based survey, which we considered as an optimal solution to generate data in the absence of previous systematic studies on civil society's involvement in food and nutrition security in Armenia and Georgia. From a pragmatic perspective, an internet-based survey assumed cost-effective access to NGOs

in Armenia and Georgia. The purposive rather than random sampling was dictated by the absence of access and existence of a list and addresses of all NGOs registered in Armenia and Georgia. An alternative approach was chosen to compile a list of NGOs in Armenia and Georgia based on the available and accessible information in the internet. A list of 1220 unique NGOs in Armenia and Georgia was compiled based on the available information (databases, websites of NGOs) and new NGOs were invited to participate in the survey when referred to by other NGOs when administrating survey (see Chapter 3). A questionnaire compromising seventeen open and close-ended questions on the scope of NGOs' work and their involvement in the various areas of food security was sent by email to all 1220 NGOs in Armenia and Georgia (Appendix 1). The questionnaire written in English was translated to Armenian and Georgian, and the translations were tested by being translated back into English. The accuracy of the translations was further tested by four NGOs that ultimately did not participate in the final survey.

Along with some open-ended questions, the survey relied heavily on quantitative data to identify the share of NGOs addressing food and nutrition security in Armenia and Georgia, the prevalence of the use of human rights-based approaches, the right to adequate food and nutrition, and gender mainstreaming. The survey made it possible to make generalizations about NGOs in Armenia and Georgia addressing food and nutrition security and their working approaches. The survey was hosted with an online survey tool (Unipark.com), additionally a fill-in Microsoft Office Word form was sent attached to an invitation to participate. To ensure a high response rate, the survey followed a three-phase administration process (an initial invitation, followed by two reminders) within a twelve-week period of time.

The primary descriptive data analysis was done in 2011 - 2012 before commencing interviews in Armenia and Georgia. This information shaped the interview questions and helped in the preparation of a draft paper. The final in-depth statistical analysis was performed in parallel with finalizing transcribing and coding the interviews and building the theoretical concept to be tested.

INTERVIEWS WITH NGOS ADDRESSING FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

Based on the survey data, interviews with organizations' leaders were held in Armenia and Georgia during the second stage. NGOs to be interviewed were selected from the

survey database. The main criterion for selecting organizations was their involvement in food and nutrition security at the time of the survey. Overall, fifty-seven NGOs were interviewed (see Chapter 4). The qualitative approach was chosen to identify multiple perspectives and factors affecting NGOs' operational and institutional characteristics.

The interviews had two set of questions. First were follow-up questions based on the survey answers regarding the application of the human rights-based approaches, the right to adequate food, and gender mainstreaming. Other questions were on an organization's history, its working principles, and approaches in choosing project/programme participants, including the rural poor, small-scale farmers, women, etc. The interview process, which had a similar structure, nevertheless, was open to modifications based on the experiences and judgments of the researcher. The emphasis of the interview was the NGO leader's narration – his/her emphasis on argumentation and reasoning of the organization's work. In addition to interviews, other multiple forms of data, such as reports, website information, news, researcher's observations and interview diaries, were also included in the final data package (overall 158 usable files). In this way, for each organization there was a database of primary and secondary data that was integrated in the final analysis. The interpretation was inductive by building themes, categories, and patterns from more specific to more abstract units (Creswell, 2007). The process was not straightforward and linear, and included the introduction or change of existing categories, grouping and revision. Analysis was performed using the NVivo9/10 qualitative research package. The thematic analysis of the interview content was conducted in parallel with the development of the theoretical framework. The transcription, search and inclusion of new data sources, and subsequent coding started in parallel with the interviews in 2012 and was finalized in February, 2015.

CASE STUDY OF THE TASO FOUNDATION IN GEORGIA

The Taso Foundation, an organization addressing women's rights and empowerment in Georgia, was chosen as a case study. Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe (2009) state that the most important criterion for choosing a case study is "the relevance for the research objective" (p. 61). The objective of the study was to illustrate why women's food and nutrition status is not achievable in isolation from respecting, protecting, and fulfilling other human rights over women's life course, including of bodily integrity, the right to self-determination, and non-discrimination. Out of a larger population of studied NGOs

during the previous stages of the research, the Taso Foundation represented a unique case of an organization that incorporated both human-rights based approaches with bottom-up approaches aimed at improving food and nutrition security. In this way the selection of the case study organization was based on its uniqueness; the organization's experience is not be generalized for other NGOs in Georgia.

The case study was conducted in Georgia. Interviews took place in Tbilisi and were followed with visits to organizational project sites in two villages where high numbers of internally displaced families reside. The first interview with the organization's leader was held on July 2011. Out of the sample of all NGOs, two organizations in Georgia were shortlisted for a case study. The main criteria for the selection were their engagement with human-rights based approaches, gender mainstreaming and work on food and nutrition security. In June 2012, I returned to Tbilisi and had two interviews with the leader of the organizations. It was decided to further investigate the work of the Taso Foundation, since in addition to the above-mentioned criteria, the organization also worked on issues of violence. I accompanied the foundation staff during a three-day field visit to two regions in Georgia (Adjara and Imereti). While case studies often rely on a long-term engagement in the field, in situations of the time constraints and limited access to participants, it is recommended to use multiple methods for finding trade-offs between depth and breadth (Elger, 2009). The following sources and methods of the collection were used:

- two in-depth interviews with the leader of the organization;
- informal discussions with the staff and leader of the organization during the 3-day fieldtrip to two project sites;
- key-informant interviews with women after the self-help group workshops organized by the Taso Foundation (N=10, five persons at each of the two sites);
- four visits to the farms established by self-help groups and informal discussions with the project participants;
- non-participant observations during the two workshops;
- analysis of the annual reports from 2007 - 2012, grants lists (2007 – 2011), website information, and external news reports.

USE OF OTHER PRIMARY DATA (INTERVIEWS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS NGOS AND MICROCREDIT ORGANIZATIONS IN ARMENIA)

In addition to the above-mentioned data collection methods, further related interviews were conducted with the representatives of Armenian human rights (N=13) and Armenian microfinance (N=14) organizations in 2013 (administered by a graduate student). Even though the data derived was not included in the current study, nevertheless, these experiences undoubtedly influenced the analysis and interpretation of data presented. For example, the interviews with human rights NGOs in Armenia had an impact on writing up the Chapter 3 Discussion section, specifically on listing the reasons behind of NGOs' limited use and application of the right to adequate food in Armenia and Georgia. Analysis of the history of microfinance organizations emerging from non-profits supported the arguments brought in Chapter 4 on the for-profit orientation of male-led NGOs in Armenia and Georgia.

QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

The quantitative data from the survey were analyzed using a statistical software package SPSS 21/22. Categorical data analysis was performed to find relationships between independent and dependent variables as described in Chapter 3 Methodology section.

As mentioned, qualitative data were processed using a qualitative research package (NVivo 9/10). In addition to the interviews, observations and secondary data, the survey database was also imported into NVivo 9/10 allowing easy access to multiple data sources. The data analysis followed the NVivo guidebook (Bazeley, 2007). As a first task, complex data derived from the interviews was manually coded within broad categories (e.g. women's participation, NGOs' areas of work, staff, etc.). In follow-up research stages, these "topic" nodes were further manually viewed in order to find specific patterns and build hierarchies of relationships between categories. Automatic coding based on a search of similar or specific words was also performed at the initial and final stages of the research. The nodes generated from manual and automatic codes were critically reviewed for consistency. Each organization was also given common attribute values (e.g. female versus male leadership, international NGOs (INGOs) versus local NGOs, year of establishment, etc.). Exploratory searches were performed test the relationships between the nodes, attributes, and text. The software allowed cross-tabulation across attributes and nodes, which helped to answer the research questions and

conceptualize the theoretical framework. Following the recommendations of Gadner, Buber, and Richards (2003), manual analysis was integrated with automatic analysis to avoid overreliance on automatic coding, diminish errors, increase time-efficiency of manual coding, and maximize thoroughness. An integrated diary was constantly updated throughout the course of the research.

ETHICS IN MIXED METHODS APPROACH

Any research assumes ethical responsibilities to the study subjects, the scientific community, and to the public, all of which contribute to research integrity (Yin, 2010). The following sections disclose information about the methodological conditions.

Survey: The body of the email sent to organizations stated the goals of the study with an invitation to participate. All participants in the survey gave their consent to participate both in the survey as well as in follow-up interviews. Respondents had an option to be notified about the results of the study. Published papers will be sent to the 94 participants in Armenia and 91 in Georgia who expressed their interest.

Interviews: Each of the interviewees was notified about the aims of the study and was told about the affiliation of the researcher to the University of Hohenheim. A business-card of the primary researcher with the contact information was provided to each interviewee. Before commencing interviews, a statement on anonymity of the research was given. Each interviewee was assured that the name of her/his organization or personal name would not be mentioned without written content. Permission to audio-record the interview was requested. There were two main reasons for assuring participant anonymity. First of all, anonymity ensures more honest and open answers to challenging questions, including views on patriarchy and role of women, political setting in the country, and donor – grantee relationships. At the same time, it was important to assure participants that the study was not an evaluation and comparison of performance. No best or worst organizations would be chosen in the course of the research. This was particularly important in the situation where most of NGOs relied on a limited list of donor organizations. In this way, it gave a guarantee to each organization that the published work could be useful and beneficial for the research subjects themselves. Two organizations in Armenia refused to be interviewed, and one interviewee refused to be recorded in Armenia.

Case study: During the fieldwork, the leader of the Taso Foundation introduced me as a researcher to the program participants. During the meetings and discussions of the NGO with rural and internally displaced women in Georgia, I observed and took notes. After each of the meetings and during the visits to backyard gardens, I introduced myself and asked permission to ask questions. Anonymity of answers was ensured, and no pictures were taken or interviews recorded without prior contest. In the final paper, only the organization's name and leader were mentioned.

All raw datasets derived from the survey, interviews, and case study were kept confidential, accessible only to the primary researcher and the thesis supervisors upon request.

RESEARCH AREAS

The study took place in two countries – Armenia and Georgia. The electronic survey included NGOs in Armenia and Georgia located in various administrative districts and the capitals. The interviews were conducted in Tbilisi and Yerevan, as well as in the towns and villages where they were situated. The Table 2.1. presents the number of organizations interviewed at each location.

Table 2.1. Food and nutrition NGOs interviewed in Armenia and Georgia

Type of organization	Location	NGO operation level
National NGOs in Armenia		
Female-led NGOs in Armenia	8 NGOs (4 in Yerevan, 2 in Chambarak, 2 in Gyumri)	National (4), regional (1), local (3)
Female-led NGOs in Georgia	13 NGOs (9 in Tbilisi, 1 in Signaghi, 1 in Batumi, 1 in Gori, 1 in Kutaisi)	South Caucasus (1), national (7), regional (3), local (2)
Male-led NGOs in Armenia	12 NGOs (Yerevan – 9, 1 Ijevan, 1 Vayots Dzor?, 1 – Gavar)	National (8), regional (2), local (2)
Male-led NGOs in Georgia	13 NGOs (Tbilisi – 8, 1 – Kutaisi, 1 – Akhaltsikhe, 1 – Akhalkalaki, 1 – Mskheta village, 1 – Temi village)	National (9), regional (3), local (1)
Offices of international NGOs		
Female-led INGOs in Armenia	Yerevan (4) Gyumri (1)	National (5)
Female-led INGOs in Georgia	Tbilisi (2)	National (2)
Male-led INGOs in Armenia	Yerevan (1)	Regional (1)
Male-led INGOs in Georgia	Tbilisi (3)	National (2) South Caucasus (1)

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CHAPTER 3. DIFFUSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS: NGOS' APPLICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA IN ADDRESSING FOOD SECURITY

A. Jenderedjian, A. C. Bellows

ABSTRACT

Based on an electronic survey of 228 NGOs in Armenia and Georgia, we demonstrate vertical diffusion of development and human rights concepts from donors and global civil society to local NGOs. Adoption of human rights-based approaches to development and gender mainstreaming was associated with cooperation with UN agencies and involvement in human rights and women empowerment, respectively. NGOs' disinclination to frame perceived food insecurity as a human rights violation was attributed to low donor interest and lack of interactions with civil society actors propagating the right to adequate food.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years the human rights-based approaches to development and addressing structural causes of inequality and poverty as the violation of rights and the discrimination of freedoms, became a cause for cautious enthusiasm as a change-making strategy. The focus of this approach is addressing material inequality and promoting basic dignity, thus, poverty is redefined as a violation of human rights, rather than a natural and unavoidable happening (Salomon, 2011). Since the early 1990's, there has been a tendency among non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to redefine previous relationships with their beneficiaries to human rights holders, prioritizing attention to the most marginalized groups, and to transform technical assistance into socio-political and legal actions to hold governments accountable and the NGOs, themselves responsible for participatory decision-making processes (Gready, 2008; Kindornay, Ron, & Carpenter, 2012; Uvin, 2007). Once considered a radical alternative concept, today the rights-based approach to development along with gender mainstreaming, has been adopted by many international development organizations and NGOs (Cornwall & Brock, 2005), and promoted via national and local civil society organizations to local communities (Kindornay, Ron, & Carpenter, 2012).

Similarly, NGOs, such as FIAN International (Eide, 2001; Eide & Kracht, 2005; McKeon, 2009; Skogly, 1996; Windfuhr, 1998), together with social movement La Via Campesina (Claeys, 2012; Fairbairn, 2012; Patel, 2012; Rosset, 2013; Torrez, 2011) have been active in redefining food and nutrition insecurity through human rights frameworks on the international policy level. While these global efforts of NGOs and social movements have been well documented, few systematic studies exist that portray civil society's involvement in rights-based approaches to food security and development within country contexts. In recent years some studies focused on the use of rights-based approaches to development by civil society groups at the national levels in Africa and Asia (Crawford, 2010; Llewellyn-Fowler & Overton, 2010; Tanaka, 2011). Other existing studies generally focus on cases of individual international NGOs' (INGOs) involvement in rights-based work in developing countries (Brouwer, Grady, Traore, & Wordofa, 2005; Jones, 2005; Sarelin, 2007; Schmitz, 2012). The question remains whether these INGOs' prioritization of human rights is shared with local civil society groups and NGOs as a necessary prerequisite for social change (Schmitz, 2012). In the context of the right to adequate food, few studies have explored the role of civil society in

countries that have adopted a rights-based understanding of food security in their national constitutions (Boyer, 2010; Giunta, 2014; Rocha, 2009; Warshawsky, 2013). In the developed country context, Chilton & Rose (2009) describe civil society groups' involvement with the right to food in the US, whereas Dowler and O'Connor (2012) refer to civil society actors' potential in UK and Ireland to strengthen the realization of the right to food. These studies contribute to an understanding of civil society's role in bridging food insecurity and human rights. However, the studies neither examine NGOs' knowledge about or engagement with human rights-based approaches to development in general or with the right to adequate food in particular, nor their perception of food insecurity as a rights violation at the national levels in the specific political and economic contexts.

This study, based on a case study of NGOs in Armenia and Georgia, fills gaps in the research on human rights-based approaches. First, we establish a link between NGOs' understanding of food and nutrition insecurity and their engagement with human rights-based approaches. Second, we identify determinants for the adoption of human rights-based approaches to development, gender mainstreaming, and work with the right to adequate food. The study is one of the first to demonstrate quantitatively the influence of transnational actors on local NGOs' adoption of and work with human rights and development concepts.

The development of NGO sectors in Armenia and Georgia unfolded through the encouragement of Western donors parallel to the rising optimism for the role of civil society actors in embracing rights-based approaches to development, food security, and gender mainstreaming. We argue that NGOs in Armenia and Georgia, through their partnerships with their donors and counterpart INGOs, were influenced by these trends and appropriated the use of the related concepts. In this paper, we present data obtained from a survey of NGOs drawn from national samples of local and international NGOs operating in two neighboring post-Soviet countries - Armenia and Georgia.

We demonstrate that although NGOs perceive food and nutrition insecurity to be caused by their respective governments' failures, they only partially link expectations for state accountability to their involvement with rights-based approaches and their engagement with the right to adequate food, more specifically. The internalization and adoption of rights-based concepts and approaches to food and nutrition security depend first and

foremost upon NGOs' exposure to global civil society and international development aid's prioritization of rights-based approaches to development, and additionally the propagation of the right to adequate food, and gender mainstreaming. We hypothesize therefore that NGOs' relatively low engagement with the right to adequate food in Armenia and Georgia is mainly due to the make-up of their partner donor organizations and lack of interactions with transnational right to adequate food civil society organizations and movements.

Focusing on historical processes, we begin the paper by presenting how NGOs together with other international agencies embrace the concepts of human rights-based approaches to development and gender mainstreaming.

HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT AND NGOS

Inspired by the understanding that inequality and poverty result from power imbalance and discrimination, human rights-based approaches to development became popular as a new paradigm in the late 1990s (Gauri & Gloppen, 2012; Kindornay, Ron, & Carpenter, 2012; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). Sen's (1981) contribution to the idea that the inability to demand entitlement to food and production resources reproduces poverty and famine, and his further explanation of the cycle of interrelated social, economic and political "unfreedoms" (1999, p. 8), gave a new perspective to the development debate. Persistent development failures of the structural adjustment era enhanced economic growth but did not address and even worsened social inequality, thus leveraging gradual acceptance of rights-based approaches as a new development paradigm (Darrow & Tomas, 2005; Uvin, 2007). The entry of southern nations into the UN system in 1960s and 1970s, the related non-aligned movement of nations that refused allegiance to either the US-led market or the Soviet-led socialist ideologies subsequently inspired 1986 United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development and helped to support the adoption of human rights language into global economic and social matters (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004; Tsikata, 2004; Uvin, 2007). Legally, the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) provided a conceptual point for the development of the rights-based approach (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004). In fact, the human rights-based approach provides a set of principles for development efforts without prescribing specific strategies. The core philosophy includes participation, accountability, equality, non-discrimination, transparency and

empowerment, which in practice, is understood and implemented quite differently by diverse NGOs and bilateral and multilateral agencies (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004; Darrow & Tomas, 2005; Gready, 2008; Schmitz, 2012, Uvin 2007). Gauri and Gloppen (2012) noted that conceptually the approach relies on the indivisibility of rights, bridging negative and positive rights, and prioritizing the interests of worse-off and most discriminated rights-holders. Rights-based approaches provide space for making economic and social rights "less declaratory and more operational" (Gready, 2008, p. 736). According to Gauri and Gloppen (2012), in terms of accountability, human rights-based approaches to development do not restrict duty-bearing to the governments but expand it to donors and NGOs.

In the 1990s, a holistic approach that embraced principles of indivisibility, interdependence and the non-hierarchic nature of human rights became widely accepted among the human rights activists and development workers (Cornwal & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004). Before then, well-known human rights NGOs focused on civil and political rights, for example, the human rights of prisoners and exiles. What would fall under the rubric of economic, social and cultural rights, including food, water and shelter insecurity became the enterprise of development-identified NGOs, although they were not generally addressed as human rights violations (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003).

The separation of human rights activists and development workers was roughly reflected in the Cold War separation of civil and political freedoms from social and economic rights. This geo-politically constructed dichotomy began to fade by the early 1990s enabling progress in human rights-based approaches to development and directing their evolution into a counterbalance to market-oriented discourse (Kindornay et al., 2012; Mitlin & Hickey, 2009; Offenheiser & Holcombe, 2003). The concurrent geographic expansion of international aid systems and the emergence and strengthening of NGOs from developing and newly independent countries were also important factors for putting rights-based approaches into a more comprehensive development system (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004; Schmitz, 2012). Nevertheless, while civil and political rights have been generally endorsed by major aid giving governments, social and economic rights are still often considered at odds with neoliberal economic thinking or business interests (Berkovitch & Gordon, 2008; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003). Chong (2011) points out differences in the endorsement of the rights-based approaches to development, for

example, some European state-based bilateral donors approve the approach, and others, such as the United States Agency for International Development, reject.

Human rights-based approaches to development stand in conceptual opposition to the needs-based or service provision approaches that seek to provide charity and technical assistance according to need or lack. The difference between approaches lies in the distribution of needed goods and services as a response to a right to compel assistance and the legal versus moral obligation and duty on the part of the state to deliver. Human rights-based legal obligations raise the bar of state accountability and regard populations that experience deprivation as appointed participants in shaping state policy, as opposed to, its beneficiaries. Many development NGOs have incorporated rights-based approaches into their practice. Some authors worry, however, that because of its reformist nature and "feel good" concept which is easier to proclaim than to enact, rights-based approaches may stay as a "development fashion" especially by donor agencies without actual implementation and learning experiences (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003; Uvin, 2007).

Gauri and Gloppen (2012) distinguish four mechanisms of rights-based approaches to development for non-state actors: global compliance with international treaties; policies and programming; "rights talk"; rights consciousness; and legal mobilization. NGOs have an important role in all of these mechanisms. In the area of global compliance NGOs can pressure the governments to adopt, comply and enforce treaties. In the context of programming and policy, both governments and NGOs commit to transparency and define redress mechanisms for rights violations. While the state is the legal and primary duty-bearer, NGOs must be held to account as part of a rights-based approach in the situations where they provide services (Mayhew, Douthwaite, & Hammer, 2006). By engaging discriminated against groups in "rights talk," NGOs become key to the formation of rights consciousness among those who face violations, helping them to reshape their understanding from their needs or wants to the right to claim their entitlements. In a legal mobilization approach, NGOs can represent and support right-holders in diverse ways: by facilitating a dialogue based on expressed needs and proposals for services and the delivery of them, or by underwriting legal or political mobilization to support groups' litigation before domestic courts.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING WITHIN HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

The rise and acceptance of human rights-based approaches within the development community paralleled the increasing advocacy for and adoption of gender mainstreaming as a process or strategy aiming to enhance gender equality within development practice[5]. Both gender mainstreaming as a policy paradigm and rights-based approaches to development share a similarity, that is, a potential to challenge the existing social structures and encourage the participation of groups who are systematically excluded from decision-making processes. Similar to human rights-based approaches, gender mainstreaming has been widely adopted by multilateral and bilateral agencies, NGOs, and national governments (Bellows & Jenderedjian, 2015). In development practice, gender mainstreaming was criticized for being limited to organizational aspects, such as staffing (Mehra & Gupta, 2006), overly technocratic, and apolitical in practice (Eerdewijk & Davids, 2014; Parpart, 2014; Smyth, 2007). Many agree that gender mainstreaming with rights-based approaches is necessary to keep gender equality and women's rights in the focus of attention (Powell, 2005; Smyth, 2007; Wakefield, 2012) and to avoid technocratic solutions that do not include relevant indicators and output evaluations that capture women's lives, condition, and demands (Sen & Mukherjee, 2013). Desai (2005), however, raised concerns that international agencies promoting the framework depolitize women's issues. While the rights-based methodologies for evaluating gender empowerment were progressively developed with an emphasis on inclusion of both civil and political and social, economic and cultural rights (Apodaca, 1998; Chaudhuri, 2013; Beteta, 2006), this holistic framework is compromised when women's issues and participation are addressed outside of a critical analysis of the larger socio-political framework of the violations.

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[5] The United Nations "Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997" (A/52/3) defines gender mainstreaming as "the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels."

THE ROLE OF NGOS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE APPLICATION OF THE RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH TO FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY

In the context of food and nutrition insecurity, the rights-based approach is intertwined with economic, social and cultural rights, and in particular with the right to adequate food and nutrition (Article 11 of ICESCR). However, it was only in 1980s and 1990s when a rights-based understanding to hunger and malnutrition began to be framed with reference to civil society actors (Alston, 1984; Eide, 1989; Oshaug, Eide, & Eide, 1994). Six years after its establishment in 1993, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights endorsed the participation of civil society organizations in the monitoring and reporting of economic, social and cultural rights, thus creating the space for alternative "shadow reporting" for civil society representatives (Bellows & Núñez Burbano de Lara, forthcoming). In addition, throughout 1990s the UN with the involvement of civil society organizations organized a number of conferences on development and human rights issues, where a rights-based perspective on hunger was further developed. In the 1996 UN World Conference on Food Security, NGOs called for the clarification and realization of the human right to adequate food. This resulted in two foundational instruments. The first is the 1999 General Comment 12 on the Right to Adequate Food (Article 11)[6], prepared by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which expanded upon the brief two paragraph reference to the right to adequate food in Article 11 of ICESCR. The second instrument is the 2005 UN Food and Agriculture Organizations' (FAO) Voluntarily Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security that outlined for states how they could plan, implement, monitor, and report on their efforts to meet their duty obligations to realize the right to food for their populations.

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[6] General Comment 12: The Right to Adequate Food (Art. 11), published in 1999 by the United Nations Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (E/C.12/1999/5), provides definitive framing of the human right to adequate food. Paragraphs 17 and 18 characterize the constitution of violations of the right to adequate food. Paragraph 17 states that "[v]iolations of the Covenant occur when a State fails to ensure the satisfaction of, at the very least, the minimum essential level required to be free from hunger". Paragraph 18 continues "…any discrimination in access to food, as well as to means and entitlements for its procurement, on the grounds of race, color, sex, language, age, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other

In 2007, a manual to teach civil society groups and social movements how to create and publicize shadow reports on national progress to realize the right to food was developed through a cooperative civil society project (Suarez-Franco & Ratjen, 2007). The rhetoric of human rights became visible within the social movements resisting the policies of international financial institutions and transnational agro-food corporations. NGOs along with other civil society organizations and informal groups were instrumental in the advocacy for drafting UN declaration on the rights of peasants (Edelman & James, 2011) and in the shaping the food sovereignty movement as well as lobbying with some successes in the evolution of global food governance structures and mechanisms (Valente & Suarez Franco, 2010). Within the rights-based approach to food and nutrition security, NGOs and social movements have been becoming increasingly active and influential in global compliance mechanisms. Documented evidence of NGOs engagement with the right to adequate food using mechanisms of monitoring and accountability at the state levels, however, has been limited.

ARMENIA AND GEORGIA: NGOS AND FOOD SECURITY

NGOs emerged as key players of the new civil society order in Armenia and Georgia following the collapse of the Soviet Union, during the post-1990 period of early transition. The end of the Cold war era, with increased political liberalization and instability in both countries, brought a number of Western development agencies and INGOs, which were new to the Caucasus region. These organizations promoted the establishment of previously unknown types of civil society organizations, that is, NGOs that initially emerged from informal networks (Babajanian, 2005; Hamilton, 2000; Ishkanian, 2007; Matveeva, 2008). NGOs in the region have relied mostly on western funding (Ishkanian, 2003). Since the early years of independence, these NGOs have been encouraged to align their working styles with the goals and philosophies' of their funding agencies by adopting similar programming and administrative patterns, including ostensibly human rights and gender equality ideology.

With independence and democratization processes, the two newly established republics of Armenia and Georgia adopted new constitutions and ratified international treaties on human rights, including the 1966 ICESCR. Along with other human rights, the new

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status with the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the equal enjoyment or exercise of economic, social and cultural rights constitutes a violation of the Covenant."

constitutions recognized the right to an adequate standard of living in Armenia (Article 34) and the right to be provided with a minimum standard of living in Georgia (Article 32). Nevertheless, democracy building has been difficult. Most of the elections in Armenia were perceived by the majority of the public to be unfair, leading, among others, to the unsuccessful coup attempt in 2008 (Abrahamian & Shagoyan, 2011). In Georgia following the Rose Revolution in 2003, some NGO representatives played a crucial role (Broers, 2005; Grodsky, 2012), however, despite some progress in diminishing corruption and improving access to information (Börzel & van Hüllen, 2014), important political and civil rights are still violated (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

From the very beginning of the post-Soviet era, populations faced food and nutrition insecurity in both countries due to diverse reasons. Armenia was just beginning to recover from the devastating earthquake of 1988 and then was embroiled in an armed conflict with the neighboring nation of Azerbaijan from 1990-1994. During this same time, Georgia had internal conflicts with the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and more recently in August 2008 with Russia, all contributing to the challenge of providing an adequate standard of living for internally displaced persons. Armenia and Georgia both implemented agrarian reforms in 1992, redistributing collective and state farm land. The outcome has been the transfer, to the virtual exclusion of women, of small land plots' titles to men (Spoor, 2012). More recently, there is an emerging trend in the re-establishment of monopolies in the form of large-scale farms, sometimes with illegalities in land procurement (Spoor, 2012). Collectively, these challenges have had a negative impact on national food and nutrition security, and as with many other countries worldwide, both Armenia and Georgia experience the so-called double burden of malnutrition, with obesity and hunger existing side by side (Abe, 2013; Watson et. al., 2013).

METHODOLOGY

SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

In 2010 in Armenia, there were 3464 registered "civil society organizations", 689 "foundations", and overall 9500 "non-commercial legal persons" (National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia, 2010), whereas in Georgia's National Statistics Office (2010) reported about 11486 registered "non-commercial legal persons" without specification on types. Although the number of NGOs registered in Armenia and Georgia

is quite high, only a small portion of them are functioning. One report estimated that only 15-20% of Armenian NGOs are functioning (USAID 2013), while a self-assessment study by a Georgian NGO estimated that only "one in ten are functional" out of registered NGOs in Georgia (Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development, 2010).

In both Armenia and Georgia, there is no open registry of all civil society organizations with contact details or information on the scope of their work. Alternative searches for identifying active NGOs were therefore employed from October 2010 – March 2011 including searches in online databases of NGOs, donor organizations' listings of grantees, various coalition and petition lists, and finding websites of NGOs themselves as well as identifying their partner organizations mentioned on the NGOs' websites or mailing lists. Email addresses of two new organizations in Georgia working on food security acquired through the references by NGOs were included in the survey in spring 2011. The sampling was not random, but as inclusive as possible. We assume that some active NGOs, especially newly established ones that had no presence in the internet or were not yet known to other NGOs might have been omitted from the inclusion in the survey. In Georgia, 558 and in Armenia, 662 unique names of NGOs were located that also had contact information. A similar study in Armenia conducted during the same period of time found 445 active NGOs (Paturyan, Gevorgyan & Matevosyan, 2014). In Georgia a comparable sampling exercise based on the similar methodology currently has a database of 760 organizations including NGOs' regional offices (Civil Society Institute, 2014).

There are some potential limitations of this study. It is imaginable that our study attracted NGOs that were active users of the internet, leaving out the ones with little or no access, and thus less integrated into the modern development and aid terminology. We assume, though, that such an effect was very small, since in recent years the social media and use of the internet in the region has become widespread (Griffin, Noniashvili, & Batiashvili, 2014; Pearce & Rice, 2013) and NGOs' dependency on Western donors makes the use of the internet and email a necessity.

INTERNET-BASED SURVEY

A questionnaire compromising seventeen open and close-ended questions on the scope of NGOs' work and their involvement in the various areas of food security was sent by email to all 1220 NGOs in Armenia and Georgia. The questionnaire include an open-ended question set regarding food availability, and separately on the food safety and

quality in their countries. Other questions were related to the NGOs' self-reported knowledge and work with the rights-based approaches, gender mainstreaming, familiarity with the right to adequate food, and perception of food security.[7] In addition, NGOs provided data on their institutional characteristics.

Initially written in English, the questionnaire was translated to Armenian and Georgian, and the translations tested by being translated back into English. The accuracy of the translation across all three languages was further tested by four NGOs that ultimately did not participate in the final questionnaire. The survey was administered between October 2010 and April 2011. Email addresses that returned "undeliverable" or received no reply were verified and resent up to two times, as needed. Each NGO had an option either to send a reply by email or by accessing the online form. In Armenia 106 (22%) NGOs completed the survey, whereas in Georgia, 122 (28%) did so. Since the questionnaire mostly focused on food security, we assume that NGOs having experience or interested in this particular subject were most likely to complete the questionnaire. We make the assumption that all NGOs which replied were active based on the websites' descriptions of ongoing social activism as evidenced by mention of joining coalitions, signing petitions, receiving grants, reporting on their projects, and willingness to participate in the survey.

Based on the replies, the NGOs in both countries were divided into the following two categories: NGOs having self-reported experience in food security and NGOs having no experience. The quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, the Pearson chi-square test for association and Fisher's exact test, and binominal logistic regressions. The open-ended questions were analyzed through establishment, counting, and evaluation of codes.

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[7] The words were relatively new, and we kept the English words for "rights-based approaches" along with Armenian and Georgian names in the brackets "The rights-based approaches to development"- "mardu iravunk'neri vra himnvats motetsum" in Armenian, "up'lebebze dap'udznebuli midgoma" in Georgian, "the right to adequate food" - "pareni iravunk" in Armenian, "up'leba adekvatur sakvebzein" in Georgian. The term gender mainstreaming in both countries is used as "gender strategy" ("genderayin razmavarutyun" in Armenian, "genderuli strategia" in Georgian).

Having a similar response and completion rates, Pearson's chi-square test for homogeneity (Franke, Ho, & Christie, 2012) was performed to examine the distribution of NGOs with having experiences in food security in Armenia to those in Georgia (Table 3.1). The comparison of the distribution results within the areas of food related experience in Georgia were similar to the distribution of the ones in Armenia, (χ^2 (3, 228) = 2.485, p = 0.478).

RESULTS

NGOS' INVOLVEMENT IN ADDRESSING FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY IN

ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

As reported in Table 3.1, the 99 NGOs (Armenia N=49 (46.2% of all Armenian NGOs); Georgia N=50 (41.0% of all Georgian NGOs)) that addressed various aspects of food security through their work are divided according to their percent reflections of country totals: NGOs with a primary focus on food security reflected in their goals or mission (Armenia 16%, Georgia 14%) and NGOs that had relevant experience in the past or by the time of the survey through implementation of relevant projects and activities, but without having a strong mission focus (among these 24% in Armenia and 16% in Georgia had past experience, while 8% in Armenia and 10% NGOs in Georgia reported working by the time of the survey).

Table 3.1. NGOs involvement in addressing food and nutrition security

NGOs characteristics	Number of NGOs (%)	
	Armenia	*Georgia*
I NGOs without any experience in addressing food and nutrition security	56 (54%)	73 (59%)
II NGOs having experience in addressing food and nutrition security:	49 (46%)	50 (41%)
With mission focus in relation to food and nutrition security	17 (16%)	17 (14%)
With experience in improving food and nutrition security, however without specific mission goals, from which:	33 (29%)	32 (26%)
having programs or projects by the time of the survey	25 (24)	20 (16%)
having programs or projects only in the past	8 (8%)	12 (10%)
Total	106 (100%)	122 (100%)

Note: Variables are based on closed-ended questions.

NGOs have predominately women members whose positions are as paid staff rather than as volunteers. Most of these NGOs are based in national capitals (Table 3.2). In the combined sample of NGOs in Armenia and Georgia, slightly more NGOs have adopted gender mainstreaming (36%) than human rights-based approaches (32%); however, in neither of the countries' NGOs was involvement related to addressing food and nutrition security. Only work with the right to adequate food and monitoring of the food and nutrition related polices was associated with the NGOs' involvement in addressing food and nutrition security.

Table 3.2. Tabulation results of NGOs institutional characteristics and involvement in human rights-based approaches to development, gender mainstreaming and the right to adequate food in Armenia and Georgia

| Characteristics | NGOs | *Armenia (%)* | | NGOs | *Georgia (%)* | |
		with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security		with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security
Type of NGOs	106			122		
INGOs	10 (9%)	7 (7%)	3 (3%)	15 (12%)	7 (6%)	8 (7%)
Local NGOs	96 (91%)	41 (39%)	55 (52%)	107 (88%)	39 (32%)	66 (56%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	N/A			0.	0.444	
Membership	105			120		
Volunteer – based	36 (34%)	14 (13%)	22 (21%)	31 (26%)	10 (8%)	21 (18%)
Mixed (unpaid core members paid depending on the availability of funding)	40 (38.1%)	16 (15.2%)	24 (23%)	45 (38%)	20 (16%)	25 (21%)
Paid staff	29 (28%)	18 (17%)	11 (11%)	44 (36.7%)	16 (13%)	28 (23%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	4.328	0.115		1.267	0.531	
Number of members	102			117		
> 10 members	18 (18%)	8 (8%)	10 (10%)	54 (46%)	16 (14%)	38 (33%)
11 - 20 members	25 (25%)	13 (13%)	12 (12%)	33 (29%)	14 (12%)	19 (16%)
< 21 members	59 (58%)	27 (27%)	32 (31%)	30 (26%)	13 (11%)	17 (15%)

Table 2.3. Tabulation results of NGOs institutional characteristics and involvement in human rights-based approaches to development, gender mainstreaming and the right to adequate food in Armenia and Georgia (continued)

Characteristics	*Armenia (%)*			*Georgia (%)*		
	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	0.334	0.846		2.194	0.334	
Members' gender	105			119		
predominately men	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	11 (9%)	5 (4%)	6 (5%)
predominately women	43 (41%)	18 (17%)	25 (24%)	56 (47%)	12 (10%)	44 (37%)
equal ratio	59 (56%)	28 (27%)	31 (29%)	52 (44%)	28 (24%)	24 (20%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	N/A			N/A		
Leaders' gender	104			120		
mostly men	23 (22%)	9 (9%)	14 (14%)	20 (17%)	10 (8%)	10 (8%)
mostly women	38 (37%)	17 (16%)	21 (20%)	57 (48%)	14 (12%)	43 (36%)
equal ratio	43 (41%)	23 (22%)	20 (19%)	43 (36%)	21 (18%)	22 (18%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	1.628	0.443		7.763	0.021*	
Based in	104			118		
the capital (Yerevan, Tbilisi)	94 (90%)	41 (40%)	53 (51%)	103 (87%)	39 (33%)	64 (54%)
outside of the capitals	10 (10%)	7 (7%)	3 (3%)	15 (13%)	7 (6%)	8 (7%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	2.532	0.112		0.427	0.514	

Table 2.3. Tabulation results of NGOs institutional characteristics and involvement in human rights-based approaches to development, gender mainstreaming and the right to adequate food in Armenia and Georgia (continued)

Characteristics	Armenia (%)			Georgia (%)		
	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security
Operate	101			103		
in an urban or a rural area	29 (29%)	10 (10%)	19 (19%)	25 (24%)	10 (10%)	19 (19%)
nationally or within several regions within one country	44 (44%)	24 (24%)	20 (20%)	54 (52%)	24 (24%)	20 (20%)
in the South Caucasus or internationally	28 (28%)	12 (12%)	16 (16%)	24 (23%)	12 (11.9%)	16 (16%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	2.950	0.229		0.655	0.721	
Human rights-based approaches to development	106			122		
NGOs adopted	45(43%)	24 (23%)	21 (20%)	28 (23%)	16 (13%)	12 (10%)
NGOs have not adopted	61 (58%)	26 (25%)	35 (33%)	94 (77%)	60(49%)	34 (28%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	0.411	0.301		0.411	0.52	
Gender mainstreaming	105			114		
NGOs adopted	32 (30%)	16 (15%)	16 (15%)	49 (43%)	26 (23%)	23 (20%)
NGOs have not adopted	73 (70%)	32 (31%)	41 (39%)	65 (57%)	42 (37%)	23 (20%)

Table 2.3. Tabulation results of NGOs institutional characteristics and involvement in human rights-based approaches to development, gender mainstreaming and the right to adequate food in Armenia and Georgia (continued)

Characteristics	Armenia (%)			Georgia (%)		
	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	0.341	0.559		1.55	0.213	
Right to adequate food and nutrition	106			122		
NGOs that worked with	5 (5%)	5 (5%)	-	8 (7%)	-	8 (7%)
NGOs that did not work with	102 (96%)	46 (43%)	56 (53%)	114 (93%)	73 (60%)	41 (34%)
Fisher's test		0.039*				0.000***
Experience in monitoring of food and nutrition related policies	104				120	
NGOs with experience	16 (15%)	13 (13%)	3 (3%)	19 (15.8%)	18 (15%)	1 (1%)
NGOs without experience	88 (85%)	36 (35%)	52 (50%)	101 (84%)	30 (25%)	71 (59%)
Pearson chi^2 (statistics and *p*-value)	9.269	0.000***		26.018	0.000***	

Note. N/A - the statistical test is not applicable. Significant at *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$. All variables are closed-ended questions.

PERCEPTION OF FOOD INSECURITY BY NGOS

NGOs' perception of hindered access to food and its availability has significant
association with involvement in addressing food and nutrition security within the overall
sample of NGOs in both countries, as well as in Armenia alone (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. NGOs' perception of food and nutrition security: (a) does NGO respondent believe her/his country faces food safety problems? (b) does NGO respondent believe her/his country faces problems related to food access and availability?

Distribution of replies	*Armenia (%)*				*Georgia (%)*				*Total (%)*		
	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security	NGOs	with food and nutrition security experience	without experience in food and nutrition security		
a. *Food safety*	105			120			225				
Yes	87 (83%)	43 (41%)	44 (42%)	93 (78%)	33 (28%)	60 (50%)	180 (80%)	76 (34%)	104 (46%)		
No	1 (1%)	-	1 (1%)	4 (3%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	5 (2%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)		
Uncertain	17 (16%)	5 (5%)	12 (11%)	23 (19%)	10 (8%)	13 (11%)	40 (18%)	15 (7%)	25 (11%)		
b. *Access to and availability of food*	105			121			226				
Yes	56 (53%)	34 (32%)	22 (21%)	54 (45%)	21 (17%)	33 (27%)	110 (49%)	55 (24%)	55 (24%)		
No	22 (21%)	7 (7%)	15 (14%)	25 (21%)	11 (9%)	14 (12%)	47 (21%)	18 (8%)	29 (13%)		
Uncertain	27 (26%)	7 (7%)	20 (19%)	42 (35%)	14 (12%)	28 (23%)	69 (31%)	21 (9%)	48 (21%)		
Pearson chi^2 (statistic and *p*-value)	11.050	0.004		0.788	0.674		6.947	0.031			

Note. Pearson chi-square was not calculated for "food safety" because 2 cells (33%) have expected count less than 5. The non-response counts were treated as missing and thus were not included in the final calculation.

The majority of NGOs surveyed, 83% in Armenia and 78% in Georgia, perceived the current state of food quality and safety as problematic. On the other hand, the availability of, and access to food was perceived as less of an issue, only by a scant half of NGOs in Armenia (53%), and even less in Georgia (45%).

In their open-ended narrative responses to food safety, availability, and access, NGOs in both countries acknowledged the existence of food insecurity, linking it more often to food safety than to other related challenges (see Table 3.4). Out of 51 NGOs in Armenia and 60 in Georgia that provided open-ended narrative responses on food safety, the majority of NGOs focused their responses on dangers of expired and unsafe imported products sold in the market (Armenia 53%, Georgia 25%), followed by the absence of up-to-date food quality legislation and/or weak enforcement of food quality control and monitoring (Armenia 29%, Georgia 48%), as well as on complaints of states' prioritization of business interests over the protection of consumer rights (Armenia 12%, Georgia 23%). In the area of agriculture, the uncontrolled application of pesticides and inorganic fertilizers by local farmers was mentioned in both countries (Armenia 12%, Georgia 15%). In Georgia, the presence of genetically modified (GM) agricultural products, including GM seeds on the market, despite prohibiting legislation, was particularly a concern (16%); in Armenia, mining as a source of agricultural food pollution (6%) was mentioned. In their narrative responses to food access by 32 NGOs in Armenia and 31 in Georgia, the most frequent issue was increasing social inequality together with poverty and high unemployment rates (Armenia 38%, Georgia 36%), followed by increasing food prices concurrent with net national food imports (Armenia 44%, Georgia 20%) and rural poverty (Armenia 16%, Georgia 36%). Additionally, Georgian NGOs uniquely wrote about food insecurity being associated with refugee or internally displaced person status (13%), elderly (10%), persons with special needs (6%) and women headed households (3%).

Table 3.4. NGOs perception of food and nutrition security in Armenia and Georgia (coding of open-ended questions)

Raised issues	NGOs responses (%)	
	Armenia	*Georgia*
Food safety concerns (number of NGOs that provided open-ended narrations)	51 (100%)	60 (100%)
Absence of up-to-date food quality legislation and/or weak enforcement of food quality control and monitoring	15 (29%)	29 (48%)
Expired and unsafe imported products sold on the market	27 (53%)	15 (25%)
State's prioritization of business interests over consumers' rights protection	6 (12%)	14 (23%)
Uncontrolled application of pesticides and inorganic fertilizers by local farmers	6 (12%)	9 (15%)
Presence of genetically modified agricultural products, including seeds on the market despite the prohibiting legislation	-	10 (16%)
Mining as a source of agricultural pollution	3 (6%)	-
Concerns about availability of and access to food (number of NGOs that provided open-ended narrations)	32 (100%)	31 (100%)
Increasing economic inequality, poverty and high unemployment rates as reason for hindered access to food	12 (38%)	11 (36%)
Increasing global food prices as both countries are food net importers	14 (44%)	6 (20%)
Rural poverty and malnutrition	5 (16%)	11 (36%)
Food insecurity among:		
- refugees or internally displaced persons	-	4 (13%)
- elderly	-	3 (10%)
- persons with special needs	-	2 (6%)
- women headed households	-	1 (3%)

Note. Answers are based on coding of the open-ended questions. The questions stated were: "Do you believe that your country faces problems related to access to food, its availability? If yes, please clarify." and "Do you believe that your country faces problems related to food safety. If yes, please clarify." Open-ended responses about food safety were coded based on the narrations of 51 NGOs in Armenia and 60 in Georgia. Responses about availability of and access to food were coded based on the narrations of 32 NGOs in Armenia and 31 in Georgia.

Despite demonstrated awareness of food insecurity and its underlying causes in Armenia and Georgia, no NGO representative explained the lack of food access or availability in the context of human rights in general, in terms of the right to adequate food and nutrition in particular, or as a result of rights violations faced by certain groups. In addition, respondents' open-ended narratives were mostly gender-neutral; only one NGO in Georgia provided a gendered understanding of food security in relation to the specific vulnerability of unemployed, women-headed households.

HUMAN RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

Out of all surveyed NGOs, 20% in Armenia and 12% in Georgia reported that they had adopted a rights-based approaches to development (Table 3.2). In the aggregated sample, significant correlation was found with the variables related to NGOs' operations, but not, with organizational size or type. Coded operational indicators include: (a) NGOs' experience in human rights, democratic governance and rule of law; (b) work on poverty reduction; (c) experience with provision of food aid or nutrition support for women and children; and (d) cooperation with the UN World Food Programme (WFP) (Table 3.5). The four operational indicators were chosen for regression analysis and used for logistic regression. Models were compared by backward elimination through comparison of Akaike information criterion (AIC) and elimination of non-significant predictors (Agresti, 2007). According to the regression model presented in Table 3.5, those NGOs having experience in human rights advocacy and focusing primarily on civil and political rights were three times more likely to adopt human rights-based approaches than other NGO types. Cooperation with the WFP was also associated with NGOs' increased likelihood of adopting human rights-based approaches.

Table 3.5. Adoption of human rights-based approaches in Armenia and Georgia: binary logistic regression estimates (odds ratios), data of Armenia and Georgia combined

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
NGOs' experience in human rights, democratic governance, and rule of law versus none	2.921**	2.955**	3.060***
	(1.505-5.669)	(1.524-5.728)	(1.585-5.908)
Collaboration with WFP versus none	2.259*	2.430*	2.571**
	(1.017-5.019)	(1.115 – 5.294)	(1.186-5.571)
Work on poverty reduction versus none	1.493	1.602	-
	(0.810 – 2.752)	(0.891-2.879)	
Experience in provision of food aid or nutrition support for women and children versus none	1.319	-	-
	(0.674 – 2.582)		
Constant	0.149***	0.154***	0.188***
Tests and measures of fit			
Observations	228	228	228
Likelihood ratio test Chi^2 (df)	21.768 (4)***	21.119 (3)***	18.626 (2)***
Hosmer–Lemeshow goodness of fit test (df)	7.529 (6)	2.940 (5)	1.234 (2)
AIC	274.144	272.794	273.286
Nagelkerke R^2	0.127	0.124	0.110
Prediction accuracy	70.2%	71.1%	71.1%

Note. The 95% confidence interval for predictor variables is presented in parenthesis. Significant at *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$. All variables are closed-ended questions.

In Armenia and Georgia, NGOs that used human rights-based approaches were classified according to their mission and work focus as presented in Table 3.6. Most prominently, these NGOs worked either with minorities and vulnerable groups or on human rights advocacy with an emphasis on civil and political rights, as well as, community development.

Table 3.6. Types of NGOs that have adopted human rights-based approaches to development in Armenia and Georgia

Coding of NGOs based on their mission statements and aims of work	Number of NGOs (%)		
	Armenia	*Georgia*	Total
People with disabilities, children, youth, ethnic and religious minorities	8 (11.0%)	11 (15.1%)	19 (26.0%)
Civil and political rights, human rights advocacy	10 (13.7%)	7 (9.6%)	17 (23.3%)
Community development	3 (4.1%)	10 (13.7%)	13 (17.8%)
Broad focus	7 (9.6%)	-	7 (9.6%)
Environment	2 (2.7%)	3 (4.1%)	5 (6.8%)
Women	2 (2.7%)	2 (2.7%)	4 (5.5%)
Agriculture	2 (2.7%)	1 (1.4%)	3 (4.1%)
Business support	2 (2.7%)	1 (1.4%)	3 (4.1%)
Professional associations	2 (2.7%)	-	2 (2.7%)
Total	45 (61.6%)	28 (38.4%)	73 (100%)

Note. The NGOs categories are not overlapping and based on the coding of supplied mission statements, aims and main focus areas, and NGOs' websites and reports.

ADOPTION OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING BY NGOS IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

In contrast with NGOs' general use of the rights-based approaches (Table 3.2), more NGOs in Georgia (43%) adopted gender mainstreaming than in Armenia (31%) (Table 3.2). Further, diverging from the finding that few variables correlated with the adoption of rights-based approaches to development, significant associations were found in both the Armenian and Georgian samples, notably with the institutional and operational characteristics of NGOs: (a) NGOs' experience in gender equality and women empowerment; (b) having a female leader; (c) collaboration with FAO; (d) work in the areas of food ethics and sustainable consumption; (e) targeting women; (f) targeting poor;

(g) experience in improving rural livelihoods; and (h) being a local office or branch of an INGO.

Six predictor variables with the highest correlations, including two institutional and four operational indicators, were selected for regression analysis (Table 3.7).[8] The variable "targeting women" was not included in the model to avoid redundancy with "experience in gender equality and women empowerment." The model selection was performed similarly to the data analysis for the human rights-based approaches to development.

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[8] Following recommendations by Peduzzi et al. (1996), our sample size (N=228) should not include more than six independent variables. Each predictor-variable used for the regression model had at least ten outcomes following the recommendations of Agresti (2007).

Table 3.7. Adoption of gender mainstreaming in Armenia and Georgia: binary logistic regression estimates (odds ratios), data of Armenia and Georgia combined

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Experience in women empowerment and gender equality versus none	4.235***	4.116***	4.226***	4.145***
	(2.114 – 8.485)	(2.062-8.214)	(2.124-8.406)	(2.110-8.146)
Experience in food ethics versus none	4.712*	4.382*	4.498*	-
	(1.395-15.911)	(1.316-14.597)	(1.347 – 15.022)	
NGO targets rural communities versus does not	0.678	-	-	-
	(0.321-1.435)			
NGO targets poor versus does not	1.536	1.279	-	-
	(0.724 – 3.259)	(0.663-2.468)		
INGO versus local NGO	3.352**	3.352*	3.527*	3.060*
	(1.229 0	(1.227-9.155)	(1.306-9.528)	(1.142-

Table 3.7. Adoption of gender mainstreaming in Armenia and Georgia: binary logistic regression estimates (odds ratios), data of Armenia and Georgia combined (continued)

Variable		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
		9.145)			8.197)
NGOs' leadership (reference: "mainly men leaders")	Equal ratio of men and women leaders	1.798	1.777	1.786	2.095
		(0.652-4.955)	(0.645-4.896)	(0.648-4.925)	(0.771 – 5.688)
	Mainly women leaders	3.612*	3.731*	3.762*	3.868**
		(1.322-9.871)	(1.363 – 0.213)	(1.375-10.292)	(1.421-10.531)
Collaboration with FAO versus none		4.146 *	3.734*	3.858*	4.052*
		(1.310-13.118)	(1.229 – 11.342)	(1.279-11.637)	(1.393-11.787)
Constant		0.073***	0.065***	0.068***	0.073***
Tests and measures of fit					
Observations		217	217	217	2177
Likelihood ratio test Chi^2 (df)		52.414 (8)***	51.369 (7)***	50.835 (6)***	44.461 (5)***
Hosmer–Lemeshow goodness of fit test (df)		6.164 (8)	5.450 (7)	3.359 (6)	3.573 (6)

73

Table 3.7. Adoption of gender mainstreaming in Armenia and Georgia: binary logistic regression estimates (odds ratios), data of Armenia and Georgia combined (continued)

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
AIC	254.319	253.364	251.898	256.272
Nagelkerke R^2	0.293	0.287	0.285	0.253
Prediction accuracy	76.5%	74.7%	74.7%	72.4%

Note. The 95% confidence interval for predictor variables is presented in parenthesis. Missing cases were removed. Significant at *** $p < .001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

The best fit model with five predictors included both three operational variables and two institutional characteristics: (a) NGOs' experience in women empowerment and gender equality; (b) experience in food ethics; (b) cooperation with FAO; (c) NGOs' leadership in terms of gender; and (d) being an INGO or local NGO (Table 3.7). Based on the NGOs' focus and mission, the three largest groups of NGOs that adopted gender mainstreaming were: women rights organizations; NGOs working on the issues of minority or vulnerable groups, such as people with disabilities, children and youth, ethnic and religious minorities; and community development organizations (Table 3.8). As might be expected, NGOs with experience in women empowerment or gender equality projects were four times more likely to adopt gender mainstreaming than other NGOs; NGOs with female leadership were more than three times more likely to adopt gender mainstreaming. Notably, however, being an INGO also increased the likelihood of gender mainstreaming adoption threefold and cooperation with FAO and experience in the areas related to food ethics also increased the likelihood of gender mainstreaming adoption. In other words, not only experience with women and women's issues leverage support for gender mainstreaming, but also engagement with international actors whose exposure to, and sometimes leadership in gender equality, influence local and national NGO gender-based practices.

Table 3.8. Types of NGOs that have adopted gender mainstreaming in Armenia and Georgia

Coding of NGOs based on their mission statements and aims of work	Number of NGOs (%)		
	Armenia	*Georgia*	Total
Women	4 (5%)	14 (17%)	18 (22%)
People with disabilities, children, youth, ethnic and religious minorities	4 (5%)	11 (14%)	15 (19%)
Community development	10 (12%)	7 (9%)	17 (21%)
Civil and political rights, human rights advocacy	4 (5%)	8 (10%)	12 (15%)
Environment	1 (1%)	5 (6%)	6 (7%)
Broad focus	4 (5%)	2 (3%)	6 (7%)
Agriculture	3 (4%)	1 (1%)	4 (5%)
Professional associations	2 (3%)	-	2 (3%)
Business support	-	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
Total	32 (39.5)	49 (60.5%)	81 (100%)

Note. The NGOs categories are not overlapping and based on the coding of supplied mission statements, aims and main focus areas, and NGOs' websites and reports.

NGOS AND THE RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD

More than half of NGOs in Armenia (56%) and almost half of NGOs in Georgia (47%) claimed that they are familiar with the right to adequate food concept. Yet, only a very small fraction of all surveyed NGOs (6%) in both countries identified themselves as being engaged with the right to adequate food (Table 3.2): five in Armenia and eight in Georgia. The profile and focus of these NGOs is presented in Table 3.9. The largest groups of NGOs were organizations working on environmental conservation and non-conventional agriculture, small and medium business support organizations, and NGOs working in the broad area of rural community development.

Table 3.9. Types of NGOs that were engaged with the right to adequate food in Armenia and Georgia

Coding of NGOs based on their mission statements and aims of work	Number of NGOs (%)		
	Armenia	*Georgia*	Total
Local NGOs involved in:	4 (31%)	8 (62%)	12 (92%)
alternative agriculture and environmental conservation	1 (8%)	2 (15%)	3 (23%)
small and medium business support	1 (8%)	2 (15%)	3 (23%)
community development	2 (15%)	-	2 (15%)
breastfeeding advocacy	-	1 (8%)	1 (8%)
women rights	-	1 (8%)	1 (8%)
freedom of information (media)	-	1 (8%)	1 (8%)
consumer rights	-	1 (8%)	1 (8%)
An office of INGO involved in:			
rural development	1 (8%)	-	1(8%)
Total	5 (38%)	8 (62%)	13 (100%)

Note. The NGOs categories are not overlapping and based on the coding of supplied mission statements, aims and main focus areas, and NGOs' websites and reports

Among the local NGOs in Armenia and Georgia that were engaged with work on the right to adequate food, there was very low evidence of international cooperation with any global civil society organizations that embrace rights-based approaches to food. The exceptions were two NGOs in Georgia, one that cooperated with the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) and the other that had ties to La Via Campesina indirectly through their partner organization, Friends of the Earth. Out of eight NGOs in Georgia that reported involvement with the right to adequate food, three organizations mentioned having no knowledge about rights-based approaches, and two reported being aware of the approaches but that they had no practical experience applying them. The five Armenian NGOs all noted that they had participated in human rights trainings that introduced rights-based approaches.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

PERCEPTION OF FOOD SECURITY AND NGOS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE AREAS OF CONCERN

Although some literature claims that non-profits define their mandate in response to the shortcomings of the state (Young 2000; Najam 2003), we found that many survey respondents who identified government failure as a structural condition for food and nutrition security in their respective countries did not press for government accountability through their NGO. For example, while government deficiencies to protect food safety were raised as a major concern in both countries among the majority of NGOs, few in Armenia and Georgia reported their engagement in consumer rights protection or agricultural safety. Our data suggests that, similar to findings in other developing countries contexts (Brass, 2012; Clark, 1995), NGO involvement is not entirely determined by public demand, but also as a compromise between: the availability and support of donor funding, the organization's involvement in relevant transnational networks, and an NGO's capability and willingness to confront or collaborate with states and businesses.

Armenian and Georgian NGO reliance on external funding parallels findings in other post-Soviet countries (Broers, 2005; Ishkanian, 2003; Ishkanian, 2007). Nevertheless, NGO mandates are assuredly not only for pecuniary advantage. Our data show that NGOs' perception of food unavailability and lack of access to food by vulnerable and discriminated against groups was associated with involvement in program work addressing food and nutrition insecurity in Armenia and overall sample of NGOs (although not in the Georgian sample). These NGOs' awareness of issues related to food access might be the result of NGOs' professional interactions with groups that have high food insecurity status, such as rural poor or subsistence farmers.

DETERMINANTS FOR NGOS' ADOPTION OF RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES, GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND THE RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD

The likelihood of NGOs' adoption of rights-based approaches generally, and the right to adequate food in particular, was determined by international networking with human rights actors and donors promoting rights-based work, which in turn presumably fostered familiarity and engagement with human rights. Similar to rights-based approaches,

NGOs' acceptance of gender mainstreaming was determined by operational factors: experience and networking with transnational organizations endorsing gender mainstreaming; having corresponding experience in women empowerment initiatives; and by institutional factors, including: being a country office of an INGO or having a female leader. In the case of gender mainstreaming, thus, local NGOs with male leaders who have no experience with initiatives focusing on women were the most unlikely to adopt gender mainstreaming.

Surprisingly, our findings neither link gender mainstreaming to general human rights experience or adoption of human rights-based approaches among NGOs in Armenia and Georgia, nor connect it with the adoption of the right to adequate food among those addressing food and nutrition security. This indicates either a technocratic approach to realizing gender mainstreaming by local NGOs and INGOs (cf. comparable research in other developing countries by Ruwanpura, 2007 and Tiessen, 2004), or a narrowly defined ideological commitment to women's rights among local women NGOs (similar to arguments raised by Desai (2005)). One would expect that the women's movement that initiated and advocated for gender mainstreaming would encourage their local partners in Armenia and Georgia to use human rights-based approaches to realize their goals, including the promotion of a human right to adequate food and nutrition for women and girls. However, at least on the country level, women NGOs remain focused specifically on women related human rights treaties, for example the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (c.f. Bellows, Lemke, Jenderedjian,& Scherbaum, in press; Ishkanian, 2007). Study findings also suggest an inconsistency in how different UN bodies engaged in food security encourage Armenian and Georgian NGOs to embrace approaches: specifically, while WFP actively supported NGOs to work with rights-based approaches, FAO promoted gender mainstreaming.

Survey results corroborate and reinforce existing, but separated, research on NGO adoption of gender mainstreaming and human rights-based approaches. True and Mintrom (2011) highlight the decisive role of transnational actors for the facilitation of gender mainstreaming's integration at the country level. Kindornay et al. (2012) schematically represent the process of global human rights-based development as a pyramid, where vertical linkages by upper-tier donors and INGOs to local NGOs shape

the discursive flows through downward funding and upward reporting. Our findings of the interrelated flow of institutional and operational determinants behind the adoption of gender mainstreaming and the rights-based approaches to development, support both True and Mintrom (2011) and Kindornay et al. (2012). In both countries, NGOs' self-reported engagement with the right to adequate food was far less common than a more general reported adoption of human rights-based approaches or gender mainstreaming. Armenian and Georgian NGOs reported almost no linkage with INGOs or social movements that support the right to adequate food. When NGOs were engaged with the right to adequate food, it was associated with efforts to improve the current agricultural food system and production models through environmental conservation, critiques of conventional agriculture, or, business compliance with food standards. As the data demonstrates, neither collaboration with FAO nor with WFP encouraged the regional NGOs' involvement with food safety and nutrition to take a rights-based approach. Thus, the right to adequate food appears not to be a priority by the food security related international multilateral agencies operating in the South Caucasus.

NGO engagement with the right to adequate food implies opposition to the state and often to the business sector, requiring a combination of confrontation and negotiation on the part of rights holders. A rights-based approach to food safety and quality can create a controversial and risky environment for NGOs wanting to challenge the state in an organized manner, especially when state and business interests are highly intertwined. NGOs venturing such an endeavor benefit from global and domestic allies. Until very recently, however, the issues of food safety have been overlooked by major transnational actors propagating the right to adequate food (Chan, 2014; FAO, 2014). We assume that since the rights-based perspectives to food and nutrition security have been focused mainly on adequate food access and availability, NGOs in Armenia and Georgia lacked the opportunity to utilize bottom-up approaches for demanding food control systems and holding governments accountable. As mentioned, NGOs' links to international right to adequate food actors were reported as minimal. Adding to that, we note that food security social movements (e.g. anti-GMOs, vegetarianism, and sustainable agriculture) remain sporadically, unevenly, and under- developed in both Armenia and Georgia, meaning that domestic support for human rights-based approaches to food and nutrition exist in an embryonic stage.

The relatively low engagement with the right to adequate food among Armenian and Georgian NGOs working on the issues of food security contrasts with relatively high indicators for rights-based approaches more generally. We conclude that donors show lack of interest or weak demands for integration specifically of the human right to adequate food into local NGOs' practices. This inference parallels research in other geographical contexts where NGOs are also largely dependent on foreign assistance, namely that many Western donors and INGOs avoid support for economic and social rights (like the right to adequate food) while at the same time supporting work protecting civil and political rights (e.g. freedom of expression and from arbitrary detention) (Berkovitch & Gordon, 2008; Dicklitch & Lwanga, 2003; Nelson & Dorsey, 2003).

The lack of a human rights-based approach to food and nutrition imply that the Armenian and Georgian civil sectors are passive in monitoring state action to realize food and nutrition security (the "global compliance approach", Gauri & Gloppen 2012). This includes, for example, the opportunity to pressure NGOs' governments to adopt and comply with international agreements on the right to adequate food, such as FAO's Voluntary Guidelines *to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security*, or writing "shadow" NGO reports on the right to adequate food providing the opportunity to expand upon, contest, or deviate from official representations of national food and nutrition security. As discussed elsewhere[9], Armenian and Georgian NGOs have explored alternative opportunities to address food and nutrition violations without antagonizing funders through examinations of civil rights infringements (e.g. lack of transparency, procedural violations of law, or hindered access to public information) or appeals to existing local, national, or regional legislation related to social assistance or health that includes mechanisms of recourse and redress, such as the European Court of Human Rights.

Armenian and Georgian NGOs' low engagement with the right to adequate food might be explained by the historical factors of Soviet legacy and the post-1991 transition towards a free market economy. One might argue that the promotion of social and economic rights for NGOs and the public in general have negative connotations for Armenians and Georgians. Those rights continue to resonate as a reminder of the socialist ideology of

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[9] Jenderedjian, A., & Bellows, A.C. (2015) *Does the right to adequate food and nutrition matter for NGOs in Armenia?* Manuscript in preparation

the Communist past. Whereas this argument is not without grounds and warrants further investigation, there are also certain counter-arguments. As was shown, some NGOs in our study were working on issues related to other non-food-focused social and economic rights, for example, the right to health education, and housing. These economic and social rights are in fact included in the post-Soviet constitutions of Armenia and Georgia.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the study results, we recommend stronger integration of local NGOs in global civil society networks of donors, UN institutions, and social movements and INGOs that propagate the right to adequate food. To this end, improved intersectoral exchange of information is critical to identify problems, policy trends, and working approaches: between global actors and local civil society organizations addressing on the issues of human right to adequate food advocacy, and among those working in interrelated subjects of women's issues and food and nutrition security. At the same time, the UN institutions should encourage a holistic approach towards food and nutrition security when collaborating with civil society, prioritizing human rights, and promoting the right to adequate food and women's rights in particular. Finally, more work must be done to integrate food safety within the rights-based approach to food and nutrition security among transnational actors.

To what extent and how local NGOs utilize the universal human rights language and choose to work with specific human rights will always depend upon a number of external and internal factors including, the degree of cooperation with international partners, NGOs' perception of the problems, and their institutional capacity to engage a rights-based approach for their area of concern. We recommend that further studies focus on how local NGOs engage with rights-based approaches in the context of food and nutrition security, particularly with regard to discriminated groups, and to women and girls in particular. A comparative study between Armenia and Georgia on the application of human rights-based approaches is recommended in view of the Armenia's recent accession to the Russia-led Eurasian Customs Union, and signing of the European-Union – Georgia Association Agreement.

In addition, how NGOs involve local communities in rights-based approaches in specific political and economic environments, for example within post-Soviet realities, is a

recommendation for further research. And finally, work is crucially needed to examine if our results indicating that international donors prioritize civil and political rights and discount human rights claims to economic, social and cultural entitlements like food are found in other regional contexts.

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CHAPTER 4. GENDERED NATURE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND UNGENDERED REJECTION OF THE MOST MARGINALIZED - NGOS WORKING ON FOOD SECURITY IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA

Jenderedjian, A., Bellows, A.C.

ABSTRACT

Based on a qualitative study of fifty-seven local and international NGOs in Armenia and Georgia, this paper presents data on institutional and operational indicators of social capital generation. Despite policy and funders' recommendations to engage and empower the poor and women to improve food and nutrition security, NGOs' preferences in building networks and targeting specific groups are determined rather by organization core members' identities, most specifically their gender and their social and economic status. NGOs with male leadership rely more on paid male members, focusing on group formation of economically better-off male farmers and entrepreneurs organizing for improved economic gain. Female-led NGOs have predominately women staff members and pursue collective organization of better educated rural women for social equality, justice, and charity. The extremely poor and the most marginalized are not represented among either male or female NGO leadership and are rarely included in NGO attempts to encourage group formation and build networks. This article adds to the literature on determinants of social capital accumulation and the developments of civil society in the post-Soviet space.

INTRODUCTION

There is contradicting evidence on whether development initiatives by civil society organizations contribute to or discourage social capital accumulation among discriminated against and vulnerable groups, such as rural women, ethnic minorities, and small-scale poor subsistence farmers. On the one hand, researchers claim non-governmental organizations (NGOs) encourage social capital accumulation as a system of 'norms and networks that enable people to act collectively' (Woolcock, 1998: 225) by supporting affected groups' responses to incidents and discriminations, strengthening and sustaining social mobilization within social movements (Bebbington et al., 2008; Brown & Ashman, 1996), or acting as external catalysts for collective action (Fox, 1996; Thorp et al., 2005). Opponents argue that through reinforcement of top-down approaches, NGOs contribute to dependency and apathy in civic action, encourage elitism among better-off or more powerful groups, and discourage social mobilization (Abom, 2004; Cleaver, 2005; Islam & Morgan, 2012).

Interviews with the heads and programme managers of local and international NGOs involved in projects on improving food and nutrition security in Armenia (n=26) and Georgia (*n*=28) demonstrate that differences in social capital accumulation are influenced by the organizations' leaders' gender. Our results support Bourdieu's argument on selective and exclusionary aspects of group formation and social capital accumulation based on shared or close social positions and identities in social space (Bourdieu, 1985). NGOs with women's leadership and members tended to work with and facilitate collective organization of socially active rural women rather than men, whereas male headed NGOs targeted economically better-off men and supported the establishment of for-profit groups. The projects targeting extremely poor or disadvantaged groups did not focus on the aspects of collective organization, limiting their activities to charity or technical assistance. Local and international NGOs providing solely aid and technical assistance and not encouraging group formation or social mobilization were predominantly led by men and mostly contained an equal representation of men and women participants[10] amongst their target groups.

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[10] Besides "participants", NGOs also use other terms to identify targeted groups, such as "beneficiaries", "primary stakeholders", "partners", and "clients". In this paper we use 'participants' because it is relatively free from problematic connotations.

This paper raises the argument of a causal relation wherein the gender of NGO members and leaders prompts both the choice and nature of working with men versus with women and, further, group formation based on shared social positions and identities reflects strategies of maintaining social advantages. These exclusive forms of groups consecutively provide mechanisms to maintain domination for powerful groups and protection against discrimination and symbolic and other forms of violence for more marginalized ones, such as women (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2001; Galtung, 1990; Bellows, Lemke, Jenderedjian, & Scherbaum, 2015). Motivation to work with extremely poor and most vulnerable groups is not associated with (primary) efforts to promote social capital formation perhaps because it is less associated with maintaining the social advantages of NGO members, whether female or male. The building of trust may become difficult and unattainable because of the economic and social divide between more privileged NGO members and the extremely poor.

NGOS, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND DEVELOPMENT

The concept of social capital gained popularity in the 1990s within the so-called 'new development agenda' by the World Bank and became widely used by the United Nations and other agencies (Hulme, 2008). Following the post-colonial liberation and the end of the Cold War, development aid encouraged and resulted in the boom of NGOs in developing and transition countries, what Hearn (1998), Lang (2012) and others call the 'NGOization' of civil society. The influence of international donors on NGOization was specifically profound in countries with weak or transition democracies, amongst these the former Soviet Union states, including Armenia and Georgia (Hemment, 1998; Ishkanian, 2014; Matveeva, 2008). According to the objectives of prioritizing economic liberalization and political democratization, NGOs were regarded as being more effective than bureaucratized, rigid, and inefficient states. In the provision of services for improving social and economic problems in a localized context, NGOs remain relatively independent from governmental influences, being innovative, and acting affirmatively towards discriminated and vulnerable groups (Edwards et al., 1999; Jordan, 2008; Watkins et al., 2012).

The theoretical background for the rise of NGOs was the acceptance of social capital as a determinant for democratization within Putnam's (1994) positivist view of civic engagement and Coleman's (1988) rational choice theory. Social capital, therefore, shaped the rationale for civil society actors' involvement in development processes, as

well as their interest in and promotion of voluntary organizations. Considered as a solution for the challenges of social and economic transition (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2002; Woolcock, 1998; Woolcock, 2001), social capital, nevertheless, also raised the concern of academics in the appropriateness of its depoliticized use and applicability (Fine, 2010; Harris, 2001; Schuurman, 2003). Emphasized in addition to this is the argument that the role of gender, along with related social constructs like race or class, have been traditionally ignored or oversimplified in research on social capital (Cleaver, 2005; Maclean, 2010; Mayoux, 2001; Molyneux, 2002).

Until recently Bourdieu's theory on social capital has been minimally integrated into development research and practice (DeFilippis, 2001; Fine, 2010; Harris, 2001).[11] Similar to Putnam and Coleman, Bourdieu also defines social capital – in terms of the value or potential profit of being part of networks and groups – as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). However, Bourdieu (1986/2011, p. 88-89) stresses the reproduction of social capital in regard to members' homogeneity and proximity in social space as "[b]eing based on indissolubly material and symbolic exchanges, the establishment and maintenance of which presuppose acknowledgement of proximity, they [relationships] are also partially irreducible to objective relations of proximity in physical (geographical) space or even in economic and social space." Social and geographic locations based on shared characteristics of identity govern not only inclusion but also exclusion of certain groups and individuals. Power relations heavily determine types of associations and social actions, reinforcing inclusion and exclusion. Although Bourdieu (1986/2011; 1985; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) wrote mostly on the reproduction of dominant class and elite groups, we argue that the theoretical points are additionally applicable for analyzing gender aspects of social capital accumulation and generation (see e.g., Adkins & Skeggs, 2004).

This study asks: (a) does the gender of NGO leadership determine organizations' ideological goals, membership construction, choice of project, and programme participants, (b) are there any differences in encouraging collective organization amongst female- versus male-led organizations, and (c) under what conditions are female vs. male

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[11] Recent studies that use Bourdieu's approach on social capital include Geleta (2014), Greenspan (2014), Jeffrey (2007), Marabello (2013), and Michielsen et al. (2011).

factors in institutional and operational aspects of NGOs relatively speaking negligible? We frame our analysis within Bourdieu's view of social capital's context-specific selective reproduction and transformation.

EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NGOS IN ARMENIA AND GEORGIA: FORMING OF GENDERED SPACES

Armenia and Georgia became independent countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and since then have undergone rapid changes in political, economic, and social spheres. The changes in civil society were profound: civil organizations controlled by the Communist Party, as well as collective social structures of the Socialist past such as collective farms (*kolhozes*), collapsed, rarely transforming into new forms of social organization without external inducement. In addition, both countries experienced military conflicts, political turmoil, hasty reforms aimed at establishing market economies from centrally planned economies, profound agrarian transformations involving land privatization, and farm restructuring.

Almost immediately after proclaiming independence, Western development agencies, motivated with the willingness to create and promote a democratic society, encouraged and funded the establishment of a new type of civil society organization – NGOs (Hamilton, 2000; Ishkanian, 2006). The peculiarity of the early post-Soviet transformation was the gendered nature of civil society. The majority of NGOs were established by women, whereas politics remained mainly a male dominated area (Ishkanian, 2003). In the situation of increasing unemployment for scientists and educators and a lack of alternative options for professional involvement, women's involvement in NGOs provided both a possibility for having a relatively stable income and undertaking an activity that was professionally interesting and useful for society.

In the years after independence, the number of NGOs both in Armenia and Georgia continued to grow and a fresh wave of Western-oriented pro-democracy NGO activists established new organizations. By the mid-2000s, some opposition-oriented "elite" NGOs in Georgia became influential in the Rose Revolution (Broers, 2005; Grodsky, 2012). Meanwhile, in Armenia, NGOs were not successful in political protests (Hess, 2010).

METHOD AND DATA

NGOs' involvement in improving the state of food and nutrition security represents an interesting case for engaging diverse participant groups and employing various

approaches including: advocacy, technical support, aid provision, and opposing or cooperating with governments and businesses. The current study draws on a sample of fifty-seven NGOs in Armenia and Georgia of which forty-six are local NGOs (referred to as local NGOs) and eleven are international NGOs (referred to as INGOs) (Appendix 2 and 3).

These organizations were selected from the 2010-2011 electronic survey results of 106 registered NGOs from Armenia and 122 from Georgia (Jenderedjian & Bellows, 2015) and from additional interviews with four organizations identified from the interviewed NGOs. In addition, consultations with two bilateral and multilateral donor organizations operating in Armenia and Georgia helped to finalize the list of fifty-seven organizations interviewed.[12] Local NGOs and INGOs selected for this study identified themselves as primarily food and nutrition security oriented organizations that were registered in either Georgia or Armenia.[13] Normally, one to three members of an organization were interviewed, depending on organization focus and size. Overall, twenty-six in-depth interviews were conducted in Armenia and thirty-one in Georgia during two visits to each country between April 2011 and August 2012 with NGO representatives working in diverse areas of food and nutrition security (Table 4.1).[14] The human subjects protocol, including interviewee confidentiality, was observed.

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[12] Before commencing interviews in June 2011, Armenia's head of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) was consulted and, in Georgia, the Food and Agriculture Organization's office (FAO Georgia) provided a list of their partner NGOs involved in areas of food security.

[13] Both local NGOs and INGOs must be registered in Armenia and Georgia. Unlike local NGOs, INGOs do not headquarter inside Armenia or Georgia and INGO priorities and operational style generally reflect and respond to different influences than do local NGOs.

[14] With the exception of two NGOs in Georgia and one in Armenia, not more than one in-depth interview was held per organization. In the case of the above-mentioned organizations, two additional interviews were held with the NGOs in Georgia and Armenia in the summer of 2012 to clarify questions with previously non-interviewed programme managers or to get more in-depth information.

Table 4.1. Food security priorities of local NGOs and INGOs in Armenia and Georgia (N=57) by gender of leaders

Type of NGO by country and type, (*N*=57)	Leadership* by gender and involvement in food and nutrition security	
	Food security priorities of female-led NGOs (*n*=28)	Food security priorities of male-led NGOs (*n*=29)
Local NGOs (*N*=46)		
Armenia (*N*=20)	(*n*=8) - sustainable farming**, (3) - food delivery and trainings (intermediate NGOs between INGOs and local communities) (3) - conventional farming and support for small businesses (2)	(*n*=12) - conventional farming*** and support for small and medium scale businesses (8) - food aid and nutrition for marginalized groups (2) - food and agricultural safety advocacy (2)
Georgia (*N*=26)	(*n*=13) - sustainable farming (6) - improvement of rural women's economic and social status (3) - food aid and nutrition for children with special needs (2) - food and agricultural safety advocacy (2)	(*n*=13) - conventional farming and support for small and medium scale businesses (7) - sustainable farming (4) - food aid and nutrition for marginalized groups (1) - food and agricultural safety advocacy (1)
INGOs (*N*=11)		
Armenia (*N*=6)	(*n*=5) - sustainable and conventional farming and nutrition (4) - nutrition (1)	(*n*=1) - sustainable and conventional farming and nutrition (1)
Georgia (*N*=5)	(*n*=2) - food safety advocacy (1) - sustainable and conventional farming and nutrition (1)	(*n*=3) - nutrition (1) - sustainable and conventional farming and nutrition (2)

Note. * Local NGO leaders are the main founders, acting directors, and presidents of the organizations. INGO leaders are considered heads of the local offices of international NGOs based in countries other than Armenia or Georgia.
** Sustainable farming implies NGOs' advocacy for non-conventional agroecological methods, including use of biological or organic methods. ,

*** Conventional farming assumes reliance on synthetic inputs (e.g., fertilizers, pesticides), and a greater tendency towards mono-cropping.

Interviews were transcribed and, together with an additional 158 usable files (e.g., NGO website information, reports, news coverage, and donor reports), were coded to characterize institutional and operational attributes, the latter of which included the choice of participants (e.g., women and the poor) and forms of collective organization (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Indicators of social capital: Institutional and operational attributes

Indicators of social capital	Indicator attributes
Institutional	- Organization's history of origin - Members' and leaders' gender, education, and geographic and ethnic proximity - NGOs' reliance on paid-staff members and foreign donors versus volunteers and local donations
Operational	- Advocacy versus service delivery approaches to food and nutrition security - Choice and rationale for targeting: (a) women versus men, and (b) better-off versus extremely poor farmers and marginalized and discriminated against groups - Promotion and encouragement of group formation: (a) types of groups and rationales for their establishment, and (b) group members' composition

Institutional and operational indicators on gender and other social determinants of collective organization were analyzed further based on Bourdieu's ideas presented earlier and developed further using findings of NGOs' role in group formation and the inclusion of the poor (Abom, 2004; Cleaver, 2005; Thorp et al., 2005) and of women (Mayoux, 2001; Molyneux, 2002). Additionally, organizations' developmental history and their reliance on volunteers and local donations were reviewed based on the Putnam et al.'s (1994) ideas of volunteering, individuals' trust-building towards others, and the establishment of social ties within historical and social contexts.

INSTITUTIONAL INDICATORS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

The data demonstrated noticeable differences between female- and male-led NGOs'
institutional organizations: the history of their emergence, their composition by gender of
their members, reasons for horizontal associations between members (including network
building and bonding), and work focus.

ORGANIZATION'S HISTORY OF ORIGIN

All local offices of INGOs were founded in the years after the post-Soviet independence,
initially being mainly composed of expatriate management staff. With the exception of
one NGO in Georgia, which had a head-office in the US and a field office in Georgia, all
other interviewed INGOs were branches or country offices of relatively large
international NGOs or foundations with numerous offices in other countries. All INGOs
relied on paid staff, received external funding, and were accountable to donors.

Distinct differences characterize the history of origin of local female- and male-led NGOs
in Armenia and Georgia (Table 4.3). Amongst local NGOs with male leaders,
continuation of an already existing donor project and motivation to continue the work and
employment in the chosen area were contained within the main reasons for leaders to start
an NGO. Of the total male-led NGOs, eight out of thirteen in Georgia and six out of
twelve in Armenia were established at the sunset of a foreign development project,
providing the newly established NGO with institutional capacity and personnel training,
and often having assured financial support from former founding agencies. This trend
was particularly prominent after the closing of programmes aimed at small and medium
scale business support and conventional agriculture development. The majority of these
male-led post-foreign development project NGOs emerged in the late 1990s to the mid-
2000s. Their leaders, more than the male and female heads of other NGOs, launched
profit-oriented enterprises parallel to their NGOs' activities and were prepared to shift
completely to the business sector if there would be a favourable environment.

The history of origin of female-led NGOs differs significantly from that of male-led
NGOs. Amongst local NGOs with female leaders, the ratio of NGOs emerging from
donors' projects was low (one in Georgia and two in Armenia). In contrast to their
counterparts, female-led NGOs in both countries were established by small groups of
social activists. Five out of eight NGOs in Armenia and eleven out of fifteen in Georgia

were established by a group of predominately women activists, often friends or professionals working in the same field as the NGO they developed. Even though the members were mostly concerned citizens, reliance on paid staff members and dependence on international development aid implied that monetary incentives were also important factors. These organizations reported considerably longer histories compared to those emerging from donor projects.

The remainder of the NGOs (five male-led in Armenia and Georgia; two female-led in Armenia and Georgia) were founded by veteran members of well-established NGOs. NGO history of origin was related either to conflicts inside the previous organizations or organizations' specialization in certain areas and members' willingness to venture into more independent work. Experience and a network of partners and donors from previous organizations contributed to an NGO's smooth operation, even in the beginning stages.

Table 4.3. *Types of local NGOs' origin by number*

Types of local NGOs (leadership type – country (number))		From a donor project	By a group of social activists	From a local NGO	Church-based origin
Female-led NGOs	*Armenia* (8)	2	5	1	-
	Georgia (13)	1	11	1	-
Male-led NGOs	*Armenia* (12)	6	2	3	1*
	Georgia (13)	8	3	2	-
Total (46)		17	21	7	1

Note. * Established by the Armenian Apostolic Church.[15]

To summarize, the history of origin of NGOs with women leaders was often connected to a response to social need, whereas male-led NGOs exhibit an association with the availability of funding and a willingness to continue with previous employment.

NGOS' RELIANCE ON PAID-STAFF MEMBERS AND FOREIGN DONORS VERSUS VOLUNTEERS AND LOCAL FUNDERS

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[15] Another NGO affiliated to the Armenian Apostolic Church has emerged from the one initially founded.

All organizations relied on paid staff members and secured funding for their operations, mainly through external Western donor funding agencies. No NGO received considerable funds from local individual donations or relied primarily on volunteer members rather than paid staff, which, NGO representatives explained, was due to the combination of high poverty rates and low social engagement culture in Armenia and Georgia. During the operational history of all NGOs in this study, only one female-led NGO in Armenia received programme-related funding from the state, and no organization in Armenia or Georgia received funds from local businesses. Apart from being reliant on foreign aid, some local NGOs (six male-headed and four female-led) from both countries provided consultancy and other profit generating services that were either insignificant or minimally adequate to cover their organization's administrative expenses.

As for volunteers, both INGOs and local NGOs reported their preference to rely on core paid staff members and to attract volunteers only for short-term activities, such as advocacy campaigns, clean-ups, or seasonal short-term work in communities. According to NGOs, volunteers were not as willing as paid staff to dedicate time and resources to the organization's mission. There was, nevertheless, a reported tendency in female-led NGOs for the staff themselves to work without pay, especially between completing old and preparing new projects, than was the case in the male-led counterpart organizations.

MEMBER'S AND LEADER'S SOCIAL LOCATION: GENDER, EDUCATION, AND GEOGRAPHIC AND ETHNIC PROXIMITY

NGOs had marked differences in their share of male and female members, corresponding to the leader's gender (Table 4.4). Out of twenty-five male-headed NGOs, eleven had predominately men as their members, while no female-headed NGO had more men than women members. The male-dominated composition of NGOs was common among those that had emerged from former donor projects. The remaining thirteen male-headed NGOs had an equal ratio of men and women. Women in all male-headed NGOs had predominately administrative and subordinate positions, such as those of accountant or project assistant. Two local NGOs from Armenia, which had male leaders and were related to the Apostolic Church, relied almost exclusively on paid women employees.

Table 4.4. Share of members by gender in female- and male-led NGOs and INGOs by number

Types of NGOs (country-leadership type (number))	Mainly women members	Mainly men members	Equal or almost equal ratio of men and women
Local NGOs (*n*=46)			
Local NGOs, female (21)			
Armenia (8)	6	—	2
Georgia (13)	12	—	1
Local NGOs, male (25)			
Armenia (12)	2	4	6
Georgia (13)	—	5	8
INGOs (*n*=11)			
INGOs, female (7)			
Armenia (5)	—	—	5
Georgia (2)	—	—	2
INGOs, male (4)			
Armenia (1)	—	—	1
Georgia (3)	—	—	3

The overwhelming majority of NGOs with women leaders had also female members: six out of eight local NGOs in Armenia and twelve out of thirteen in Georgia. These organizations explained low engagement of men with society's expectations of males to earn more money, which most local NGOs, being limited to short-term funding programme-based schemes and and dependent on donor funding, could not provide. Other than that, these organizations also preferred to work with women in the areas of biological farming, environmental protection of food and water sources, and food safety. A female organization's head promoting non-conventional agriculture in Armenia explained that, "…I prefer to hire women as I know women care more about environmental protection; she can sacrifice her economic income for the sake of the health of her children".[16] The manager of an NGO in Georgia working on food safety issues explained, "Now I have only women in the food safety project. It is because the project is dangerous; because in the society when your criticize someone it is safer to be a

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[16] Armenia – local female-led NGO, Interview No I-4-GL, June 2011

woman [*sic*] …". [17] In other words, women hire women because they work for less and push hard on environmentally progressive issues that promote health and safety. In addition, in Armenian and Georgian societies public criticism raised by women is generally not attributed to the desire to replace current power structures, thus less likely to result in interrogations by authorities and threats by powerful business interests.

The NGOs that originated from non-formal groups of social activists contained predominately women members who shared a common educational and social background. For example, in the 1990s, an NGO in Armenia emerged from a group of female public health workers who were initially concerned about chemical contamination of water and food sources. Similarly, in Georgia, worries over environmental pollution were a driving force behind the organization of an NGO by non-formal groups of predominately female activists and friends.

In contrast to local NGOs, the offices of INGOs had more balanced composition regarding female and male staff in both countries. INGOs, in comparison with the majority of local NGOs, had more advanced financial and institutional capacities and were able to provide higher salaries to their staff, thereby also attracting men. The staff's readiness to travel to different regions, together with their professional experience, was quoted as an important determinant for hiring either men or women.

All international and local NGO members had considerably similar educational and social backgrounds, possessing a higher education and usually living in the same geographic area. In Georgia, a multi-ethnic country, all local NGOs were composed solely of members of one specific ethnic background. However, INGOs from both countries had considerably higher diversity in terms of geography and ethnicity due to the programme offices being located in different regions of the countries and, in a few cases, having foreign staff members.

OPERATIONAL INDICATORS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

ADVOCACY VERSUS SERVICE DELIVERY: NGOS' APPROACHES TO FOOD AND NUTRITION INSECURITY

Grassroots advocacy, on the other hand, is considered foundational for social mobilization and action (Hulme, 2008). NGOs' roles have been criticized as limited to

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[17] Georgia– local female-led NGO, Interview No I-10-CS, June 2011

service delivery that creates dependency and weakens the potential for collective organization. Study results demonstrate that NGO orientation toward advocacy versus service delivery varied according both to gendered NGO leadership and to local NGO versus INGO status. Among local NGOs, male-headed organizations primarily exhibited service-delivery orientation; only three male-headed NGOs in Armenia and one from Georgia had a primary focus on advocacy, rather than service delivery. Female-led local NGOs had a comparably stronger focus on advocacy: six NGOs focused on advocacy; seven applied a combination of advocacy with service delivery; the remaining six focused on service delivery only.

With one exception, all female- and male-led INGOs in the study had a primary focus on service-delivery. For these INGOs, the limited advocacy work did not confront the state and was often realized through participation in high-level governmental working groups or in the organization of awareness-raising campaigns and training focused on social and human rights issues.

NGOS' CHOICE OF TARGET GROUPS

A wealth of policy and academic literature recommends that NGOs should work directly with recipient groups and their communities. In order to reach the extremely poor and the most marginalized and discriminated against groups, including women, the literature encourages participatory approaches that focus on grass-roots social mobilization and group formation.

Pronounced differences in choosing and targeting specific groups were noted in local male-headed versus female-led NGOs involved in farming and the marketing of agricultural products. Male-headed NGOs worked with small and medium sized enterprises and encouraged the participation of male farmers. The involvement of women by NGOs with male leaders was often a response to a donor requirement. These NGO heads, in both Armenia and Georgia, maintained that rural women's economic empowerment is not necessary because they already control household financial resources. The men further claimed that most gender mainstreaming initiatives offer redundant program duplication:

> I always laugh when someone tells me to organize training for women
> entrepreneurs. Is business planning separate for women and men? Do they
> [women] have other cash flows? It is the same for both women and men, just in

this group you'll have more women, and not men. Do you have to have a special programme for women? Business does not have gender.[18]

Female-headed local NGOs preferred to work on sustainable (non-conventional) farming and to target women's groups. Three Georgian female-headed NGOs worked specifically with internally displaced rural women on small-scale food production projects. Opposing the arguments expressed by local male-headed NGO representatives, organizations with female leaders emphasized the need for women's involvement for improving their economic status. The arguments for targeting women were strong in the context of increasing vulnerabilities. Particularly in rural areas of Armenia, men try to find seasonal work in the capital or in Russia, leaving many women to manage the household and children alone. However, often the men do not come back or stop sending remittances, and women become interested in finding alternative ways to earn an income, including areas that are traditionally prescribed to men, "Since men are leaving villages, women tend to work with us… maybe because the organization has many women members and the leader is also a woman."[19] Similar arguments on the importance of gender-tailored approaches for women were also brought up by women-led INGO and local NGOs working on women issues.

In contrast to local NGOs and INGOs promoting farming and agricultural marketing, no gender-related differences were found among NGOs providing food and nutrition aid, resources, and education to the extremely poor, the elderly, children, and people with health issues. Local female- and male-led NGOs and INGOs sought to keep a service delivery balance among the recipients, involving both females and males. In the work of these NGOs, social mobilization and group formation were not a priority.

Ranging from agricultural development to food and nutrition aid, INGOs in Armenia and Georgia, in contrast to local NGOs, had adequate financial and professional capacity to include a wider diversity of participants in their initiatives. For example, some INGOs even encouraged the engagement of both women and men in agricultural development, although women's inclusion continued to be shaped within existing social norms and expectations of them being nurturing mother and wives, rather than agricultural

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[18] Georgia– local male-led NGO, Interview No II-3-AB, June 2011

[19] Armenia– local female-led NGO, Interview No I-7-SC, July 2011

producers. For example, in a project promoting agricultural cooperatives, women were encouraged to assist community members,

> [t]o highlight and stimulate the role of women, and to help cooperatives achieve social goals in the community, small grants were awarded to Women's Committees to support their activities under the project. These included social, health and education needs and the recipients of assistance were extremely vulnerable families, elderly and vulnerable children.[20]

Preference for the inclusion of females versus males in NGOs' target groups varied according to the gender of leaders, the local or international nature of an NGO, involvement in agricultural development versus provision of food and nutrition aid, and donor expectations. Strong differences were prevalent between female- versus male-led local NGOs involved in agriculture: women leaders tend to target female clients; male leaders, male clients. Organizations involved in food and nutrition service delivery to the extremely poor and other marginalized groups preferred to include women and men together; they did not encourage gendered group formation.

NGOS' PROMOTION OF GROUP FORMATION: FOCUS ON WOMEN AND THE POOR

Donors and policy-makers often perceive NGOs to be catalysts of social capital accumulation due to their capacity to encourage group formation and thus ostensibly empower discriminated against groups and enable the members to reach their social and economic goals.

In this study, more than half of the NGOs encouraged various forms of groups' formation. Some organizations encouragement was through assistance in official legal registration of groups as cooperatives, associations, etc., others – only encouraged the establishment of groups without pursuing them to have legal status. These NGO motivated groups in the local communities can generally be divided into profit or non-profit oriented. Table 4.5 demonstrates group organization by following classifiers: a) non-profit and/or for-profit nature, b) preferences to register groups as formal organizations and/or work with non-formal groups, c) group types by function and d) area of groups' involvement.

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[20] UMCOR Armenia (2015) 'Strengthening the Role of Women in Agricultural Cooperatives'. http://umcorarmenia.am/node/75 (accessed 21 June 2015).

Table 4.5. Types and characteristics of groups encouraged by twenty-five local and ten International female- and male-led NGOs in Armenia and Georgia

Group organization encouraged by NGOs by typology*	Number of NGOs (n)		Distribution of men and women within groups
	Armenia	*Georgia*	
I. Local NGOs (*N*=25)	8	17	
Female-led local NGOs (N=11)	4	7	
a) Non-profit and/or for-profit			
For-profit	3	4	Women or men
Non-profit	1	3	Women and youth
b) Formal and/or non-formal organization			
Formal organizations	1	--	Predominately men
Non-formal groups	2	2	Women
A combination of both	1	5	Mixed, women in non-formal groups
c) Group type by function			
Farmer groups and organizations	2	2	Women or men (depends on area of groups' involvement)
Advocacy self-help groups	--	2	Women
Entrepreneurs' groups	-	2	Women
Youth clubs	1	1	Mixed
d) Area of groups' involvement			
Conventional farming	1	--	Started with mostly men, a growing interest amongst women whose husbands have been away for a long time

Table 4.5. Types and characteristics of groups encouraged by twenty-five local and ten International female- and male-led NGOs in Armenia and Georgia (continued)

| Group organization encouraged by NGOs by typology* | Number of NGOs (n) | | Distribution of men and women within groups |
	Armenia	*Georgia*	
Sustainable farming	2	3*	Women: but more men in traditionally established and for-profit high-labour sectors, more women in non-traditional or new areas
Community, social and environmental justice	1	3*	Women; some interest from men
Non-farming related profit generation	--	2	Women
Male-led local NGOs (*N*=14)	4	10	
a) Non-profit and/or for-profit			
For-profit	3	9	Predominately male
Non-profit	1	1	Mixed
b) Formal and/or non-formal organization			
Formal organizations	2	6	Predominately men
Non-formal groups	1	1	Mixed
A combination of both	1	3	Predominately men, women are involved in non-formal groups
c) Group type by function			
Farmers organizations	3	8*	Predominately men; NGOs rely on traditional roles, depends on type of farming
Self-help and community-based groups	1	3*	Mixed
d) Area of group's involvement			
Conventional farming	3	6	Predominately male
Sustainable farming	--	3	Initially women; men tend to become involved when groups achieve a profit or the sector traditionally implies intensive male labour

Table 4.5. Types and characteristics of groups encouraged by twenty-five local and ten International female- and male-led NGOs in Armenia and Georgia (continued)

Group organization encouraged by NGOs by typology*	Number of NGOs (n)		Distribution of men and women within groups
	Armenia	*Georgia*	
Support to people with special needs and the extremely poor	1	1	Mixed: organizations are oriented towards keeping gender balance
II INGOs (*N*=10)	6	4	
Female-led INGOs (*n*=7)	5	2	
a) Non-profit and/or for-profit			
A combination of for-profit and non-profit*	3	2	More women in non-profit groups, higher participation of men in for-profit groups
Non-profit	2	--	Mixed
b) Formal and/or non-formal organization			
Formal organizations	1	1	More men
Non-formal groups	3	--	Mixed
A combination of both	1	1	Mixed
c) Group type by function			
Farmers organizations	2*	1	Predominately men; some women-focused initiatives
Rural youth and schoolchildren groups and clubs	3*	--	Mixed gender groups of young individuals (more girls)
Women clubs	1*	--	Women
Workforce community groups	1*	--	Men
Advocacy coalition	--	1	Mixed: already established civil society organizations
d) Area of group's involvement			

Table 4.5. Types and characteristics of groups encouraged by twenty-five local and ten International female- and male-led NGOs in Armenia and Georgia (continued)

| Group organization encouraged by NGOs by typology* | Number of NGOs (n) | | Distribution of men and women within groups |
	Armenia	*Georgia*	
Conventional farming	2*	1	Previously mostly men; currently more initiatives to involve women
Nutrition and farming education	3*	--	Mixed gender groups of young individuals (more girls)
Improvement of women's economic and social status	1*	--	Women
Rehabilitation of community infrastructure	1*	--	Men
Food safety	--	1	Mixed
Male-led INGOs (*n=3*)	1	2	
a) Non-profit and/or for-profit			
For-profit	1	2	
b) Formal and/or non-formal organization			
Formal organizations	1	2	Predominately men
c) Group type by function			
Farmers groups and organizations	1	2	
d) Area of group's involvement			
Conventional farming	1	2	

Note: * Some local and international NGOs were involved in the formation of more than one type of group. For example, a female-led INGO in Armenia has encouraged the establishment of women's clubs and workforce community groups. Another INGO in Armenia encouraged establishment of both agricultural cooperatives and youth clubs. Among local NGOs, a male-led organization in Georgia worked with both formal for-profit agricultural organizations and non-profit formal and non-formal groups.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the overwhelming majority of small-scale subsistence farmers were left to themselves to find new ways of managing their incomes and accessing the market (Spoor, 2012). Without external forces that formerly forced collectivization or that later helped adapt to new market economics, farmers with increasing poverty and no state support adjusted through non-formal traditional community self-help networks. They, however, avoided formal organization into cooperatives, associations, or unions (Millns, 2013), most likely because of negative experience in Soviet collective farms and poor legislation promoting establishment of agricultural cooperatives in Armenia and Georgia. In the current study, local NGOs and INGOs alike often encouraged the establishment of both for-profit non-formal and formal groups in rural development projects. For the vast majority of all local and international INGOs, group formation motivation was improved economic gain. Collective organization for social justice issues ranked a distant second.

Local NGOs that had female leaders encouraged group formation based on both social and economic goals. The organizations that worked exclusively with rural women were women rights based and environmental NGOs. As was explained, since independence in both Armenia and Georgia, women have been strong in mobilizing their resources in order to improve the economic and social status of their families during times of hardship. In the years after independence, many men lost their jobs at the collective farms and did not adjust to work effectively in the new setting. In addition, many families were severely affected by the military conflicts in Georgia and Armenia. Women sought to ease the men's burden and support their families by attempting new economic activities, including biological farming and marketing of organic produce. In general, non-conventional farmers' groups, but also women entrepreneur groups and self-help groups of internally displaced women in Georgia, are examples of how female-led NGOs supported these families in income-generating alternative livelihood options.

Groups formed or encouraged by NGOs with male leaders were also male dominated and included relatively successful farmers, according to the interviews. Out of fourteen local NGOs with male leaders in Armenia and Georgia, half of the NGOs promoted the formation of agricultural profit-oriented formal groups, such as agricultural cooperatives, associations, and unions. NGO representatives explained the prevalence of men in newly established organizations by the traditional division of rural labour, wherein the overwhelmingly male 'household heads' and landowners were also the main

breadwinners of the families. NGOs were not willing to challenge those structures by involving women. Male dominated NGOs promoting traditionally male controlled farming appear most rigid when the program focuses on medium and larger scale profit-oriented and conventional agriculture. Exceptions to this pattern were found in three male-led Georgian NGOs that worked on sustainable farming and that typically included women rather than men in their projects. As explained during interviews, men were less enthusiastic to enter into small-scale non-conventional farming because it implied intensive labour and low economic returns, while women were more interested and open for innovative and agro-ecological or sustainable forms of agriculture, including the gathering of medicinal plants and non-timber forest products. Two of these NGOs working on sustainable agriculture shared the same Western feminist organization as their partner and donor, and had adopted gender mainstreaming in their operational management.

Even though INGOs strived to involve both women and men in their activities, the data still demonstrated gender-related practices connected to organizational leaders in Armenia and Georgia. Those different practices were, nevertheless, less profound in comparison to local NGOs. All INGOs had a primary focus on improving conventional agricultural practices and worked often with male "household heads." INGOs with predominately female managers were inclined to encourage women's participation in income-generation, for example, by establishing women agricultural cooperatives. None of the interviewed INGOs with male leaders focused on group formation amongst women. However, there were some initiatives centred on involving individual women.

Gender-related differences in group formation, therefore, are connected to NGO leadership profiles, as well as to the type of agriculture promoted by organizations. In rural development, women tend to be involved by NGOs in the areas that are not considered traditionally male, such as non-conventional forms of agriculture. In regard to women- and men-dominated groups encouraged by international and local INGOs, the following section gives a brief overview of two types of gender-based groups: agricultural cooperatives and non-formal rural women's groups.

Agricultural Cooperatives as a Type of Elite Male Dominated Collective Organization Promoted by Male-led Local and International NGOs

Out of eleven interviewed international NGOs and foundations in Armenia and Georgia, six encouraged and assisted in the formation of agricultural cooperatives. The majority of these programmes started in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Following the collapse of Soviet collective farms and the privatization of land, farmers' collective power became the centre of international NGO attention. By scaling up the experiences from other developing (especially from the Global South), INGO offices together with local partner NGOs started to promote the establishment of agricultural cooperatives in rural Armenia and Georgia (Grigoryan et al. 2008; Mojic, 2013).

With a focus on market performance and inspiring broad farmer participation, INGOs targeted the most successful farms, and specifically the male household members from them, to join the cooperatives and encourage other farmers to participate. Along with holding up examples to emulate, INGOs provided training on agricultural marketing, improved production, and finance management. As would be normal, cooperative membership in the study was homogenous neither in terms of farmer income, nor in terms of the size of a farm. More problematically, NGOs in Armenia and Georgia reported that members of the cooperatives perceived themselves less as a group of equals, rather than a private enterprise run by the better-off farmers, often with the head of the cooperative acknowledged as the "owner" of the "company." Under these conditions and with these perspectives, poorer farmers rarely proposed their own initiatives or participated actively in decision-making processes.

INGOs and local NGOs have traditionally been "gender-neutral" in mobilising farmers into cooperatives. Each farm family was normally allowed to have one representative within a cooperative, and this decision was left to the family as a union of people having a common and mutually inclusive interest. The reality of low representation of women in cooperatives was explained as not the concern of INGOs and local NGOs, i.e., their organizational concerns were agricultural not gender; they focused on business, not the private domain of intra-household dynamics, regardless of whether inequality or domestic violence might impede women' agricultural or cooperative participation. Women, it was claimed, had enough to do with their household work; their non-participation in cooperatives did not limit or discriminate against them because they already had decision-making power within the households, for example, over day-to-day spending or in selling the produce.

With increased awareness of the role of women in agriculture and food security there is a growing tendency to more actively involve women in cooperatives. As reported during the interviews, some female-led INGOs introduced gender mainstreaming initiatives focused on women's economic empowerment. Other strategies by female-led INGOs included bringing women into male controlled cooperatives by establishing women's groups or rural women's councils within the cooperatives or communities. However, even in agricultural sectors where rural women's contribution is traditionally significant, such as diary or fruit production, cooperatives management has typically been male-dominated. It is not surprising, therefore, that within the last few years, INGOs and their partners have begun to promote women's own separate cooperatives.

The marginalization of small-scale, modest-functioning, and especially poor farm families, as well as women farmers generally, from agricultural cooperatives reflects layers of unequal power relationships. The elitist and patronizing direction of the INGOs and local NGOs vis-à-vis local farm populations resembles a patron-client system (Leonard et al., 2010). Discounting the structural violence of gender discrimination and exclusion reproduces patriarchal power relations as natural instead of socially constructed, and it frustrates women's contribution potential to economic development. The promotion of cooperatives builds a social network that is out of the reach of the already most economically marginalized.

Non-formal Women's Groups as a Type of Female Dominated Collective Organization Promoted by Female-led Local NGOs

While establishment of cooperatives with male members have been a domain of male-led local and international NGOs, women's non-formal groups and councils have been favored by female-led NGOs. Women's groups differed from cooperatives in social rather than for-profit orientation and non-formal structure. Female-led NGOs that encouraged and facilitated the creation of these groups were local organizations without direct promotion by INGOs, as was often the case for cooperatives in Armenia and Georgia. These NGOs were predominately standing for environmental justice and protection, or working on women's empowerment and rights.

Having less formal and hierarchical structures compared to cooperatives, there was a contrasting notion in the reason behind to join these groups. The motivation lied in social unity and peer-to-peer strengthened action (cf. Bellows, 1996) rather than competition

between the members and economic benefits. Rural women were encouraged to join for improved health and food safety and community development. The role of local female-led NGOs as extension or market agents was less prominent than in the case of INGOs working on rural development or male-led local NGOs promoting the establishment of cooperatives. Female-led local NGOs provided technical training on environmentally-friendly ways of pest management and on the hazards of using chemicals and pesticides and further education on social mobilization and community needs assessment. In the case of NGOs non focused on women's issues, women's involvement was not the main goal – the rationale was that men were not interested in participating in something experimental and innovative and, at the same time, investing energy with little economic return, while women seemed to be more interested in the well-being of their families and were satisfied in earning a small income. Women also had the power to manage their backyards where they grow several fruit trees, cultivate small vegetable gardens, or collect medicinal plants. Women's interest to improve their families' wellbeing paired with their ability to allocate often limited but, nevertheless, substantial time and resources was quoted as the main reason for involving women into sustainable farming programmes. Men became interested in joining these groups only when the women started to enter the markets and bring in income.

Women's groups were encouraged to form non-profit organizations such as community based organizations or non-profit foundations focused on solving social or environmental issues of the community, which included addressing the lack of a safe potable water supply, preventing water pollution from nearby industries, and planning an alternative irrigation network.

The core of these women's groups was often local teachers or active non-formal community leaders who had received a better education. The decision on what problem to address was facilitated by NGOs who helped provide problem-solving methodological approaches. NGOs in many cases also provided these groups with small grants for initiating projects in the communities. Even though women formed the core of these groups, in all interviews, female-led NGOs expressed the desire to include men, but stated that, with this inclusion, the decision-making power and structural balance would and should not shift towards the latter. No NGO expressed its dissatisfaction with the women's desire to unite and form new groups. On the contrary, women were very

willing to become members of these nascent groups as a strategy to get away from their own household problems and chores, and to have a sense of connection to the community.

CONCLUSIONS

The research findings reveal that in Armenia and Georgia female-led and male-led NGOs differ distinctively in a number of institutional and operational characteristics that contribute to social capital generation. Those differences were more pronounced amongst local NGOs as compared to INGOs. As reflected in two key sets of findings, social capital accumulation is determined by social and economic proximities between individuals, groups, and NGOs.

Firstly, the research findings support existing concerns related to gender-based selectiveness and the limitations of social capital generation and accumulation, and further, contribute to intersectionality research. Our study reconfirmed that gender plays a major role in group formation and social mobilization. Women's leadership, involvement, and participation is hampered in male-dominated groups. In addition to gender dimension, disadvantaged economic and social status of the poor further inhibits participation in groups and networks. The latter case supports Cleaver's argument that "clusters of interlocking disadvantages" (2005, p. 893) hamper social capital generation, resulting in service-delivery programming that promotes dependency and discourage grass-roots and self-determination advocacy efforts.

Secondly, gender-neutral development initiatives may reinforce women's traditionally assigned roles and thereby deepen inequality, especially in the area of agriculture. Contributing to a growing, yet limited literature, research reported here demonstrates a twofold causal link: between NGO leadership and organizational focus and aspirations; and between gendered NGO leadership and the motivation to target specific groups.

To different extents, both local NGOs and INGOs in Armenia and Georgia have been influenced by existing societal gender roles and have reproduced them in their organizations and projects. For example, the history of origin of male-led local NGOs demonstrates a strong financial motivation, whereas women leaders more often established NGOs as a response to social need. Male-led local NGOs and INGOs target men as breadwinners and focus on a group's performance in terms of economic activity, envisioning ways for it to improve its profitability. Female-led local NGOs, on the other

hand, target women – focusing on their role of being mothers and wives who help and support the social, health, and environmental aspects of their family's well-being, emphasize the importance of collective support systems, and orient programmes towards justice, environmental sustainability, and social equality objectives.

The exclusion of women by male-led NGOs and the reluctance of men to join female-led NGO initiatives, together with women's acceptance of the segregation, points to beliefs and perceptions embedded in cultural norms and social structures that become further reinforced through the civil society sphere in both Armenia and Georgia. This exclusion reflects what Bourdieu (2001, p. 33) calls "symbolic violence" and Galtung (1990, p. 292) terms "structural and cultural violence."

NGO performance is not limited to networks within one geographical context. Local offices of INGOs in Armenia and Georgia act as civil society hybrids that are influenced not only by local social norms, but also, equally, by the values of their headquarters overseas. INGOs working in Armenia and Georgia internalize and follow the logic and patterns of global processes directed towards mainstreaming women in development and agriculture. While in the 1990s, the local offices of INGOs in Armenia and Georgia ignored the role of women in agriculture, more recently, they were characterized by an increasing focus on the need to re-engaging women in male-dominated structures. Notably in recent years, local INGO offices finally promoted the creation of women's agricultural cooperatives.[21]

Our findings contribute to the investigation into the gender roles of leaders within collective mobilization in specific social-historical and geographic contexts. Other studies have described linkages between community-based civil society activity,

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[21] The importance of women in rural development and agriculture has been reconfirmed during the same period of time by number of high-level international events and publications. In 2009 the International Labour Organization (ILO) together with Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) held a workshop on the dimensions of rural employment, followed by a publication *Gender Dimensions of Agricultural and Rural Employment: Differentiated Pathways of Poverty – Status, Trends and Gaps*. In 2009 FAO in cooperation with the World Bank and IFAD issued *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*. In 2011, the FAO published *The State of Food and Agriculture 2010-2011:Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development*.

according to gendered NGO leadership in post-Communist countries (Bellows, 2006; Ishkanian, 2007; Phillips, 2005; Salmenniemi, 2005). Although our study does not purport to make generalizable conclusions for all NGOs, it does reveal stark differences within the institutional and operational attributes of Armenian and Georgian food security NGOs with regard to female versus male NGO leadership. Additionally, we have exposed the overall lack of NGO attention to the collective organization and social mobilization of rural populations and the poor regardless of the gender of NGO leadership.

There is a need to study further the gender dimension within the causal relationship between NGO members and leaders, and their approaches for collective organization and social mobilization. The outcome of such ongoing research has implications not only for NGOs in Armenia and Georgia, but also for current policy directions of gender mainstreaming within civil society organizations engaged in improving food and nutrition security. Our study is based on reported NGO perceptions and not on other methods of comparative analysis of community members' involvement and participation. We therefore propose further ethnographic research at the micro-level to gain an understanding of the factors that contribute both to building trust among NGO leaders and community members (cf. Bano, 2008) and expanding women's opportunities to engage in and lead their communities. To overcome some of the limitations of our research, future studies should develop longer-term investigations to follow the development of social networks and groups promoted and created with the help of NGOs over time. This would complement and deepen our larger scale comparative analysis. Finally, alternative frameworks on how donors and NGOs can contribute to and encourage bottom-up social mobilization of the poor and rural women and men should be further explored.

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CHAPTER 5. VIOLENCE AS AN UNDER-RECOGNIZED BARRIER TO WOMEN'S REALIZATION OF THEIR RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD AND NUTRITION: CASE STUDIES FROM GEORGIA AND SOUTH AFRICA*

A. C. Bellows, S. Lemke, A. Jenderedjian, V. Scherbaum

ABSTRACT

This article addresses under-acknowledged barriers of structural violence and discrimination that interfere with women's capacity to realize their human rights generally, and their right to adequate food and nutrition in particular. Case studies from Georgia and South Africa illustrate the need for a human rights–based approach to food and nutrition security that prioritizes non-discrimination, public participation, and self-determination. These principles are frustrated by different types of structural violence that, if not seriously addressed, pose multiple barriers to women's economic, public, and social engagement.

INTRODUCTION

This article addresses the question of why the status of women's and girls' food and nutrition security is not improving at a time when so many call for their inclusion in policy agendas (cf. De Schutter, 2012; United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2003; United Nations Human Rights Council Advisory Committee [UNHRCAC], 2011; United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [UNHCHR], 2010). We argue that a central reason is the under-acknowledged barrier of structural violence and discrimination that interferes with women's capacity to realize their human rights generally and their right to adequate food and nutrition in particular. Recognizing the role of violence as a barrier to achieving food and nutrition security requires a broad human rights–based approach that asks from a grassroots standpoint, why women cannot command their entitlement to food. This differs from a narrower, top-down, and patronizing food security perspective that asks, why are women not getting access to adequate and sufficient food. A broad human rights–based approach to food and nutrition builds on the progressive realization of human rights for all community members, including women. The approach also builds from a local orientation toward food and nutrition systems that augments self-determination and autonomy instead of the violence of food dependency.

Among the world's most food insecure groups including rural persons, especially small farmers, and the urban poor, women and girls face violations of their right to adequate food and nutrition at a 60:40 ratio relative to men and boys (United Nations Economic and Social Council [UN-ECOSOC], 2007) and comprise 70% of the global poor overall (De Schutter, 2011, 2012; Quisumbing & Smith, 2007; World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO], & International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2009). Lack of attention to gender-based violence and discrimination in the context of food and nutrition security not only violates women's human rights but also interferes with the well-being of entire families, communities, and States. According to United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and the 2009 Global Hunger Index, gender discrimination has been directly associated with heightened conditions of social instability, political conflict, and hunger (UN, 2002; von Grebmer et al., 2009).

Among the world's most food insecure groups including rural persons, especially small farmers, and the urban poor, women and girls face violations of their right to adequate

food and nutrition at a 60:40 ratio relative to men and boys (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2007) and comprise 70 % of the global poor overall overall (De Schutter, 2011; De Schutter, 2012; Quisumbing & Smith, 2007; World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO], & International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2009). Lack of attention to gender-based violence and discrimination in the context of food and nutrition security violates not only women's human rights, but also interferes with the well-being of entire families, communities, and States. According to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and the *2009 Global Hunger Index* (von Grebmer et al., 2009)*,* gender discrimination has been directly associated with heightened conditions of social instability, political conflict, and hunger. Yet, despite social inequities, countless studies identify women as the key to household food and nutrition security despite the social discrimination they face (FAO, 2011; International Food Policy Research Institute [IFPRI], 2005; Kent, 2002). According to IFPRI (2005) and reiterated by FAO (2011), this key role of women refers to a range of complex factors. Studies have shown that if women have a higher social and economic status within the household and community and, therefore, increased decision-making power, this will positively affect the well-being of all household members, but especially children's nutrition and health. If women have better access to resources such as land and agricultural inputs, this results in significant gains in agricultural productivity. Enabling women access to agricultural technology and extension services has a greater impact on poverty reduction than targeting men.

This article provides first an overview of international approaches to food and nutrition security, the right to adequate food and nutrition, and to women's rights, in which we expose the lack of articulation between the right to adequate food and women's human rights. The article then introduces a range of gendered food-related violences,1 followed by a discussion of violence as an under-recognized barrier to women's right to adequate food, particularly with regard to women's participation in food and nutrition policy and planning. Two case studies based on empirical research from Georgia and South Africa illustrate how structural violence and discrimination interfere with efforts to improve women's lives. The discussion finds that significant change to women's food and nutrition status cannot be achieved in isolation, but must incorporate women's full human rights over their life course with particular attention to women's bodily integrity and their right to self-determination and non-discrimination.

METHOD

The two case studies presented here arise from separate ongoing research projects that form part of a larger academic–civil society collaboration titled "Gender, Nutrition and the Human Right to Adequate Food: Towards an Inclusive Framework." The theoretical concepts discussed in this article draw from this collaborative project that is based on findings of separate research projects located in diverse geographic locations including those presented here that were presented in the context of different workshops and other broad discussion events from 2008 to 2013.

The case study of Georgia is part of a larger doctoral research project in the post-democratic transition countries Georgia and Armenia. It introduces the activities of the Taso Foundation, a development organization, and its partners toward the promotion of women's involvement in the public domain to overcome social exclusion and gender inequality in the post-Soviet era of rapid socio-economic and political transition and military conflicts. Data presented here are based on structured interviews with the staff of the Taso Foundation that were conducted in 2011 and 2012, observations of meetings held by three women's groups and the Taso Foundation staff between June and July 2012, non-structured interviews with the organization's clients after these group meetings took place, and visits to four project sites with the women group members. In addition, the organization's reports and publications were utilized for data analysis. The Taso Foundation was selected for this case study from the larger research project on civil society organizations that work on food security in Georgia, in which 122 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were surveyed and interviews with 32 NGOs working on food security took place. The Taso Foundation was chosen based on three criteria: (a) its work with rural and marginalized women, (b) its involvement in food security, and (c) application of the rights-based approaches that create an enabling environment for women's participation in public life.

The South African case study is based on successive research that has been carried out since 1997, 2 years after the first democratic election took place post apartheid. This enables an analysis and presentation of how social exclusion and gender inequality, as an ongoing legacy of apartheid policies in concert with enduring patriarchal and paternalistic structures, result in gender-based violence and severe discrimination that prevent women in present-day South Africa from participating in development strategies toward enhanced

livelihoods and nutrition. Data presented here are based on empirical research among rural populations (Lemke, Vorster, Jansen van Rensburg, & Ziche, 2003) and farm workers (Lemke, Heumann, & Bellows, 2009), as well as continuing research since 2010, framed as participatory action research in close collaboration with several NGOs that facilitate agricultural programs targeted at women (Lemke, Yousefi, Eisermann, & Bellows, 2012). All three studies used a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods, including quantitative household surveys on socio-demographic and socio-economic indicators, qualitative open-ended interviews, interviews with key informants and experts, and non-participant and participant observation, as well as focus groups.

INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES TO FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY, THE HUMAN RIGHT TO ADEQUATE FOOD AND NUTRITION, AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Food security is defined by the FAO as "a situation that exists if all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to adequate, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (2001, p. 49). Food insecurity refers not just to hunger, but the risk of being hungry (Kracht 1999), the ways in which food is obtained (social access; Webb & von Braun, 1993), and the use and intra-household distribution of food (Maxwell & Smith, 1992; Rogers & Schlossmann, 1990). Recognizing the lack of attention to biological aspects of food in addition to economic factors (Gross, Schoeneberger, Pfeifer, & Preuss, 2000), the UN Committee on World Food Security more recently adopted the concept of "food and nutrition security", with the definition,

> Food and nutrition security exists when all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to food, which is safe and consumed in sufficient quantity and quality to meet their dietary needs and food preferences, and is supported by an environment of adequate sanitation, health services and care, allowing for a healthy and active life. (2012, p. 2)

At the international level, food and nutrition security was derived as a policy function directly from two sources: the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article 25, paragraph 1; "the right to standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family [*sic*], including food …"; and from the 1966

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)[22], Article 11; "the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family [*sic*], including adequate food …" (Bellows & Hamm, 2003). Food and nutrition security however loses the fundamental human rights principal of participation and decision making in the development of public policy on the right to adequate food. From the broad 1966 ICESCR and its many follow-up instruments, States Parties and their local communities have become accountable to individuals and groups to progressively and specifically realize, through obligations to respect, protect and fulfill, the human right to appropriate access to a sufficiency and adequacy of food (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999; Eide, 2005; Suarez Franco & Ratjen, 2007). Also central to the idea of the human right to adequate food and nutrition is indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights. This means that the right to adequate food and nutrition is linked closely with all other human rights, including the right to the highest attainable health, women's rights, political and civil rights, and other economic, social and cultural rights like education, employment, inheritance, and housing. From this vantage point, we can understand and develop policy measures (including recourse and remedy tools) recognizing that a woman cannot realize her right to adequate food and nutrition if, for example, her right to work and fair pay is denied, or if psychological or physical violence, whether enacted, threatened or implied, deters her from public life.

A central challenge to women realizing the right to adequate food and nutrition is the lack of harmonization within the relevant international human rights instruments. Clearly, the 1948 UDHR and the 1966 ICESCR contain highly patriarchal and discriminatory language with regard to men dominating and managing the relationship between the State and individuals in "men's families" vis-à-vis an adequate standard of living, including food. We note that although this language has not changed, the intervening 1999 General Comment 12 on the Right to Adequate Food by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the FAO's 2005 *Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security* have

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[22] As of July 2013, 160 countries have ratified the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) meaning that they formally ascribe as States Parties to the legally binding treaty. Countries not ratifying the treaty include Belize, Comoros, Cuba, Palau, Sao Tome and Principe, South Africa, and the United States.

attempted to atone for early UDHR and ICESCR language with strong statements on non-discrimination by gender. The FAO publication, *Women and the Right to Food: International Law and State Practice* (Rae, 2008) itemizes where women's right to food is mentioned. Nevertheless, this work has not leveraged coordination of UN human rights bodies with the food, nutrition and gender competences to enact and engage progressive policy.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979; entry into force 1981) was the first successful attempt to build an international treaty dedicated to a specific group after 1966. CEDAW attempted to highlight and take normative steps to address systematic discrimination that prevented women's access to rights outlined in the 1966 ICESCR and its companion treaty, the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, focusing particularly on paid work, political life, education, and health care. However, CEDAW's Article 14 on Rural Women notwithstanding, CEDAW neglected women's rights to adequate food beyond attention to "adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation" (Article 12). CEDAW also does not address violence against women, which was only finally articulated in the 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) (UN General Assembly, 1993). DEVAW however does not link violence against women with women's right to adequate food and nutrition.

International human rights lawyer, Ana-Maria Suarez Franco has repeatedly lectured on the need to harmonize legal sources that touch upon disparate aspects of what must be included in a holistic approach to women's right to adequate food. The benefit of an approach of this nature would be to establish structures that build policy development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation into the formal human rights institutions. This process would contribute to the evolution of a systematic interpretation of now diverse legal sources. Practical examples of an evolution of women's right to adequate food and nutrition could come, for example, in the form of a comprehensive General Comment by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, or, General Recommendation by the UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

FOOD VIOLENCES AND GENDER

Bellows (2003) proposes the term "food violences"[23] to characterize periodic or chronic physical, psychological, and political harm associated with food availability and food-related work. Food and food-based work (for example, food production, shopping, meal preparation, food service industry work, etc.) represent locations that can instigate gender based-violence. As indicated in the examples that follow from the literature, food-related violences that affect women are diverse, encompassing when and how they eat, expectations for women's food work and the right to abuse or reward women for it, the impact of violence on the nutrition and health status, the normalization of such violences, and the ability to exploit women's engagements in food work and the related violences to leverage global marketing incursion of unhealthy foods into local food systems.

Women and girls often eat last, least, and most poorly in private household spaces (Kikafunda & Lukwago, 2005; Musaiger, 1993; Rosalina, Wibowo, Kielmann, & Usfar, 2007; Sasson, 2012), having also least access to the right and resources to eat in public spaces (e.g. in Ethiopia, Scherbaum, 1997). Ethnographic observations reveal retaliatory abuse for cooking transgressions like burning food, preparing too much or too little, or at the wrong time (Ambrosetti, Amara, & Condon, 2013; Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Burgoyne & Clark1984; DeVault, 1991; Dobash, 1979; Schuler, Yount, & Lenzil, 2012; Whitehead, 1994). Physical violence in response to this "misbehavior" is condoned and even normalized (per Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), as often by women as by men and sometimes even more so by women (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2010). Household power over food, marshalled by husbands but also by other men and male and female in-laws (Dalal, Rahman, & Jansson, 2009; Raj, Livramento, Santana, Gupta, & Silverman, 2006; Raj et al., 2011) as well as by employers of migrant home care workers (Ayalon 2009; Eziefula & Brown, 2010) is shown to be exercised to punish women. Characteristically this abuse takes the form of withholding food or restricting funds to pay for food (Usta, Makarem, & Habib, 2013), pushing many women into high risk sexual behavior prone to violence in order to secure money or food (Weiser et al., 2007). Violence in general and intimate partner violence in particular affects not only the

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[23] We use the plural of violence, as in "food violences," with reference to the article by Bellows (2003), "Exposing Violences: Using Women's Human Rights Theory to Reconceptualize Food Rights."

health and nutritional status of women, but also that of their children (Ackerson & Subramanian, 2008; Hasselmann & Reichenheim, 2006; Rico, Fenn, Abramsky, & Watts, 2011; Salazar, Högberg, Valladares, & Persson, 2012; Shroff, Griffiths, Adair, Suchindran, & Bentley, 2009; Sobkoviak, Yount, & Halim, 2012; Yee, 2013; Yount, DiGirolamo, & Ramakrishnan, 2011; Ziaei, Naved, & Ekström, 2012).[24] Indeed one study shows that tangible supports such as food, as well as housing and financial assistance, are precisely what women surviving physical or sexual violence identify as most needed (Postmus, Severson, Berry, & Yoo, 2009). Economic exertion that is generally targeted at women by the globalizing agro-food industry urges increased, poor quality household food purchases that are leading to reduced reliance on local food systems and cultural preferences, as well as, a correlated growth in non-communicable disease (Moodie et al., 2013).

VIOLENCE AS AN UNDER-RECOGNIZED BARRIER TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN FOOD AND NUTRITION PLANNING AND POLICY

Violence is an under-theorized aspect of hunger, malnutrition, and the exclusion of groups such as women, children, and the indigenous from food and nutrition security (Bellows, 2003; Ulvin, 1998). The threat of diverse forms of violence impedes women from engaging in their own right to adequate food and from acting on behalf of their families and communities to the full extent of their capabilities. This helps to explain why so little progress has been made in improving gender mainstreaming with respect to food and nutrition security. Gender-based violence is rarely acknowledged or anticipated

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[24] An analysis of Bangladesh's cross-sectional demographic and health surveys by Ziaei, Naved, and Ekström (2014) reveals that women's exposure to violence in the private sphere is associated with increased risk of having a stunted pre-school aged child. Similar results on the negative consequences of intimate partner violence (IPV) on children's nutritional status were found in different geographical contexts (e.g., Ackerson & Subramanian, 2008, in India; Hasselmann & Reichenheim, 2006, in Brazil; Rico, Fenn, Abramsky, & Watts, 2011, in Egypt, Honduras, Kenya, Malawi, and Rwanda; Sobkoviak, Yount, and Halim, 2012, in Liberia; Salazar, Högberg, Valladares, & Persson, 2012, in Nicaragua). Yount, DiGirolamo, and Ramakrishnan (2011) review the gaps in research and propose a conceptual interdisciplinary framework that models how IPV against mothers influences a child's growth and nutrition prenatally and through the toddler years.

by policy makers when attempting to address women's particular vulnerability to food and nutrition insecurity and to mainstream them into right to adequate food work.

Violence targets individual and group survival, well-being, freedom, and identity and is realized through "avoidable insults inflicted on basic human needs and more generally life, and lowering the real satisfaction level of needs below what is potentially feasible" (Galtung, 1990, p. 292). Multiple forms characterize violence: passive threat or active force, cultural violence based on traditional practice (Galtung, 1990), and structural violence featuring systematic violation aligned with social injustice that "is built into [social] structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung, 1969, p. 171). Kinds of structural violence include poverty, or the deprivation of material necessities; repression and the lack of human rights; and alienation, that is, the deprivation on non-material necessities (Ulvin, 1998). Structural violence generally acts as a frame for direct and cultural violence and serves to maintain uneven, discriminatory social relations that build on prejudice directed against diverse groups: ethnic, racial, or political minorities; rural peoples; the elderly or infirm; women; children; sexual minorities; and so on. Men, of course, can also experience structural violence in relation to a discriminatory status based on their location in any of these categories.

Women and men are often complicit in reifying cultural norms that systematize the violations that in turn preclude women's public participation. In the private home, familial compacts will resolve that women obey, respect, and predominate in the private household sphere, and that men protect and govern both private and public spheres. In the public sphere, monitoring gender-based violence has historically been narrowed and medicalized, with stress on physical and IPV instead of an analysis of restrictions on access to public and political life and the loss of public voice and participation. Further work is needed to link violence, including gender-based violence, to economic systems that often construct the conditions of chronic poverty, the loss of self-determination, and the entrenchment of dependency. Without such analysis, we lose capacity to measure participation and self-determination with regard to the right to food and nutrition security.

Table 5.1. Conditions of economic stability, food and nutrition security, and gender equality in Georgia and South Africa

Condition	*Georgia*	*South Africa*
GDP in US$ (2010)[a]	11,667,377,224	363,703,902,727
GINI coefficient[a]	0.41 (2008)	0.67 (2006)
IFPRI global hunger index (2011)[b]	5.8	7.3
Gender inequality index[c]	0.418 (2011)	0.490 (2011)

Note. IFPRI - International Food Policy Research Institute.
[a]World Bank (2011).
[b]von Grebmer et al. (2011).
[c]United Nations Development Programme (2011).

CASE STUDIES

The following two case studies address gendered rural conditions in Georgia and South Africa, two countries that have experienced rapid political, economic, and social transformation. Both countries have further experienced severe conflict on their territory: In Georgia, mostly post 1991, and again most recently in 2008; in South Africa, over the decades during colonization and apartheid, formally ending in the early 1990s. Today, both countries are considered moderately food insecure. In South Africa, although the country is richer, indices of food insecurity, gender inequality, and income disparity are higher than in Georgia (see Table 5.1).

GEORGIA

Immediately after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1990, Georgia faced economic stagnation, increasing poverty and social inequality, political instability, ethnic conflicts with severe humanitarian outcomes, corruption, and depletion of agricultural sector. At the same time, international donor agencies opened their country offices in Georgia, among them the Open Society Georgia Foundation (OSGF, founded 1994), a country affiliate of the Open Society Institute. In 2007, the Taso Foundation transformed from OSGF's Women's Program as an independent national women's fund. Currently, Taso Foundation operates with six to seven predominately female staff members and a fluctuating program staff and volunteer base. The organization works primarily with rural women, including ethnic minorities. From 2008, its clientele has expanded to internally displaced and conflict-affected women. The

Foundation's vision of social development guarantees women's involvement in the public domain, stressing that increasing participation and the organization's wording "social activism of women" should be merged with poverty reduction (Tabukashvili, 2011, p. 4).

Structural violence in non-conflict setting: Empowerment of rural women. Recognizing regional disparities between women's involvement in the public sphere in the capital Tbilisi and other cities in Georgia versus in rural areas, the OSGF Women's Program began in 2004 to focus efforts in the countryside. When the first grant competition for women's social activism was announced in rural areas, most of the applicants applied with proposals to improve their families' and communities' social and economic conditions, notably by creating income generation possibilities in small-scale farming. These project ideas were different from those that the staff of Taso Foundation was accustomed to receive from civil society groups in the capital, where stress lay on civil rights and domestic violence and trafficking. As was reported during interviews in 2011 and 2012 with the organization's head in rural areas, widespread poverty and unemployment and the willingness to overcome it were the main motivations for women applying for the grants. Consequently, most of the requests were about finding ways to improve the social and economic lives of women and their families, such as improvement of water supply and starting small businesses. Since 2004, more than 200 grants have been issued to rural women, most of them related to farming. Besides providing trainings on business planning, Taso Foundation encourages women's participation in community mobilization activities, such as gender sensitive community budgeting, ensuring access to drinking water, and providing help to community members in need. The members of women groups receiving grants decide among and for themselves how to manage the farm, for example, how much harvest to sell or to keep for feeding their families, and how to manage the generated income. The main basis for any decision is a mutual benefit of all group members.

Interviewed Taso Foundation leadership believes that the prevalence and form of domestic violence is probably higher in rural areas as compared with the urban areas associated with higher poverty and unemployment and lack of social protection systems. However, according to Taso Foundation experience, there is less physical violence in rural communities with strong patriarchal traditions and norms, as long as gender expectations are not challenged. Incidence of physical violence appears when a woman or a girl tries to challenge or oppose her subscribed roles and expectations. For example,

as was reported by the staff members of Taso Foundation, in a comparably paternalistic Azeri ethnic minority of Georgia, physical violence is less common as compared with the Georgian rural communities, because women rarely dispute the burden of their work or inability to manage money.

To promote women's activism, Taso Foundation grants are given exclusively to women groups. It also encourages grantees to collaborate with each other, bestowing the multiple advantages of these grants, building women's networks, reducing rural isolation, and sharing experiences and strategies for overcoming challenges both to grantees' projects for economic development generally, and their authority as women more specifically. However, believing in benefits of collaboration conflict with ingrained resistance to organized cooperation during the first stages of a group formation, probably due to the experiences of forced farm collectivization when Georgia was part of the Soviet Union, and where private property was prohibited and individualism discouraged. According to Taso Foundation 20 years after the breakup of the Soviet Union, the very discourse of cooperation continues to provoke anxiety and skepticism.

Emergency response to conflict: Provision of local food through gendered distribution networks. In August 2008, a short but devastating military conflict broke out between Georgia and Russia. Around 130,000 Georgians, including most of the population of the town Gori and nearby villages, were internally displaced (FAO/UNICEF/WFP, 2009). Taso Foundation along with other civil society organizations made changes in the scheduled work-plan to provide assistance to people in conflict-affected areas. It worked with the internally displaced persons (IDP) coordination center, and provided food, hygiene products, and other necessities. The Foundation contacted rural women partners and grantees of the Empowerment of Rural Women program from the conflict-unaffected region of Kakheti and negotiated the purchase of local produce at relatively inexpensive prices for the IDP center. Taso Foundation emphasizes that

> "many women villagers took out their clothes and products stored for winter for their own families and loaded our trucks free of charge, some of them even suggesting we take some refugee families to them – they were eager to feed these families through the whole winter, to host and support them in every way …" (Tabukashvili, 2010, p. 21)

In the situation of the post-conflict despair, women nevertheless had a sense of the ownership and the confidence in their ability to mobilize and help other women.

The case of Taso Foundation buying the produce from local sources is contrasted with the procurement of 800 tons of wheat flour from Turkey and its distribution to IDPs in Georgia in early 2009 by the United Nations World Food Program (WFP; Bruckner, 2011). Although the mass purchase of basic food stuffs was needed and complied with WFP procurement standards in relation to the nutritional content, the product did not fit in well with Georgian food traditions or practice. The Turkish flour did not have a gluten index appropriate for traditional Georgian breads and as Bruckner (2011) explains, the resulting bread turned rock hard and was inedible.

Post-emergency phase: Human rights, internally displaced women's self-help groups. After the first phase of post-emergency, the Foundation, together with UN Women continued working with IDPs and Taso Foundation's network of women's initiatives and encouraged the creation of women's self-help groups to address basic needs and rights of IDPs. Drawing on the Taso Foundation's previous experience with rural women, the approach of self-help groups is to address specific needs of IDPs while concurrently working toward structural social change through education about and construction of democratic society with respect to human rights, equality, social justice, and peace. In this way, the empowerment of women is centralized in the re-establishment of social stability. Taso Foundation continues to support economic empowerment of rural IDPs by providing grants for income-generating activities, including establishment of farms.

Currently, more than 40 self-help groups remain active in social mobilization in rural Georgia and are engaging in public policy making in the post-emergency period. The majority of members and the leadership remain female, although the groups also accept men in cases where individual expertise is necessary. The IDP groups receive legal consultations on their rights from lawyers, and participate in trainings on CEDAW and the rights of refugees.

After the initial meetings with IDPs, it became evident for Taso Foundation that although IDP women first identified economic and food security as priority funding needs, prevention of domestic violence in conflict-affected rural areas needed to be a priority. In 2009, Taso Foundation established the Karaleti Women's Center where trainings on women's rights were offered to rural women from nearby communities. During one of

these early seminars, a woman disclosed her case of domestic violence. After a period of rehabilitation, she returned home and thereafter, committed suicide. Following this tragedy, the Center intensified its work on rural domestic violence integrating other civil society organizations and the local police office, and in 2009 alone, responded to 20 domestic abuse cases.

Two additional outcomes resulted from self-help groups' experience. First, members joined other civil society organizations in elaborating policy recommendations for Georgia's National Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. As the leadership of Taso Foundation states, this civil society collaboration equipped self-help group members with practical engagement with human rights issues and benefitted from their contribution to the policy making. Second, self-help group activities have focused on incorporating biological farming methods for safe and healthy food. In consultation with them, Taso Foundation has come to define biological farming as one of its priority funding areas for agricultural projects. At the time of the interviews, Taso Foundation together with a self-help group of IDPs was in the process of establishing a model farm.

SOUTH AFRICA

Structural violence and exclusion: The legacy of apartheid. In South Africa, long before the formalization of apartheid in 1948, discriminatory laws and practices against all non-White groups served to establish and maintain uneven economic and social relations, with women being especially disadvantaged and marginalized. For example, Black South Africans could not own land, formalized by the Natives Land Act of 1913, forcing them into wage labor and further preventing farm workers from migrating to urban areas and seeking off-farm employment (Van Onselen, 1996). This largely destroyed subsistence farming and resulted in farm workers and their families being trapped on farms, lacking the skills to be involved in the wider economy (Atkinson, 2007). Today, farm workers on commercial farms continue to face poverty as well as income and residential insecurity and belong to the most vulnerable population strata. Women face even more severe discrimination and structural and cultural violence in these conditions, with perpetuating social structures such as paternalism reinforcing their inferior position within the household and community (Reddy & Moletsane, 2009). On farms generally, employment and housing contracts are linked to men, while women are mostly employed on a

143

temporary basis, with their wages being lower than those of men. This leads to women having limited decision-making power with regard to intra-household resource allocation, as well as with regard to other decisions that affect their and their families' lives, such as decisions about education, income generation, and geographical location. This economic and social inequality further result in dependency on male partners and livelihood insecurity for female farm workers should the men leave the farm, stop working, or abandon their female partner (Lemke et al., 2009).

With regard to the contribution of women to the agricultural sector in South Africa, according to Altman, Hart, and Jacobs (2009), nowadays they represent 61% of people involved in farming. Women are engaged to a greater extent than men in producing food for household consumption. However, women's access to resources, such as land, agricultural inputs, credit, extension, and other services, is severely limited, due to social norms, as is observed elsewhere (FAO, 2011). Even when gender rights are formalized by laws, they typically conflict with traditional authority and customary law, resulting in gender-based disparities in property rights (IFPRI, 2005; UN, 2010).

Gender-based violence and resulting changes in household structures. In South Africa, different forms of violence against women, including direct violence such as sexual or physical violence, have a political dimension, as is outlined by Schäfer (2008) in her in-depth analysis of women's rights organizations and gender-based violence. During apartheid, the struggle against the oppressive regime was at the forefront, with rights of women not being recognized. Oppression against women by men both within and outside of the anti-apartheid movement was not addressed, accounting in part for the impunity of violence against women existing today. Although the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) is one of the most progressive in the world, guaranteeing the right to food and emphasizing socio-economic and cultural rights as well as sexual and gender equality, this stands in stark contrast to the social, economic, and political realities of the majority of its citizens (Robins, 2008). Due to ongoing patriarchal structures and the high incidence of domestic violence against women, they often leave their male partner and stay single, resulting in high levels of female-headed households (Jones, 1999; Van der Vliet, 1991). This can be regarded not only as a coping strategy for women but also as a strategy for empowerment by resisting male domination, framed by Jones (1999) as "singlehood for security," referring both to greater economic security for women as well as lower risk of physical violence and sexual abuse from their male partner, including

lower risk to contract HIV. This striving for greater security and greater independence from men was confirmed in research among rural South African populations (Lemke et al., 2003). The aforementioned study, as well as research among farm worker households (Lemke et al., 2009), further revealed that women-led households, although having less access to earned income compared with male-headed households, are able to take better care of the general well-being of household members than comparable households with male headship. Women-led households also achieve a better nutrition situation and nutrition security, measurable among other indicators by higher household food diversity and thus, better nutritional adequacy, and lower incidence of food shortage. This is due to women having better access to social grants from the State, remittances from relatives and other social networks, and various types of informal incomes. These studies highlight on one hand that women-led households might be better off than often assumed with regard to food and nutrition security, and that women's access to resources and power relations within households are crucial factors for food security and livelihoods. On the other hand, these women-led households are still often not able to break out of the vicious cycle of structural exclusion and poverty. The findings from these two studies emphasize the urgent need to include detailed investigations of household and gender variables in demographic and health surveys.

Programs aimed at women's empowerment and possible cost of participation. Ongoing research investigates the prospects for sustainable livelihoods and food and nutrition security in the context of land and agrarian reform, in cooperation with civil society organizations that offer programs specifically targeted at smallholder farmers and women (Lemke et al., 2012). One sub-study of this recent project explored women's empowerment through farming cooperatives, facilitated by the South African NGO *Women on Farms Project*. Participatory action research and in-depth interviews revealed that women in these cooperatives, despite facing several problems with regard to production and access to markets, were able to improve various livelihood assets through better networking with the NGO and among each other (social assets), capacity building and training (human assets), and gaining access to land (natural assets). This further resulted in women's increased level of self-confidence and empowerment. Another sub-study carried out in cooperation with Grootbos Foundation, a non-profit organization, explored an agricultural and life skills training project for women. Participatory action research and in-depth interviews revealed that, similar to the above example, women

experienced improvements with regard to certain livelihood assets. The reported and observed positive changes that were experienced in both programs benefited not only the women but also their entire households, resulting in better access to food and increased food diversity. However, both projects experienced a number of challenges, among others, different expectations on the side of project leaders and project participants, lack of communication, dependency of participants on the organization and on social assistance, and the lack of future prospects and employment in the agricultural or related sectors.

The intention of drawing women out to participate powerfully in the construction of their own lives can, however, put them in danger. In the Women on Farms Project, the difficulties associated with women leaving their homes to participate in group meetings were explicit. Living in very or relatively isolated rural settings, these women worry that when they leave, no one will care for or feed their children. Worse, they fear for the children's potential exposure to abuse in their absence. In addition, the material goods of their household remain unprotected.

Addressing gender-based violence—Where are the men? We do not underestimate the oppression of men under colonization and especially how they were discriminated against under apartheid leading to powerlessness and humiliation. In combination with the disruption of social structures and the lack of role models, as well as other factors, this reinforces gender-based violence (Schäfer, 2009). Although the above described programs address and include exclusively female participants, the NGO Sonke Gender Justice Network aims at addressing specifically men. The organization that was founded in 2006 by two former male anti-apartheid activists speaks out against all forms of violence against women, promotes the need for positive male role models, and strives for establishing partnerships between men and women that are based on mutual respect and equality, to reinstate healthy social structures.

DISCUSSION

Human rights are defined in part by their indivisibility and interdependence. This means that the pursuit of women's right to adequate food and nutrition may not disregard violations of women's rights while "delivering" a modicum of food security. For example, programs of food relief under conditions of long-term refugee internment or chronic poverty must develop policy together with women most involved in feeding

families and communities. Furthermore, and most critically, there must be recognition of the structural violence and discrimination that women face in participating in such public engagements as well as comprehensive planning to address the multiple barriers that women experience. The structural violence of poverty, discrimination, and war reproduces itself at all levels and in all sectors of society, especially in the context of gender inequality. The household, wherein cultural traditions and expectations regarding male dominance and rule already may hold sway, often resists women's greater profile in public space as threatening male dominance. Women's right to adequate food is progressively realized when the path to food and nutrition security is co-designed, co-implemented, co-monitored, and co-evaluated by women, and where there are recourse and remedy options (Burity, Cruz, & Franceschini, 2011) to address and overcome the barriers to women's human rights and bodily integrity.

Social isolation reduces formal and informal communication networks and the reach of public law and oversight. Social isolation magnifies conditions of discrimination against women and gender-based violence, just as it can also leverage conditions of racial or ethnic inequalities. Isolation can occur anywhere. Yet, the opportunity for it is magnified in rural regions and traditional cultures that are physically and socially remote, in particular when they are conjoined, that is, when traditional cultures, including patriarchal household governance and racial inequality, are located in remote areas. We emphasize that we do not maintain that rurality and traditional culture inspire violence. We argue rather that poverty, especially in the post-conflict setting, and lack of reliable social and economic support systems amplify social isolation which, as in the reported case in Georgia, means that patriarchal resistance to women changing social norms has a risk of escalating. Without communication networks, violence and discrimination become normalized. It is through reducing social isolation, for example, through networking, that normalized injustice receives a name and can be discussed, and alternatives to accepting violence can be imagined and carried out. Groups and networks can, through mutual recognition and support of personal dignity and self-worth, identify and reinforce self-determination and the capability to claim the status of a rights holder; they can challenge the normalization of injustice and violence. Why are the many programs consciously addressing women's and girls' lack of food and nutrition security not successful? We should ask the people concerned how to answer this question and what the appropriate measures are in their view. When addressing specifically women and girls, this could

mean to integrate their ideas on how to bring them to a policy-making table to address the barriers that frustrate them. When addressing specifically men and boys, this could mean to ask them what their role is with regard to these barriers, where they experience violence in their own lives, and how and why the reproduction of violence appears to make sense, and of course, how the cycle can change.

In the case study of Georgia, the Taso Foundation reported that lower-income rural women grantees applied less often for projects addressing their civil and political rights, including protection from domestic violence, and more often for economic development projects than did their more materially secure and interconnected peers in urban areas. This does not suggest that rural women face less domestic violence, but rather, rural domestic violence might be tolerated by women as a lesser danger than poverty and social isolation. For example, as Taso Foundation described, a young Azeri daughter's cultural destiny requires her to agree with her father on when to quit school and marry; or, a married woman's obligation is to unconditionally accept her burden of work at home and in the field. But when a woman tries to contest the established system of socially acceptable behavior, for example, by opposing her father's will to marry someone she does not like, or questioning a husband's decision to buy a car instead of a washing machine, she will face a high risk of physical violence (as relayed during interviews with the staff of Taso Foundation). Structural violence defines and patrols the boundaries for women's activities, where the guardians of tradition are not only men, although husbands are the ones who are culturally expected to mete out physical violence. The Taso Foundation has consciously tried to unite women's human rights and the right to adequate food, foregrounding the importance of projects designed both to improve economic and food security and to centralize the promotion of women's autonomous role in the public sphere. In the Georgian case study, we witness the incredible contribution of publically networked and socially empowered women organizing to source local food relief for displaced populations during and after the conflict-related crisis. Contributing to family and community human security generally, and food security as a principal aspect thereof, *in a publically recognizable way,* establishes a foundation to secure women's rights as well as ongoing regional autonomy over food and nutrition needs.

The case study of South Africa reflects on interconnected aspects of structural, cultural, and physical violence exacerbated by the country's history of colonialism, *apartheid*, and ongoing paternalism and economic and social inequality. Diverse strategies are engaged

in by lower-income rural women to protect themselves and their families both from direct violence and from the lack of adequate food and nutrition. Some women live independently of men to maintain control over their personal freedoms and the economic security of their households. Other women live together with men who have the primary employment attachment to large plantation-type farms. In this rural situation, isolated from almost all basic services and support systems, women must accept the whims of husbands, boyfriends, and farm owners to secure basic needs for themselves and their children. In general, most economic development and food security programs do not investigate the structural conditions of violence that form and limit women's ability to improve food and nutrition well-being, thus, rendering interventions unsustainable.

The right to adequate food encompasses much more than "enough food" through increased food production or emergency program delivery. Human dignity and self-determination at the core of realizing the right to adequate food does not reduce an individual or a population to a state of dependency. Human rights calls for rights holders to have a participatory voice in the framing of public policy that includes conditions of recourse and remedy should a State fall short of meeting its right to adequate food obligations. Given that human rights are understood to be realized over time, that is, "progressively," and that no State has endless resources, it is normal for States to fall short of full realization. Progress forward will be enhanced by democratic participatory engagement.

Well-governed and participatory food and nutrition systems and economies that protect livelihood security are a goal toward which the two case studies have very different experiences and expectations. In its Empowerment of Rural Women program, Taso Foundation's small grants support women's development in the agricultural sector. Women's projects always link increased food production for markets with household and community nutritional well-being and democratic self-governance; the emphasis is never on production for sales alone. Enhancing entrepreneurial savvy and potential as well as expanding regional information and professional networks co-exists with knowledge of and attention to the nutritional health and well-being of households and communities. This level of complexity paid off during and after the conflict emergencies and post-crisis period. At that time, Taso Foundation grantees provided traditional and high-quality food at reasonable prices as contrasted to the imported low-gluten flour that could not reproduce traditional baked staples (Bruckner, 2011). Being able to mobilize local food

sources and to translate this experience into contributions to the Georgian National Action Plan relative to UNSCR 1325 demonstrates that women must be included in peacemaking practices and policy; they should not be subdued by patronizing rhetoric and related public policy and customary tradition. In addition, the Taso Foundation's experience demonstrates that local and regional engagement in supporting emergency populations helps prevent a spiraling into dependency on foreign food imports and promotes sustainable farming approaches.

Different from the Georgian example, there is little modern experience in South Africa with functioning local food and nutrition systems and economies: Farm workers, mostly men, have been engaged in agriculture for income, with women on farms being increasingly employed as seasonal workers and engaging in informal work. Colonial and *apartheid* violence included the dispossession not only of land but also of entire livelihoods, infrastructure, and social networks (Kepe, Hall, & Cousins, 2008; Van Onselen, 1996). Enslavement, first of the indigenous Khoisan inhabitants into the colonial economy and later of the Black population to farm and ranching enterprises as well as mining and industrial concerns, denied them dignity and self-determination, and separated them from the traditional reproduction of their nutritional livelihoods through sustainable food production and gathering. Furthermore, violence and discrimination against Black women became entrenched, perhaps especially in rural areas where women's autonomy on large White-owned farms has remained subordinate. Women's role in overseeing family nutritional well-being relies on social and extended family networks, but additionally also on seasonal, informal, and migrant work. Household food production plays a smaller but still significant role depending on the specific region and circumstances. Today, post-*apartheid* land reform seeks to redress well over 100 years of loss of access to land and social inequality through a government program of land re-distribution and tenure reform (South Africa Department of Land Affairs, 1997). However, among the many challenges land reform faces is the legacy of exploitation that associates agriculture with food exports instead of community and regional nutritional traditions, rights, and security. It is highly questionable whether land reform, regardless if successful or not, addresses gender discrimination in land acquisition strategies.

SUMMARY

Violence is an under-recognized barrier to the realization of women's right to adequate food and nutrition. Food-related violences, such as those related to food work and access, maintain discriminatory practices that violate women's basic human rights. They are constituent of structural violence that delimits their social and public engagement, interfering with policy attempts to include women into public decision making affecting their own lives in general and with regard to the right to food in particular. Case studies from Georgia and South Africa illustrate the need for a human rights–based approach to food and nutrition security that prioritizes non-discrimination, public participation, and self-determination, principles that are frustrated by structural violence, especially for women.

Addressing women and women's rights in the context of the right to adequate food must take into consideration their full set of human rights, not just the right to food. Mainstreaming women into strategies to improve food and nutrition security must recognize and plan for structural, cultural, and physical violences that impede women's access to human rights as well as their capacity to engage publically for themselves and others. Education and social networking are critical resources to expose and confront violence, providing more capacity for women to realize their potential for themselves and their communities.

The right to adequate food embraces self-determination that strives to build local food systems that are not dependent on outside economic and political power. More research is needed on the role of gender and income inequalities, food insecurity, and the degree to which local food and nutrition systems and economies are integrated into social systems of human rights holders, duty bearers, and food governance systems.

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CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND INTEGRATIVE DISCUSSION OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As was stated in Chapter 1, the aim of this research was to demonstrate how improvement of women's and the poor's food and nutrition security is achievable in an environment that enables respect, protection, and fulfillment of human rights, including but not limited to the right to adequate food and nutrition. Throughout our study we asked what thwarts and supports efforts for the improvement of women's and the poor's food nutrition security. Focusing on NGOs as development and advocacy actors, the research answered the questions of what determines NGOs' choice to engage with the most marginalized and discriminated against groups, such as women and the poor, in Armenia and Georgia, and what are NGOs' approaches in addressing these groups' food and nutrition security. The study also investigated the use of human rights-based approaches, including the right to adequate food and nutrition, and gender mainstreaming by NGOs. A case study of an NGO that contributes to grass-roots community initiatives and social mobilization for better food systems and improved women's and girls' status was used to illustrate the potential of human rights-based interventions by civil society actors. Overall, the study used a mixed-methods research design to study NGOs working in the two countries.

The integrative discussion brings together the findings of all three papers and reflects the conceptual framework set out in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1). The conceptual framework includes two levels of interactions between three types of actors. The national level represents the interactions of local and international NGOs with local communities and specifically food insecure groups, including women and girls, and the poor; the international level focuses on interactions between transnational actors propagating food and nutrition security and national civil society groups. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, these three groups are not mutually exclusive and some overlap between each is possible.

We argue that there is a greater potential to improve food and nutrition security of women and girls and to contribute to democratized food systems, when there are strong interactions between transnational and national civil society actors propagating human rights-based approaches and gender mainstreaming, and local communities. Our findings on the decisive role of transnational actors behind the human rights-based approaches

confirm the argumentation of Kindornay et al. (2012). Similarly, True and Mintrom (2011) emphasize the role of transnational networks for the adoption of gender mainstreaming by national actors. We elaborate on the claims of Hickey and Mitlin (2009) and Nelson and Dorsey (2003) that these interactions are mutually beneficial: they enable social capital accumulation between all members, encourage the transfer of knowledge and experiences on the application of human rights-based approaches, gender mainstreaming, and the right to adequate food and nutrition, and contribute to solidarity and reciprocal support for overcoming discrimination and structural violence. The interactive networks that advocate for the right to adequate food and nutrition and other human rights are stronger when members have close social and geographic proximities. With this logic, one may argue that the presence of close social proximities between local communities, civil society organizations, and an umbrella organization among other factors can help explain, for example, the success of La Via Campesina as a peasant movement.

In the current study, however, the most discriminated against and marginalized groups rarely self-mobilized and established NGOs. As the findings demonstrate both in Armenia and Georgia, NGOs rarely had a grass-roots origin, i.e. having as their leaders and members representatives of food insecure groups. On the contrary, while operating in rural areas most of the NGOs were located in the urban areas and involved better-educated leaders and members residing in capitals and having access to the Western donors. Other previous studies emphasized the role of donors in shaping NGOs in the post-Soviet space, showed that many civil and political NGO members had privileged background in terms of education, professional experience, knowledge of languages, and residency (Broers, 2005; Hamilton, 2000; Ishkanian, 2014; Matveeva, 2008). In our study, both female- and male-led NGOs relied excessively on external donor funding, however, the elitist origin of NGOs was more profound among male-led in comparison to female-led organizations.

NGOs, as was demonstrated in our research, mainly targeted relatively better-off farmers or educated women. Both female- and male-led NGOs working with communities most often did not involve the most poor in their organizational structures, limiting the interaction to technical needs-based solutions, such as transfer of food and nutrition aid. These factors, we argue, discourage social capital accumulation, contributing to

deepening and increasingly accepted dependency, social isolation, and in turn, exacerbating structural violence among the most discriminated and marginalized groups.

The application of the human rights-based approaches and gender mainstreaming was not widespread among international and local NGOs addressing food and nutrition security in Georgia and Armenia. Further, the NGOs' experience with the right to adequate food was minimal. We conclude that donors show lack of interest or weak demands for integration specifically of the human right to adequate food into local NGOs' practices. We agree with Bebbington (2005) that the exclusion of the poorest by NGOs and priority programming for the improved incomes for relatively better-off farmers is also related to NGO ties with mainstream donor agencies who are in general negatively biased towards political forms of collective organization.

The typology of approaches by civil society groups and movements to the food crisis by Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) presented in Chapter 1 helps to explain the differences in addressing food and nutrition security among NGOs in Armenia and Georgia. Based on the survey and interview findings, the majority of NGOs in Armenia and Georgia did not favor "radical" and "progressive" views that emphasize the importance of the right to adequate food and food sovereignty as per Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011). While some national female- and male-led NGOs favored the promotion of sustainably and locally sourced food, their interactions with "radical" and "progressive" transnational actors, such as global peasant or food justice movements, were minimal, not surprisingly, rarely raising rights-based rhetoric in their activities. The interview findings point out that many male-led international and local NGOs involved in agricultural development initiatives favored free market principals as the basis for improved food and nutrition security without emphasizing the role of rights, entitlements and empowerment of women or the poor. Other INGOs, among those mainly female-led ones, addressed food and nutrition security from "reformist" perspectives, for example, by supporting local food markets and female producers. Thus, based on the survey and interview results, the study points out that the absence or weakness of networking ties with "progressive" and "radical" transnational actors explained the lack of integration of the right to adequate food and nutrition and social mobilization of the poorest at the country level.

Finally, the case study of the Taso Foundation illustrates the practical implications of the conceptual framework. Even though the organization did not have a grass-roots origin,

its working approaches prioritized the protection, respect and fulfillment of the human rights of the most marginalized and discriminated against women and girls. The rights-based interventions of the Foundation created an enabling environment for internally displaced rural women's participation in policy-making. As an organization having close networking ties with the national and international organizations focusing on the rights of women and human rights in general, Taso supported and encouraged self-help groups of internally displaced women to deliver policy recommendations for Georgia's National Action Plan on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Importantly, Taso recognized and planned to address the multiple risks and barriers that marginalized and discriminated against women face when entering in the public domain with claims for their entitlements and rights. In realizing the right to adequate food, women's self-determination was not ignored: the solutions for improving women's food and nutrition security were planned, implemented, and monitored by women. These interventions created a favorable environment for overcoming social exclusion and addressing gender inequality. Thus, by encouraging social mobilization and contributing to social capital accumulation, Taso had an important role in breaking the vicious circle between poverty, structural violence, and social isolation (see Figure 6.1).
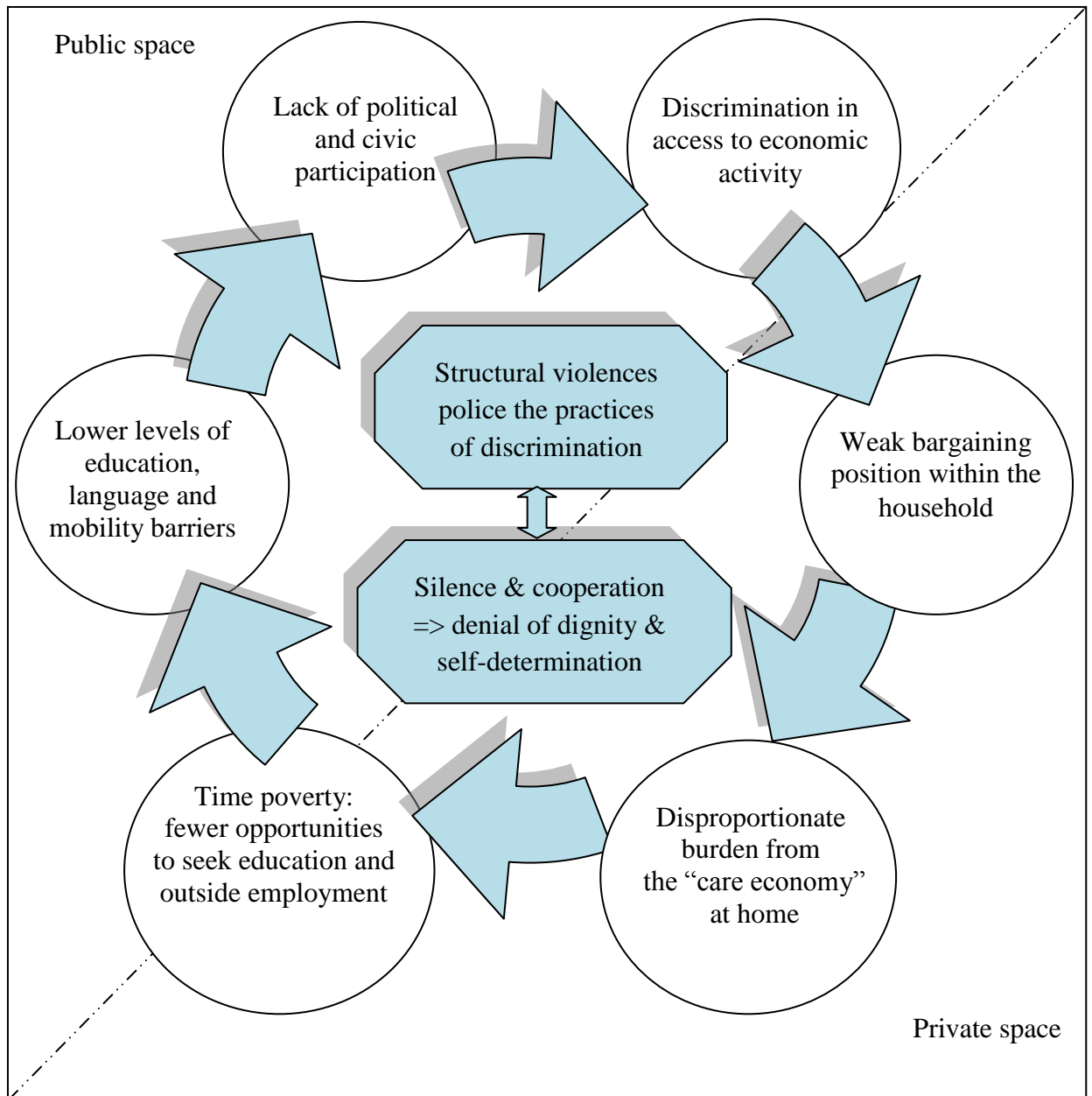
Figure 6.1: How discrimination against women is policed and maintained through violence

Source: Bellows and Jenderedjian, 2015

There are certain limitations of the current research which were already presented in the individual papers and in the dissertation Methodology Chapter. These include purposive rather than random sampling of NGOs in Armenia and Georgia in the survey, reliance on NGO leaders' rather than all staff members' narratives during the interviews, and limited time for the observations and interviews for the case study of Taso Foundation in Georgia.

Below we recommend future research directions for addressing limitations of the thesis. The research mostly relied on the views, perceptions, and experiences of NGO members (questionnaires and interviews with NGO members, observations of NGOs activities, use of NGO reports and web-sites). One set of limitations relates to the possibility of alternative explanations and narratives by local communities where NGOs operate. On the other hand, it is possible that transnational civil society actors and funding agencies have different views on gender mainstreaming and human rights-based approaches, including the right to adequate food and nutrition.[25] Future research should explore the conceptual differences and similarities in adoption and implementation processes by various actors. One research direction might be the exploration of an organization's interactions with its funding agencies and civil society partners, and local communities. An alternative research design could include the investigation of differences among transnational, bilateral, and multilateral private and public donors in promoting and supporting the use of above-mentioned development concepts (e.g. D'Hollander, Marx, & Wouters, 2013).

The study incorporates a wide array of operational and institutional factors in order to understand how NGOs address food and nutrition security and the rights of the most discriminated against groups in Armenia and Georgia. Previous studies have included some, but never all these aspects in other geographic contexts (Sarelin, 2007; Warshawsky, 2013). Nevertheless, it is possible that using an ethnographic approach, for example by observing the interactions of an organization with its partner organizations and local communities and target groups would have brought other themes to light. This research design was partially implemented during the case study of the Taso Foundation.

It is worth considering some other aspects from the conceptual framework that were not extensively covered in the research. While the research applied the concept of violence suggested by Bourdieu (1992; 2001; Wacquant, 1987) and Galtung (1969; 1990), no rigorous methodological analysis was developed to study the extent and magnitude in a

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[25] Gauri and Gloppen (2012) and Miller (2010) explore the differences in conceptualizing the human-rights based approaches, while others (Banik, 2010; Schmitz, 2012) explore the practical implementation on a country level and by a non-profit organization.

Other scholars point out to differences in rhetoric and use of the gender mainstreaming (examples include Eerdewijk & Davids, 2014; Mehra & Gupta, 2006; Moser & Moser, 2005; Parpart, 2014).

comparative cross-country context of NGOs' work. It was felt that the issue is too complex and needs a separate study, which was beyond the aims of the current study. Furthermore, the research did not study in detail the differences between practical application of human rights-based approaches or gender mainstreaming by NGOs. These differences are important for comparison and measurement of their practical use in developing countries and are recommendations for the further studies.[26] Finally, when studying social capital accommodation we did not focus on measuring trust and solidarity, rather limiting our study to social and geographic proximities and group formation. Even though it is assumed that these are the main determinants that contribute to social capital accumulation, there is a need to find a clear connection between shared similarities, trust, solidarity, and collective action, for example in relation to the interactions of NGOs with the local communities or with transnational actors.

Finally, Fine (2010) and Harris (2001) criticize the use of social capital theory in development research and practice (1994; 1995), which does not reveal the importance of social structures, such as class, gender and social hierarchies. In our work, we orient from Bourdieu's theory of social capital that emphasizes the role of power and social structures. In Chapter 4, we demonstrated how increased social capital based on the existing male-dominated power structures translates into increased economic opportunities for relative better-off male farmers. We also showand how weaker status of women and the poor embedded in social and cultural norms and practices hamper their social capital accumulation and economic profit-making. In Chapter 5 we referred to structural violence as an unrecognized barrier in development interventions aimed at improving the food and nutrition status of women and girls. We elaborate that social mobilization and group formation of the discriminated against groups contributes to social capital accumulation; the new groups have a potential to transform the existing power and dominance structures. However, from the point of Bourdieu's theory, these explanations are only partial, demanding a more comprehensive study of the ways in which social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital interfere in interventions aimed at improving women's status and food and nutrition security. The advanced study would require intensive, preferably longitudinal, research into local cultural and social life, that would be beyond of the scope of this research. Further studies employing approaches

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[26] Banik (2010) in his analysis of the adoption rights-based approaches in Malawi raises similar questions and calls for a further studies.

inspired from the intersectionality research are needed for exploring the dynamics of power and structural violence in intervention programs aimed at improving well-being of the poor communities, and particularly of women and girls that pay close attention to other variables, such as race, ethnicity, religion, etc.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Based on the findings of the individual papers of this dissertation and the integrative conceptual framework, policy implications are suggested in this section. The recommendations can be used by national NGOs themselves, but also by funding agencies, UN institutions, INGOs and social movements that are advocating human rights in general, and more specifically women's rights and social and economic rights, including the right to adequate food and nutrition.

Based on the findings in Chapter 3, we recommend stronger integration of local national NGOs in global civil society networks of donors, UN institutions, and social movements and INGOs that propagate the right to adequate food. These recommendations apply primarily to NGOs operating in Armenia and Georgia, but can be generalized for civil society organizations of other countries that have a weak presence in the international policy forums on the right to adequate food and nutrition. Improved exchange of information is critical not only for identifying problems, developing policy solutions, but also for strengthening networks between like-minded actors.

UN institutions' country offices, in particular, should encourage a holistic approach towards food and nutrition security when collaborating with civil society, prioritizing human rights, and promoting the right to adequate food and women's rights in particular. Further integration of food safety within the rights-based approach to food and nutrition security among transnational actors and UN institutions is another important step for advancing a holistic approach towards food and nutrition security.

The findings of Chapters 4 and 5 can be applied for policy recommendations on the exploration of alternative frameworks on how donors and NGOs can contribute to and encourage bottom-up social mobilization of food insecure groups. More specifically, the institutional profile of an organization, including the gender of its leaders and history of origin should be taken into account in the planning of agricultural and nutrition interventions aimed at improving the status of poor women and girls. Findings of the

Chapters 4 and 5 reconfirm the need for the human rights-based approach to food and nutrition security that prioritizes non-discrimination, public participation, and self-determination. More so, any development initiatives aimed at improving women's and their families food and nutrition status should recognize, plan and address the risks of violence and discrimination in private and public domains that impede the rights. Actions encouraging social capital accumulation, such as group formation, social networking, education, and access to resources and decision-making are critical means to confront violence, providing more capacity for women to realize their potential for themselves, their families, and their communities. Finally, national and international NGOs and other transnational actors should not disturb, but encourage social mobilization, participation and input in policy-making of the most marginalized groups.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. NGO SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES IN ARMENIAN, ENGLISH AND GEORGIAN

Survey Questionnaire

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To save your time, we created the questionnaire, which is quick and easy to fill in; in most cases, you have to check the relevant answers. There are 18 questions and the questionnaire will take 15 minutes to fill.

Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. Names and contact information from this survey will not be published without prior agreement. What you tell us will always remain confidential. We may contact you again in the case of unclear data, or in some cases for setting up more in-depth interviews,.

Please fill out and return the questionnaire by **25.12.2010** to the following email address: a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de to Ms Anna Jenderedjian.

If you have any questions about this survey or questionnaire, please contact any of the following: Anna Jenderedjian (a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de) or Prof. Anne C. Bellows, Institute of Social Sciences in Agriculture, University of Hohenheim (bellows@uni-hohenheim.de).

☐ **I read the above statement and I understand my participation is important, but entirely voluntary and confidential.**

Questionnaire

1.   General information about the organization

Name of the organization:	When was your organization founded? Year:
Email:	Website:

What is the focus of your organization's work?

2.   Who are the main beneficiaries of your organization? Check all that apply.

☐ Women   ☐ Men   ☐ Children

☐ Ethnic minorities   ☐ Refugees   ☐ Disabled persons

☐ Farmers and their   ☐ Rural population   ☐ Poor households
families

☐ Inhabitants of the   ☐ People residing in urban   ☐ Communities affected by
capital (Yerevan)   areas of the country   environmental degradation

☐ Other (please mention)

3.   Do you think that your country faces problems related to access to food, its availability? Please check one.

☐ Yes (optional, please mention 1- 2 examples)

            ☐ No   ☐ Maybe

4.   Do you think that your country faces problems related to food safety? Please check one.

☐ Yes (optional, lease mention 1- 2 examples)

            ☐ No   ☐ Maybe

5.   Are you or any member of your organization familiar with the "right to adequate food" concept? Please check all that apply.

☐ Yes, we are involved in   ☐ Yes, one or more of our organization members
projects/activities in this area   has/have attended a training

☐ No, though I am aware of it   ☐ No, I have never heard about it

6.   Are you or any member of your organization familiar with the "human rights-based approach"? Please check all that apply.

☐ Yes, we are involved in projects/activities in this area (please specify)

☐ Yes, one or more of our organization members has/have attended a training

☐ No, though I am aware of it

☐ No, I have never heard about it

7.   Does your organization have experience in monitoring or evaluating of any national policies related to food security and/or safety? Please check one.

☐ Yes (Please specify)   ☐   No

8.   Does your organization implement any projects/activities related to food security, food safety, nutrition, and/or agricultural development? Please check all that apply.

☐ Yes, this is the main focus of our work

☐ Yes, there were some projects in the past

☐ Yes, we implement a project/activity presently

☐ No, we do not work in this area

9.   Does your organization have any experience in implementing projects/activities in the following fields? Please check all that apply.

☐ Food and agriculture policy

☐ Children and women nutritional status

☐ Pollution prevention of water and food sources

☐ Food aid/distribution

☐ Rural livelihood and food security

☐ Consumer protection and food safety

☐ Food ethics

☐ Sustainable and organic agriculture, agrobiodiversity conservation

☐ Poverty eradication, basic social services

☐ Environment, sustainable management of natural resources

☐ Human rights, democratic governance, rule of law

☐ Gender equality and empowerment of women

☐ None experience in above-mentioned

10.   What is the structure of your organization? Please check one.

☐ Branch, or country office   ☐ Local organization based   ☐ Local organization based
of international organization   in the capital   outside the capital

☐ Other (please specify)

11.   What is the employment status of your organization's staff? Please check one.

☐ Mostly paid workers-   ☐ Equal ratio of unpaid volunteers and   ☐ Mainly unpaid
members   paid workers   volunteers

Other (please specify)

12.   How many members does your organization have? Please check one.

☐ 1 – 3   ☐ 4 – 7   ☐ 8 - 10

☐ 11 – 15   ☐ 16 – 20   ☐ more than 20

13.   What is the ratio of men and women in your organization? Please check one.

☐ Mostly men   ☐ Mostly women   ☐ Equal or almost equal ratio of women and men

14.   Who are the main leaders (managers) of your organization? Please check one.

☐ Mainly women   ☐ Mainly men   ☐ The ratio is equal

15.   Has your organization adopted any gender related strategy? Please check one.

☐ Yes (please specify):   ☐ No, but we had in the past (please
specify):

☐ No, but we are planning to have one (please   ☐ No
specify):

16.   Where does your organization primarily work? Please check one.

☐ In a village or rural area within one country   ☐ In a city or urban area within one country

☐ Within several regions of a country   ☐ Throughout a single country

☐ In the South Caucasus   ☐ Other (please specify)

17.   Does your organization have any established contacts with the international or regional organizations working in the area of food security and/or safety? Please check all that apply.

☐ Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)   ☐ FIAN International   ☐ International Alliance Against Hunger

☐ World Food Programme (WFP)   ☐ International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD)   ☐ La Via Campesina

☐ International Baby Food Action Network   ☐ Other (please specify)   ☐ No, we do not have any established contacts

18.   Please mention your role in the organization. Please check all that apply.

☐ Head/President/Director   ☐ Program manager   ☐ Program officer

☐ Intern/Volunteer   ☐ Administrative/Financial staff   ☐ Public relations

☐ Other (please specify)

Thank you!

Please send the filled questionnaire to a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de. Please indicate whether you are interested to receive the results of this survey:

☐ Please send the survey results to the following E-mail address

☐ I have great interest in participating in follow-up stages of this survey.

Your name (optional)

Could you please refer us to a civil society organization working in the field of food security in Armenia?

Name of the organization   **Contact person**   **Email/Telephone**

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Հարցաթերթիկ

Ձեր ժամանակը խնայելու համար մենք ստեղծել ենք հարցաթերթիկ, որը լրացնելն արագ և հեշտ է: Դուք պետք է միայն նշեք համապատասխան պատասխանները: Հարցաթերթիկն ունի 18 հարց և դրա լրացմանը դուք կհատկացնեք մոտ 15-20 րոպե:

Ձեր մասնակցությունը այս հետազոտությանը լիովին կամավոր է: Ձեր անունը կամ կոնտակտային տեղեկությունը չի տպագրվի առանց համապատասխան գրավոր համաձայնության: Այն, ինչ Դուք մեզ կհաղորդեք, կմնա գաղտնի: Մենք Ձեզ հետ կրկին կապ կհաստատենք ոչ պարզ տվյալների ճշգրտման, իսկ որոշ դեպքերում ավելի մանրամասն հարցազրույց կազմակերպելու նպատակով:

Խնդրում ենք լրացնել և վերադարձնել հարցաթերթիկը մինչև **25.12.2010** հետևյալ հասցեով՝ jender@uni-hohenheim.de ՝ ուղղելով այն Աննա Ճենտերեճյանին:

Եթե Դուք ունեք հարցեր այս հարցաթերթիկի կամ հետազոտության վերաբերյալ, խնդրում ենք կապվել Աննա Ճենտերեճյանի (jender@uni-hohenheim.de) կամ պրոֆ. Աննե Բելլոուսի հետ (anne.bellows@uni-hohenheim.de), Հոհենհայմի համալսարանի <<Հասարակական գիտությունները գյուղատնտեսությունում>> հետազոտական կենտրոն:

☐ Ես կարդացել եմ վերը նշվածը և հասկանում եմ, որ իմ մասնակցությունը կարևոր է, այն ամբողջովին կամավոր է և գաղտնի:

Հարցաթերթիկ

1. **Ընդհանուր տեղեկություն կազմակերպության մասին:**

Կազմակերպության անունը

Էլ.հասցե **Կայք**

Ո՞րն է Ձեր կազմակերպության առաքելությունը: Դուք կարող եք կցել Ձեր առաքելությունը կամ նշել հիմնական ուղղտները:

Ո՞րն է Ձեր կազմակերպության գործունեության հիմնական ուղղվածությունը:

2. **Ումբե՞ր են Ձեր կազմակերպության հիմնական շահառուները:** <u>Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները:</u>

☐ Կանայք ☐ Տղամարդիկ ☐ Երեխաներ

☐ Ազգային փոքրամասնություններ ☐ Փախստականներ ☐ Հաշմանդամներ

☐ Ֆերմերներ և նրանց ընտանիքները ☐ Գյուղական բնակչություն ☐ Անապահով տնային տնտեսություններ

☐ Մայրաքաղաքի (Երևանի) բնակիչներ ☐ Հանրապետության քաղաքային բնակչություն ☐ Բնապահպանական խնդիրներ ունեցող համայնքներ

☐ Այլ (խնդրում ենք մանրամասնել)

3. **Դուք կարծում եք, որ Ձեր երկրում կա՞ն պարենային մատչելիության, առկայության հետ կապված խնդիրներ:** <u>Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:</u>

☐ Այո (ըստ ցանկության, խնդրում ենք նշել 1-2 օրինակ) ☐ Ոչ ☐ Միգուցե

4. Դուք կարծում եք, որ Ձեր երկրում կա՞ն սննդի անվտանգության հետ կապված խնդիրներ: Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:

☐ Այո (ըստ ցանկության, խնդրում ենք նշել 1-2 օրինակ)   ☐ Ոչ   ☐ Միգուցե

5. Դուք կամ Ձեր կազմակերպության որևէ անդամ ծանո՞թ է «պարենի իրավունք» (right to adequate food) հասկացության հետ: Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները:

☐ Այո, մենք իրականացնում ենք ծրագրեր/գործունեություն այս ոլորտում

☐ Այո, մեր կազմակերպության մեկ կամ մի քանի անդամ անցել են համապատասխան ուսուցողական դասընթաց

☐ Ոչ, թեև ես տեղյակ եմ այդ մասին

☐ Ոչ, ես երբեք չեմ լսել այդ մասին

6. Ձեր կազմակերպությունը կամ Ձեր կազմակերպության որևէ անդամ տեղյա՞կ է «մարդու իրավունքների վրա հիմնված մոտեցմանը» (human rights-based approach):   Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները:

☐ Այո, մենք կիրառում ենք այդ մոտեցումը մեր ծրագրերում/գործունեության մեջ

☐ Այո, մեր կազմակերպության մեկ կամ մի քանի անդամ մասնացել են համապատասխան դասընթացների

☐ Ոչ, թեև ես ծանոթ եմ այդ գաղափարին

☐ Ոչ, ես երբեք այդ մասին չեմ լսել

7. Ձեր կազմակերպությունը ունի՞ փորձ պարենային ապահովությանը կամ անվտանգությանը վերաբերող որևէ ազգային քաղաքականության գնահատման կամ մոնիթորինգի գործում: Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:

☐ Այո (խնդրում ենք մանրամասնել)   ☐ Ոչ

8. Արդյո՞ք Ձեր կազմակերպությունը իրականացնում է որևէ գործունեություն, որը վերաբերում է սննդի անվտանգությանը, պարենային ապահովությանը, սնուցմանը կամ գյուղատնտեսության զարգացմանը: Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները:

☐ Այո, սա մեր աշխատանքի հիմնական ուղղվածություններն է

☐ Այո, մենք ունեցել ենք անցյալում նման ծրագրեր

☐ Այո, ներկայում մենք նման ծրագիր ենք իրականացնում

☐ Ոչ, մենք չենք աշխատում այս ուղղությամբ

ոլորտում

9. Ձեր կազմակերպությունը ունի՞ որևէ գործունեության կամ ծրագրերի իրականացման փորձ հետևյալ ոլորտներում։ Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները։:

☐ Պարենային և գյուղատնտեսական քաղաքականություն

☐ Երեխաների և կանանց սնուցում

☐ Սննդի և ջրի ադոտտման կանխարգելում

☐ Պարենային օգնություն/ բաշխում

☐ Գյուղական վայրերի կենսապայմաններ և պարենային ապահովություն

☐ Սպառողների պաշտպանություն և սննդի անվտանգություն

☐ Սննդի էթիկա

☐ Կայուն և օրգանական գյուղատնտեսություն, ագրոկենսաբազմազանության պահպանություն

☐ Աղքատության նվազեցում, հիմնական սոցիալական ծառայություններ

☐ Շրջակա միջավայր, բնական ռեսուրսների կայուն կառավարում

☐ Մարդու իրավունքներ, ժողովրդավարական կառավարում, օրենքի գերակայություն

☐ Գենդերային հավասարություն և կանանց հզորացում

☐ Ոչ մի փորձ վերը նշվածում

10. Ո՞րն է Ձեր կազմակերպության տեսակը։ Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան։

☐ Միջազգային կազմակերպության մասնաճյուղ կամ ազգային գրասենյակ/ներկայացուցչություն

☐ Տեղական կազմակերպություն, որը տեղակայված է մայրաքաղաքում

☐ Տեղական կազմակերպություն, որը տեղակայված է մայրաքաղաքից դուրս

☐ Այլ (խնդրում ենք պարզաբանել)

11. Ինչպիսի՞ն է Ձեր կազմակերպության աշխատակիցների կարգավիճակը։ Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:

☐ Գործունեության մեծ մասը իրականցվում է վճարվող աշխատակիցների կողմից

☐ Մենք ունենք վճարվող աշխատակիցների և չվճարվող կամավորների գրեթե հավասար հարաբերություն մեր կազմակերպությունում

☐ Աշխատանքը հիմնականում կատարվում է չվճարվող կամավորների կողմից

Այլ (խնդրում ենք պարզաբանել)

12. Քանի՞ անդամ ունի Ձեր կազմակերպությունը։ Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:

☐ 1 – 3   ☐ 4 – 7   ☐ 8 - 10

☐ 11 - 15   ☐ 16 – 20   ☐ 20-ից ավելի

13. Ինչպիսի՞ն է Ձեր կազմակերպությունում տղամարդկանց և կանանց միջև հարաբերակցությունը։ Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:

☐ Հիմնականում տղամարդիկ

☐ Հիմնականում կանայք

☐ Հավասար կամ գրեթե հավասար տղամարդկանց և կանանց միջև հարաբերակցություն

14. Ովքե՞ր են Ձեր կազմակերպության առաջնորդները/ղեկավարները։ Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:

☐ Հիմնականում կանայք

☐ Հիմնականում տղամարդիկ

☐ Հավասար հարաբերակցություն է

15. Ձեր կազմակերպությունը որդեգրե՞լ է որևէ չենդերային ռազմավարություն։ Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները:

☐ Այո (խնդրում ենք մանրամասնել)

☐ Ոչ , բայց մենք այն ունեցել ենք անցյալում (խնդրում ենք մանրամասնել)

☐ Ոչ, սակայն մենք նախատեսում ենք այն ունենալ (խնդրում ենք մանրամասնել)

☐ Ոչ

16. Որտե՞ղ է հիմնականում աշխատում Ձեր կազմակերպությունը: <u>Ընտրեք միայն մեկ պատասխան:</u>

☐ Գյուղում կամ գյուղական վայրում մեկ երկրի սահմաններում

☐ Քաղաքում կամ քաղաքային վայրում մեկ երկրի սահմաններում

☐ Մեկ երկրի մի քանի մարզերում

☐ Հարավային Կովկասում

☐ Այլ (խնդրում ենք պարզաբանել)

17. Ձեր կազմակերպությունը հաստատե՞լ է կապ պարենային ապահովության, անվտանգության կամ մատչելիության բնագավառում աշխատող միջազգային կամ ռեգիոնալ կազմակերպությունների հետ: <u>Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները:</u>

☐ Պարենի և գյուղատնտեսության կազմակերպություն (FAO)

☐ ՖԻԱՆ ինթերնեյշնլ (FIAN International)

☐ Ընդդեմ սովի միջազգային դաշինք (International l Alliance Against Hunger)

☐ Պարենի համաշխարհային ծրագիր (WFP)

☐ Գյուղատնտեսության զարգացման միջազգային հիմնադրամ (IFAD)

☐ La Via Campesina

☐ Մանկական սննդի միջազգային գործողության ցանց (International Baby Food Action Network)

☐ Այլ կազմակերպություն (խնդրում ենք նշել)

☐ Ոչ, մենք չունենք հաստատված կապեր

18. Խնդրում ենք նշել Ձեր դերը կազմակերպությունում: <u>Նշեք բոլոր համապատասխան պատասխանները:</u>

☐ Նախագահ/Տնօրեն

☐ Ծրագրի ղեկավար

☐ Ծրագրի պատասխանատու

☐ Ինտերն/Կամավոր

☐ Վարչական/ֆինանսական բաժնի աշխատակից

☐ Կապեր հանրության հետ

☐ Այլ (խնդրում ենք նշել)

☐ Եթե դուք հետաքրքրված եք ստանալ հետազոտության արդյունքները, խնդրում ենք նշել ստորև համապատասխան էլեկտրոնային հասցեն՝

:

☐ Ես հետաքրքրված եմ մասնակցել հետազոտության հաջորդ փուլերում:

Ձեր անունը (ցանկության դեպքում)

Եթե Ձեզ հայտնի է որևէ հասարակական կազմակերպություն կամ շարժում, որը զբաղվում է Հայաստանում պարենային ապահովության կամ սննդի անվտանգության հարցերով, խնդրում ենք տրամադրել մեզ այդ մասին տեղեկություն:

Կազմակերպության անունը
Կոնտակտային անձ
Էլ. հասցե/Հեռախոս

Շնորհակալություն:

Խնդրում ենք ուղարկել լրացված հարցաթերթիկը a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de. Էլ - հասցեով:

UNIVERSITÄT HOHENHEIM

Civil society in the post Soviet countries – Georgia

To save your time, we created the questionnaire, which is quick and easy to fill in; in most cases, you have to check the relevant answers. There are 18 questions and the questionnaire will take 15 minutes to fill.

Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary. Names and contact information from this survey will not be published. What you tell us will always remain confidential. Only in the case of unclear data, or in some cases for setting up more in-depth interviews, we may contact you again.

If you have any questions about this survey or questionnaire, please contact any of the following: Anna Jenderedjian (a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de) or Prof. Anne C. Bellows, Institute of Social Sciences in Agriculture, University of Hohenheim(anne.bellows@uni-hohenheim.de).

☐ I read the above statement and I understand my participation is important, but entirely voluntary and confidential.

Questionnaire

General information about the organization
Name of the organization: **Email:**

Website:

What is the focus of your organization's work?

19.   Who are the main beneficiaries of your organization? Check all that apply.

☐ Women   ☐ Men   ☐ Children

☐ Ethnic minorities   ☐ Refugees   ☐ Disabled persons

☐ Farmers and their   ☐ Rural population   ☐ Poor households
families

☐ Inhabitants of the   ☐ People residing in urban   ☐ Communities affected by
capital (Tbilisi)   areas of the country   environmental degradation

☐ Other (please mention)

20.   Do you think that Georgia faces problems related to access to food, its availability?
Please check one.

☐ Yes (optional, please mention 1- 2 examples)   ☐ No   ☐ Maybe

21.   Do you think that Georgia faces problems related to food safety? Please check one.

☐ Yes (optional, please mention 1- 2 examples)   ☐ No   ☐ Maybe

22.   Are you or any member of your organization familiar with the "right to adequate
food"concept? Please check all that apply.

☐ Yes, we are involved in   ☐ Yes, one or more of our organization members
projects/activities in this area   has/have attended a training

☐ No, though I am aware of it   ☐ No, I have never heard about it

23. **Are you or any member of your organization familiar with the "human rights-based approach"? Please check all that apply.**

☐ Yes, we are involved in projects/activities in this area

☐ Yes, one or more of our organization members has/have attended a training

☐ No, though I am aware of it

☐ No, I have never heard about it

24. **Does your organization have experience in monitoring or evaluating of any national policies related to food security and/or safety? Please check one.**

☐ Yes (Please specify   ☐ No

25. **Does your organization implement any projects/activities related to food security, food safety, nutrition, and/or agricultural development? Please check all that apply.**

☐ Yes, this is the main focus of our work

☐ Yes, we implement a project/activity presently

☐ Yes, there were some projects in the past

☐ No, we do not work in this area

26. **Does your organization have any experience in implementing projects/activities in the following fields? Please check all that apply.**

☐ Food and agriculture policy

☐ Children and women nutritional status

☐ Pollution prevention of water and food sources

☐ Food aid/distribution

☐ Rural livelihood and food security

☐ Consumer protection and food safety

☐ Food ethics

☐ Sustainable and organic agriculture, agrobiodiversity conservation

☐ Poverty eradication, basic social services

☐ Environment, sustainable management of natural resources

☐ Human rights, democratic governance, rule of law

☐ Gender equality and empowerment of women

☐ None experience in above-mentioned

27. **What is the structure of your organization? Please check one.**

☐ Branch, or country office of international organization

☐ Local organization based in the capital

☐ Local organization based outside the capital

☐ Other (please specify)

28. What is the employment status of your organization's staff? Please check one.

☐ Mostly paid workers-members   ☐ Equal ratio of unpaid volunteers and paid workers

☐ Mainly unpaid volunteers   ☐ Other (please specify)

29. How many active members does your organization have? Please check one.

☐ 1 - 3   ☐ 4 – 7   ☐ 8 – 10

☐ 11 - 15   ☐ 16 – 20   ☐ more than 20

30. What is the ratio of men and women in your organization? Please check one.

☐ Mostly men   ☐ Mostly women   ☐ Equal or almost equal ratio of women and men

31. Who are the main leaders (managers) of your organization? Please check one.

☐ Mainly women   ☐ Mainly men   ☐ The ratio is equal

32. Has your organization adopted any gender related strategy? Please check one.

☐ Yes (please specify):

☐ No, but we had in the past (please specify):

☐ No, but we are planning to have one (please specify):

☐ No

33. Where does your organization primarily work? Please check one.

☐ In a village or rural area within one country   ☐ In a city or urban area within one country

☐ Within several regions of a country   ☐ Throughout a single country

☐ In the South Caucasus   ☐ Internationally

☐ Other (please specify)

34.   Does your organization have any established contacts with the international or regional organizations working in the area of food security and/or safety? Please check all that apply.

☐ Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

☐ FIAN International

☐ International Alliance Against Hunger

☐ World Food Programme (WFP)

☐ International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD)

☐ La Via Campesina

☐ International Baby Food Action Network (IBFA)

☐ Other (please specify)

☐ No, we do not have any established contacts

35.   Please mention your role in the organization. Please check all that apply.

☐ Head/President/Director

☐ Program manager

☐ Program officer

☐ Intern/Volunteer

☐ Administrative/Financial staff

☐ Public relations

☐ Other (please specify)

Please indicate whether you are interested to receive the results of this survey. Please indicate bellow your E-mail address:

☐ Please send the survey results to the following E-mail address:

☐ I have great interest in participating in follow-up stages of this survey.

Your name (optional)

Could you please refer us to a civil society organization working in the field of food security in Georgia?

| Name of the organization |
| Contact person |
| Email/Telephone |

Thank you!

Please send the filled questionnaire to a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de

UNIVERSITÄT HOHENHEIM

სამოქალაქო საზოგადოების პოსტ საბჭოთა ქვეყნებში - საქართველო

თქვენი დროის დაზოგვის მიზნით, ჩვენ შევადგინეთ კითხვარი, რომლის შევსებაც ხდება სწრაფად და იოლად; უმეტეს შემთხვევაში, თქვენ მოგიწევთ მხოლოდ სასურველი ვარიანტის შემოხაზვა. კითხვარი მთლიანად მოიცავს 18 შეკითხვას და მის შევსებას სჭირდება 15 წუთი.

თქვენი მონაწილეობა ამ გამოკითხვაში არის სრულიად ნებაყოფლობითი. გაითვალისწინეთ, რომ რესპონდენტის სახელი და საკონტაქტო ინფორმაცია არ იქნება გამოქვეყნებული. თქვენი ყოველი პასუხი აბსოლუტურად კონფიდენციალურია. მხოლოდ იმ შემთხვევაში, თუ მონაცემები იქნება გაურკვეველი, ან იმ შემთხვევაში, თუ საჭირო გახდება უფრო ღრმა გამოკითხვის ჩატარება, შესაძლოა კვლავ დაგიკავშირდეთ.

თუ გაქვთ რაიმე შეკითხვა გამოკითხვასთან ან კითხვართან დაკავშირებით, გთხოვთ დაგვიკავშირდეთ რომელიმე ჩვენთაგანს: ანა ჯენდერეჯიანი (a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de) ან პროფესორი ენნ ბელოუზი, სოფლის მეურნეობის სოციალური მეცნიერებების ინსიტუტის, ჰოჰენჰაიმის უნივერსიტეტი (anne.bellows@uni-hohenheim.de).

☐ წავიკითხე რა ზემოთ არსებული განცხადება, ვაცნობიერებ, რომ ჩემი მონაწილეობა არის მნიშვნელოვანი, მაგრამ აბსოლუტურად ნებაყოფლობითი და კონფიდენციალური.

ზოგადი ინფორმაცია ორგანიზაციის შესახებ

ორგანიზაციის სახელი:

ელ-ფოსტა:

ვებ-გვერდი:

რა არის თქვენი ორგანიზაციის საქმიანობის ძირითადი სფერო/სფეროები?

1. ვინ არიან თქვენი ორგანიზაციის ბენეფიციარები? <u>შემოხაზეთ ყველა შესაბამისი ვარიანტი.</u>

☐ ქალები   ☐ მამაკაცები   ☐ ბავშვები

☐ ეთნიკური უმცირესობები   ☐ ლტოლვილები   ☐ უნარშეზღუდული პირები

☐ ფერმერები და მათი ოჯახები   ☐ სოფლის მოსახლეობა   ☐ გაჭირვებული შინამეურნეობები

☐ დედაქალაქის მაცხოვრებლები (თბილისი)   ☐ ქალაქად მცხოვრები მოსახლეობა   ☐ გარემოს დეგრადაციისგან დაზარალებული თემები

☐ სხვა (გთხოვთ დააკონკრეტოთ)

2. ფიქრობთ თუ არა, რომ თქვენი ქვეყანა დგას ისეთი პრობლების წინაშე, როგორიცაა საკვების ხელმისაწვდომობა? გთხოვს აღნიშნოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ დიახ (გთხოვთ, მოიყვანოთ 1-2 მაგალითი)   ☐ არა   ☐ შესაძლოა

3. ფიქრობთ თუ არა, რომ თქვენი ქვეყანა დგას ისეთი პრობლების წინაშე, როგორიცაა სურსათის უვნებლობა? გთხოვს აღნიშნოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ დიახ (გთხოვთ, მოიყვანოთ 1-2 მაგალითი)   ☐ არა   ☐ შესაძლოა

4. ნაცნობია თუ არა თქვენთვის, ან თქვენი ორგანიზაციის რომელიმე წევრისთვის კონცეფცია - "უფლება ადეკვატურ საკვებზე ("right to adequate food")? გთხოვთ <u>შემოხაზოთ ყველა შესაბამისი ვარიანტი.</u>

☐ დიახ, ჩვენ   ☐ დიახ, ჩვენი ორგანიზაციის ერთ ან რამდენიმე წევრს

ვსაქმიანობთ ამ სფეროში   გავლილი აქვს ტრენინგი ამ საკითხზე

☐ არა, მაგრამ ვიცი ამის   ☐ არა, არასდროს მსმენია ამის შესახებ
შესახებ

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5.   ნაცნობია თუ არა თქვენთვის, ან თქვენი ორგანიზაციის რომელიმე წევრისთვის ”უფლებებზე დაფუძნებული მიდგომა” (“rights-based approach”)? გთხოვთ შემოხაზოთ ყველა, რომელიც შეესაბამება.

☐ დიახ, ჩვენ ვსაქმიანობთ ამ სფეროში   ☐ დიახ, ჩვენი ორგანიზაციის ერთ ან რამდენიმე წევრს გავლილი აქვს ტრენინგი ამ საკითხზე

☐ არა, მაგრამ ვიცი ამის შესახებ   ☐ არა, არასდროს მსმენია ამის შესახებ

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6.   აქვს თუ არა თქვენ ორგანიზაციას სასურსათო უსაფრთხოების ან უუნებლობის ეროვნული პოლიტიკის მონიტორინგის ან შეფასების გამოცდილება? გთხოვთ, შემოხაზოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ დიახ (გთხოვთ, დააკონკრეტოთ)   ☐ არა

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7.   ახორციელებს თუ არა თქვენი ორგანიზაცია რაიმე პროექტს/საქმიანობას, რომელიც დაკავშირებულია სასურსათო უსაფრთხოებასთან, საკვების უუნებლობასთან ან სოფლის მეურნეობის განვითარებასთან? გთხოვთ აღნიშნოთ ყველა შესაბამისი ვარიანტი.

☐ დიახ, ეს არის ჩვენი საქმიანობის მთავარი მიმართულება   ☐ დიახ, ამჟამად ვახორციელებთ პროექტს/საქმიანობას

☐ დიახ, გვქონდა მსგავსი პროექტები წარსულში   ☐ არა, არ ვმუშაობთ ამ სფეროში

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8.   აქვს თუ არა თქვენ ორგანიზაციას შემდეგ სფერო(ებ)ში მუშაობის/საქმიანობის გამოცდილება? გთხოვთ, აღნიშნეთ ყველა შესაბამისი ვარიანტი.

☐ კვების და სოფლის მეურნეობის პოლიტიკა   ☐ ბავშვთა და ქალთა კვების მდგომარეობა   ☐ წყლის და საკვები პროდუქტების დაბინძურების თავიდან აცილება   ☐ საკვებით დახმარება / დისტრიბუცია

☐ სოფლის კეთილდღეობა   ☐ მომხმარებელთა   ☐ საკვების წარმოების და   ☐ მდგრადი და ორგანული სოფლის

195

და სასურსათო უსაფრთხოება	უფლებები და საკვების უვნებლობა	შექმნის ეთიკა	მეურნეობა, აგრო ბიომრავალფეროვნების კონსერვაცია
☐ სიდარიბესთან ბრძოლა, საბაზისო სოციალური მომსახურება	☐ გარემოს დაცვა, ბუნებრივი რესურსების მდგრადობის მართვა	☐ ადამიანის უფლებები, დემოკრატიული მმართველობა, კანონის უზენაესობა	☐ გენდერული თანასწორობა და ქალთა უფლებები

☐ ზემოთ აღნიშნული არცერთი გამოცდილება

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9. როგორია თქვენი ორგანიზაციის სტრუქტურა? გთხოვთ აირჩიოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ საერთაშორისო ორგანიზაციის ფილიალი ან ქვეყნაში წარმომადგენლობითი ოფისი

☐ დედაქალაქში დაფუძნებული ადგილობრივი ორგანიზაცია

☐ დედაქალაქის გარეთ დაფუძნებული ადგილობრივი ორგანიზაცია

☐ სხვა (გთხოვთ დააკონკრეტოთ)

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10. თქვენ ორგანიზაციაში რა სტატუსით არიან თანამშრომლები დასაქმებული? გთხოვთ აირჩიოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ ორგანიზაცია ძირითადად შედგება ანაზღაურებადი პერსონალით

☐ თანაბრად არიან როგორც ანაზღაურებადი პერსონალი, ისე მოხალისეები

☐ ძირითადად მოხალისეებით არის დაკომპლექტებული

☐ სხვა (გთხოვთ დააკონკრეტოთ)

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11. რამდენი აქტიური წევრისგან შედგება თქვენი ორგანიზაცია? გთხოვთ აირჩიოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ 1 – 3 ☐ 4 – 7 ☐ 8 - 10

☐ 11 - 15 ☐ 16 – 20 ☐ 20–ზე მეტი

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12. მამაკაცების და ქალების როგორი თანაფარდობაა თქვენ ორგანიზაციაში? გთხოვთ აირჩიოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ ძირითადად მამაკაცები არიან დასაქმებულნი

☐ ძირითადად ქალები არიან დასაქმებულნი

☐ თანაბარი ან თითქმის თანაბარი თანაფარდობაა ქალებისა და მამაკაცების

13. ძირითადად რომელი სქესის წარმომადგენლები არიან თქვენ ორგანიზაციაში მენეჯერულ პოზიციაზე? გთხოვთ აღნიშნოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ ძირითადად ქალები

☐ ძირითადად მამაკაცები

☐ თანაბრად არიან განაწილებულნი

14. აქვს თუ არა თქვენ ორგანიზაციას შემუშავებული გენდერულ საკითხთან მიმართებით რაიმე სტრატეგია? გთხოვთ აირჩიოთ ერთი ვარიანტი

☐ დიახ (გთხოვთ, დააკონკრეტოთ):

☐ არა, მაგრამ წარსულში გვქონდა (გთხოვთ, დააკონკრეტოთ):

☐ არა, მაგრამ ვაპირებთ, რომ შევიმუშაოთ (გთხოვთ, დააკონკრეტოთ):

☐ არა

15. ძირითადად სად მუშაობს თქვენი ორგანიზაცია? გთხოვს აღნიშნოთ ერთი ვარიანტი.

☐ სოფლად ერთი ქვეყნის შიგნით

☐ ქალაქად ერთი ქვეყნის შიგნით

☐ ქვეყნის რამდენიმე რეგიონში

☐ მთელი ქვეყნის მასშტაბით

☐ სამხრეთ კავკასიაში

☐ სხვა (გთხოვთ, დააკონკრეტოთ)

16. აქვს თუ არა თქვენ ორგანიზაცას ურთიერთობა საერთაშორისო ან რეგიონულ ორგანიზაციებთან, რომლებიც მუშაობენ სასურსათო უსაფრთხოების ან საკვების უვნებლობის სფეროში? გთხოვთ შემოხაზოთ ყველა შესაბამისი ვარიანტი.

☐ სურსათისა და სოფლის მეურნეობის ორგანიზაცია Food and Agriculture Organization

☐ FIAN International

☐ საერთაშორისო ალიანსი შიმშილის წინააღმდეგ International

(FAO)   Alliance Against Hunger

☐ მსოფლიო სასურსათო   ☐ სოფლის მეურნეობის   ☐ La Via Campesina
პროგრამა World Food   განვითარების საერთაშორისო
sProgramme (WFP)   ფონდი International Fund for
                               Agriculture Development (IFAD)

☐ ბავშვთა კვების   ☐ სხვა (გთხოვთ,   ☐ არა, არ გვაქვს
საერთაშორისო ქსელი   დააკონკრეტოთ)   მსგავსი ურთიერთობა
International Baby Food
Action Network (IBFA)

17.   რა თანამდებობა გიკავიათ თქვენ სამსახურში? გთხოვთ შემოხაზოთ ყველა შესაბამისი ვარიანტი.

☐   ☐ პროგრამის მენეჯერი   ☐ პროგრამის
პრეზიდენტი/დირექტორი   ოფიცერი

☐ სტაჟიორი/მოხალისე   ☐   ☐
                               ადმინისტრაციული/ფინანსური   საზოგადოებასთან
                               კადრი   ურთიერთობის
                                                            სპეციალისტი

☐ სხვა (გთხოვთ, დააკონკრეტოთ)

მიუთითეთ გსურთ თუ არა მიიღოთ გამოკითხვის შედეგები. გთხოვთ, გამომიგზავნოთ გამოკითხვის შედეგები შემდეგ მისამართზე:

☐

☐ ძალიან დაინტერესებული ვარ გამოკითხვის შემდგომ ეტაპზეც მივიღო მონაწილეობა.
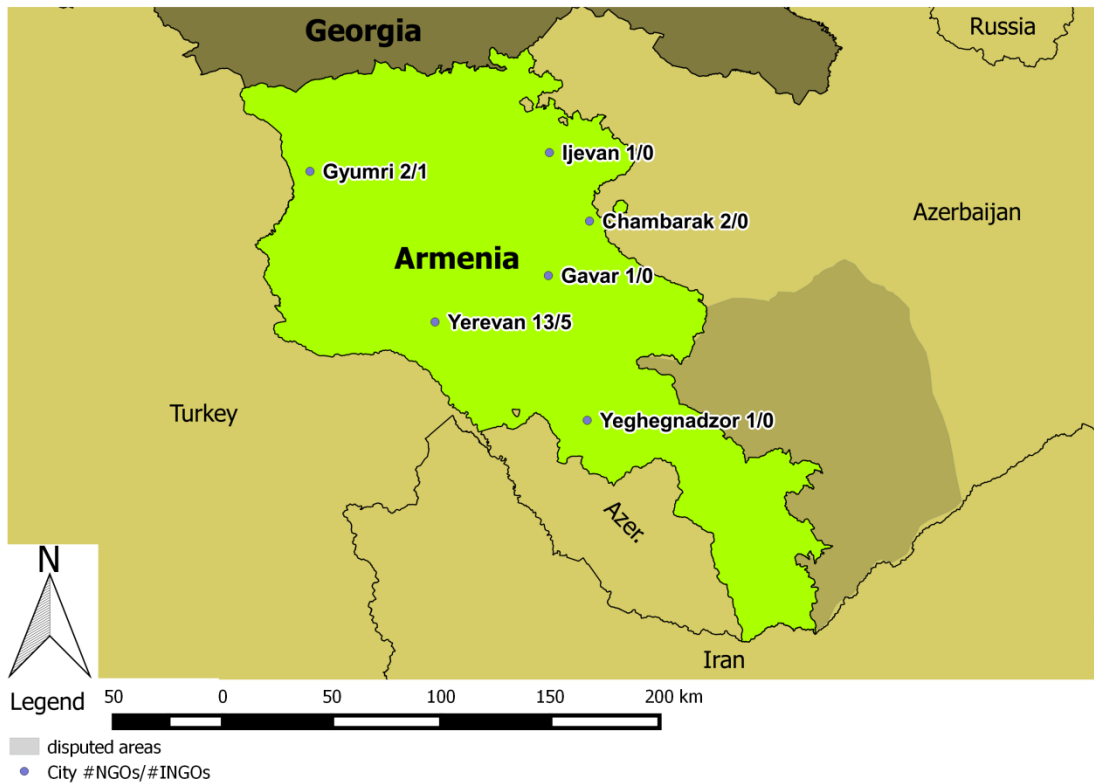
თქვენი სახელი (არასავალდებულო)

თუ შეგიძლიათ მიგვასწავლოთ საქართველოში არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაცია, რომელიც საქმიანობს სასურსათო უსაფრთხოების სფეროში?

ორგანიზაციის სახელი
საკონტაქტო პიროვნება
ელ-ფოსტა/ტელეფონი

დიდი მადლობა!

გთხოვთ, გააგზავნოთ შევსებული კითხვარი შემდეგ მისამართზე: a.jenderedjian@uni-hohenheim.de.

APPENDIX 2. NGO LOCATIONS IN ARMENIA

Source: Conflict regions data from Croicu, M. and R. Sundberg (2012), UCDP GED Conflict Polygons dataset version 1.1-2011, UCDP, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. http://www.ucdp.uu.se/ged. Country boundaries from The Office of the Geographers's Large Scale International Boundary Lines and World Vector Shorelines (LSIB-WVS), US Department of State, Office of the Geographer. Number of NGOs and locations – own data. Map projection WGS 84.

APPENDIX 3. NGO LOCATIONS IN GEORGIA

Source: Conflict regions data from Croicu, M. and R. Sundberg (2012), UCDP GED Conflict Polygons dataset version 1.1-2011, UCDP, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. http://www.ucdp.uu.se/ged. Country boundaries from The Office of the Geographers's Large Scale International Boundary Lines and World Vector Shorelines (LSIB-WVS), US Department of State, Office of the Geographer. Number of NGOs and locations – own data. Map projection WGS 84.