Collaborative leadership for gender mainstreaming in dairy cooperatives: Social Innovation of Vasudhara Dairy in Gujarat

Neha Christie

Abstract

Dairy cooperatives in Gujarat following the famous Amul model have been one of the more successful examples of cooperatives in India and the world. Despite fall in international commodity prices in recent times Amul the federation of cooperatives ensures that 80-86% of the consumer spend goes back to its dairy farmers. Although women have been the backbone of much of the dairy activity there have been few and isolated instances of women in leadership positions in dairy cooperatives. Out of the 17 milk unions of Gujarat, the number of women leaders at the higher levels like Board of Directors and dairy cooperatives is limited.

In contrast, one of the unions, the Vasudhara milk union is a unique example of successful cooperation of women. The dairy has witnessed great success in mainstreaming gender through developing gender sensitive system from the beginning. As a result of this social innovation, out of 1121 milk cooperatives 940 cooperatives are women milk cooperatives and out of 14 seats in the board of management 8 seats are headed by women members in the milk union. The active innovative and collaborative efforts for empowering women and enhancing their participation in economic growth brought a social change in this predominantly tribal region.

This paper aims to examine the social innovations that enabled gender mainstreaming in dairy cooperatives in Vasudhara dairy. The paper highlights the factors that can foster space for gender participation in cooperatives through conscious and effective collaborative leadership. The methodology for this study includes qualitative survey by interviewing managers and producer leaders of Vasudhara milk union and analyzing the available secondary data.

Gender mainstreaming is a contested concept. It is a new form of policy practice and strategy development. As a practice, gender mainstreaming is intended as a way of improving the effectively of mainline policies by making visible the gendered nature of assumptions, processes and outcomes (Walby, S, 2005). Vasudhara dairy is an excellent example of mainstreaming women in cooperatives which can be replicated in other milk unions of Gujarat. The efforts made by the dairy for not only economically empowering women but creating opportunities and space for the real sustainable social and psychological development of tribal women.

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2Neha Christie, Research officer, Dr. Verghese Kurien Centre of Excellence, Institute of Rural Management Anand (IRMA) Email: neha@irma.ac.in. This study is supported by the Dr. Verghese Kurien Centre of Excellence at IRMA and I would like to acknowledge the significant contributions of centre coordinator Prof. C Shambu Prasad, visiting faculty IRMA Dr N. V. Belawadi, Vasudhara milk union managing director Narendra Vashi, development officers, board of directors and women milk producer leaders who have strongly motivated me to write this paper. Usual disclaimers apply.
This paper is divided into five parts. The first part is an introductory part which gives a general overview of the dairying sector and the role of women in dairy cooperatives. While there is greater discussion on gender mainstreaming of cooperatives, this has not reflected sufficiently in discussions within dairy cooperatives that have historically had a poor representation of women as Board members or other leadership roles.

The second part is about how one cooperative, Vasudhara dairy in Gujarat, has followed a different trajectory. First it traces the history of Vasudhara milk union and the way the organization has reinvented its vision by collaborative leadership towards mainstreaming women’s participation. The third part of the paper focuses on different innovative ways that Vasudhara dairy has introduced to the system for gender mainstreaming. Later part four explains the observations of factors that fostered gender mainstreaming. The factors identified are collaborative leadership, gender sensitive policies, strategies used by the milk union to support women’s participation, socio economic development and its impact. The fifth and last part of the paper presents Vasudhara dairy’s interventions for gender mainstreaming approach as social innovation. Vasudhara dairy has successfully incorporated different gender sensitive approaches in dairy’s vision and working system which were not done by other milk unions. The innovative efforts made by the dairy can be replicated in other dairies to enhance gender participation.

1. Introduction

Dairy cooperatives in Gujarat following the famous Amul model have been one of the more successful examples of cooperatives in India and the world. Gujarat state is known for the white revolution in dairy sector through its successful cooperatives. The federation has provided strong support and put great efforts in developing milk unions. The milk unions have also given
priorities to farmers’ benefits. However, the aspect of gender participation in dairy cooperatives still requires great attention and remains as one of the biggest criticisms of the dairy cooperatives. Women are heavily involved in major activities related to dairying business still the participation of women at higher level is very less. The board of management of most of the milk unions has very few numbers of female board directors. This situation indicates that when women are majorly involved in grassroots activities, they are not either motivated enough or not given enough space to come up and participate in the decision making process of the milk unions.

“There is a need for deep legal and legislative changes when to ensure women’s right and leadership. Although 47% of world business leaders say that they are in favors of gender quotas, the participation of women is underrepresented in leadership and management level position in public and private sector [1]. Only less than one-third of senior and middle management positions are held by women [2]. While 39 per cent of countries worldwide have used some form of quota system to increase women’s representation in politics, as of 2017, only 23.4 per cent of all national parliaments are women. Achieving gender equality and sustainable development by 2030 will require stepping up efforts at all fronts’ [3].

The research particularly focuses on the dairy sector of Gujarat. The state is one of the highest milk producing states in India. As mentioned earlier much of the activities related to the dairying at grassroot level are performed by women, but the participation of women at higher levels of the cooperative is very less. The data collected from the Gujarat Milk Marketing Federation (GCMMF) shows that the numbers of women at the board level are very low (table 1). However, this is not the case with one of the milk unions of Gujarat state which is quite different from the
other 16 milk unions. Vasudhara milk union of Valsad region is unique in terms of achieving sustainable development in its region through Gender mainstreaming.

Table 1 Number of board members and women board members in each milk union of Gujarat state.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Name of Milk Union</th>
<th>Total number of elected board of directors (BODs)</th>
<th>Total number of elected women in BOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kaira</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sabarkantha</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Banaskantha</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Valsad</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Panchmahal</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bharuch</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gandhinagar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rajkot</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Surendranagar</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bhavnagar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Amreli</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Junagadh</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kutch</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Porbandar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Botad</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During my visit of Vasudhara milk union, I observed an unusual situation compared to other milk unions I visited in Gujarat where women milk producer leaders were working as resource persons and professionally involved in different administrative work. Women were actively involved at different levels of hierarchy and surprisingly at the Vice chairperson’s position.

At present there are 8 women board members out of 14 board members in Vasudhara milk union board. The vice chairman of Vasudhara MU is also a woman who is a potential candidate for the future elections of the chairman’s position.
It was observed that the women milk producer here, own the milk union. The union has put special efforts by developing gender sensitive vision, policies, staff and atmosphere. It was interesting to know that the infrastructure of the milk union is purposefully kept simple from outside so that people from villages do not feel awkward and separated by formalities and professionalism. The milk union has latest machineries inside the plants though.

The collaborative leadership of current MD Narendra Vashi and previous chairman Moghabhai Desai is one of the major factors that plays important role in developing this gender sensitive milk union. These leaders along with other local leaders could understand the worth of women milk producers and their role in sustainable livelihood.

When almost 80% of work related to dairying business is done by women, it is quite obvious that women have a good sense of this business. They just require some confidence and support to come out and sit in the boards of the milk unions. Women own the business and their self esteem are connected when it comes to the business run by them.

Vasudhara Milk union was able to observe the traits of women milk producers and channelize them in the right direction. The dairy has put efforts in developing gender sensitive policies and working pattern to encourage more women milk producers in Valsad region. The participation of women has witnessed huge economic development in the South Gujarat region.

2. ‘The history’ behind the women’s cooperative movement in Valsad region

The case of Vasudhara dairy has been called by some as the ‘second white revolution’ (Shah, 2015). The success story of Vasudhara dairy can’t be just restricted to establishment of successful dairying in a tribal region; it is a significant case in lessons on tribal development,
grass root women’s leadership and the need for a collaborative leadership between professionals and grassroot leaders. At present Vasudhara has 74, 500 women milk producers members, mostly Adivasi women from Valsad, Navsari, Dang and Dhule districts and the dairy business of Rs 1534 crore. The milk union provides a model to improve the socio-economic condition of Adivasi women and their families in the South Gujarat region.

Valsad region is known as the tribal belt in South Gujarat with over 50% of population being tribal (Dangs is closer to 100%). The tribes include Kokna, Dhodia, Bhil, Gamit, Warli, Kotwalia, Kolcha and Kathodi tribes and coexist with Patels, Desais, Bohra Muslims, Rajputs and Koli Patels. The largely hilly terrain limits the scope for agriculture. Valsad faced recurrent droughts in the early 1970s that forced tribal community to migrate to other towns in search for employment (Prasad, C. S., & Kumari, J, 2016).

**Figure 1  Valsad district in Gujarat state**
The birth story of Vasudhara union started in 1966 when Valsad district was formed out of Surat covering Valsad, Navsari and Dang region. The separate district sparked the idea of having a cooperative dairy in Valsad among several leaders of the region.

On 10\textsuperscript{th} January, 1973 leaders of the cooperative sector passed a resolution to organize village level milk collection societies across Valsad district under the leadership of a known cooperative leader Moghabhai Desai, a veteran cooperative leader and chairman of the Valsad District Cooperative Bank. Moghabhai Desai was a well-known member of the fruits and vegetable cooperative in Valsad and at that time owned a stone quarry business. Moghabhai had seen the freedom movement from very close quarters in his childhood. He dedicated his life for social causes and actively worked for oppressed women and cause of the laborers. He was then appointed as the head for Navsari Labour Union. As soon as Valsad Dairy was registered, Moghabhai started touring villages of Valsad district and began to persuade the farmers to start
milk collection societies in their villages. In the villages that already had village level societies, he persuaded them to increase their membership and collection.

During that time Moghabhai and his teams were looking for a candidate to be appointed for the post of manager of the milk union. They found Narendra Vashi as the most suitable candidate for the post as he belonged to the same region. Narendra Vashi was a graduate from National Dairy Research Institute, Karnal. Vashi at that time working for NDDB, decided to resign and join Vasudhara MU.

Even after NDDB’s survey in 1973-74, that the geographical area and socio-economic condition of people do not favor dairy business in Valsad region, these leaders decided to go ahead with the idea of developing a dairy in Valsad region.

2.1 Collaborative leadership

Dr. Verghese Kurien and Sri Tribhuvan Das Patel’s pair is known for their collaborative efforts behind the white revolution in India. Similarly in South Gujarat, Dr. Narendra Vashi and Moghabhai Desai’s leader-manager story is known for their collaboration towards development of women’s cooperatives. According to Narendra Vashi, Moghabhai never stopped him from taking any initiatives and always supported and guided him in all his interventions of developing women’s cooperatives in South Gujarat. Narendra Vashi also worked hard for development of tribal communities and fulfilled Moghabhai Desai’s dream of having a separate dairy for Valsad region.
Moghabhai Desai thought of reversing the situation of migration and deforestation in South Gujarat region through dairying based on the Amul pattern of cooperative. He fulfilled his dream by inventing Vasudhara milk union in Valsad.

Both Moghabhai and Vashi were sensitive towards the development of the tribal region of south Gujarat and also issues related to women. When they understood that by developing women milk societies they were able to achieve the desired goals faster, they started exploring new interventions with women’s groups. The participation of women became the main objective of the milk union. The strategies and policies were formed to foster gender participation.

NDDB listed three reasons in its report for not approving dairying business in Valsad region which were weak animals with less milk production capacity, poor economic condition of people and unfavorable geographical condition of the region for dairying business.

The local leaders of Valsad region were disappointed with NDDB; they decided to go ahead with an idea of having a dairy in Valsad. The dairy was started in 1981 with 30000 liter capacity plant; however the first collection during inauguration was only 3000 liter. This situation made the local leaders nervous. They started evaluating NDDB’s report and concentrated on the three major factors which can inhibit dairying business in the region.

The dairy initiated AIF and cross breed programme in geographically and economically developed regions of Valsad like Navsari, Amalsad and Gandevi talukas to sustain initially. Slowly moved in tribal region to follow its vision and started convincing tribal farmers for dairying, AIF, feed and Gobar gas plant.
3. Vasudhara and women - a gender sensitive approach

Once Vashi was having a meeting with farmers regarding the installment of gobar gas plant. After the meeting 30 farmers were ready to start gobar gas plant in their village. Vasudhara MU started the procedure and collected their documents. When the documents were submitted to the bank, the bank denied providing any kind of loan to those farmers. The reason was given that those farmers had already taken loans and did not pay it back to the bank. The matter was closed with disappointment. At the same time 30 women from the same village requested Vashi to provide loan to start Gobar gas plant. Vasudhara MU with AGRO Company developed schemes and provided loan to those women and remaining help was given by Vasudhara MU. To Vashi’s surprise, within few months after monsoon, the loan was paid back by women. The dairy staff started investigation and they found that women sold cow dung and woods and paid the loans. This incident generated great interest among the women to work on their own. Later, the women came forward again and requested the milk union to provide loans to buy cows.

Therefore with such positive response Vasudhara MU initiated ‘Swavlambi Gramin Yojana’ (independent women’s scheme) scheme with Bank of Baroda. The first loan was given of Rs.10,000/-. The amount with bank loan was increased gradually from 10 thousand to 12 thousand, 20 thousand, 30 thousand etc. The number of cows and women milk producers started increasing with time.

The initial period enabled two important lessons for the diary. First, that buffalos were not suitable for Valsad’s geographical and climatic conditions and second that Adivasi men were not efficient in managing village DCS. Switching to cows helped in reducing the lean-flush period fluctuations in supply of milk. However, Vasudhara could not restart with buying new livestock,
as the banks would refuse to lend money to the men from the villages as they had defaulted on the loans taken for buying buffaloes as well on other loans. So Vasudhara MU changed its strategy and decided to work with women as it would be easy to get a loan in the name of the women (they were not defaulters in the financial system) and more importantly, the women were more responsible and hard working.

Now Moghabhai Desai, Narendra Vashi and other leaders were sure that practically it was much easier to work with women to successfully empower the region quickly. Women were hard working and passionate about their work. The moment women started earning money, they also started saving money and utilizing money for their animals, building house, children’s education etc. The socio-economic condition of women started changing. As women started earning, they received freedom, support and respect from their husbands and in laws. Women started setting examples and encouraging more women.

Moghabhai, Vashi and their team went from village to village holding meetings with the women and educating them about the benefits of dairying. According to Mr. Vashi, apart from the fact that women are hard working there are two other very important traits in women. They are inherently innovative. This can be observed in our culture, the way women like to decorate their houses and also dress up creatively. Innovation is very important in doing business. Secondly, in the business of dairying, women are naturally blessed with motherly feeling. Hence they are able to take care of the livestock better than men.

Vasudhara thus started working with women and training them in the different aspects of profitable dairy management. The women were trained on various aspects of animal husbandry like scientific rising of heifers, maintenance of cross breeds, optimal feeding practices,
vaccination, building cow sheds, artificial insemination, hygiene and sanitation, and other issues related to animal husbandry. Alongside animal husbandry, Vasudhara also trained women on aspects of dairy management like book keeping, auditing, milk collection, etc.

The immense hard work of Vasudhara and the Adivasi women had fruitful collaboration. The milk collection grew from 11000 l/d in 1985 to 90000 l/d in 1990. Looking at Vasudhara’s success, NDDB offered to finance a 100,000 l/d dairy plan under Operation Flood III. Vasudhara started opening DCSs in tribal areas. Learning from their past experience, Vasudhara gave preference to opening all-women’s DCSs. Out of the total 1121 functional DCSs, 940 are women DCSs. Women got special offers to buy cattle and other equipment on loan. Loan was given to any woman who had a guarantor from the village. Vasudhara helped the women with paperwork and the application procedure for the loans. Mr. Vashi believes that women are more resilient, innovative, trustworthy and experimental than men.

On the other side, Vasudhara helped women in developing self help groups to save money. At present there are 84000 members in SHGs with 72 crore savings.
Picture 1 and 2 Women cooperative members in Vasudhara Milk union

Picture 3 Women nurturing live stock business
Picture 4 Women working in village milk societies during milk collection

Picture 5 Vice chairman Sudhaben Patel at her village milk society
4. Factors that fostered gender mainstreaming

4.1 Collaborative leadership for gender development

Mainstreaming women in Vasudhara’s system was not easy. Moghabhai and Vashi had to travel in different villages to convince women and their family members. Villages in South Gujarat are far away from each other and require lot of travelling. The illiteracy rate among the tribal community at that time was very high; it was quite a task to convince the tribal males to allow their women to be part of dairy cooperatives.

During the interviews it was observed that in most of the cases women struggled a lot to build their village milk society building. There was a huge resistance from village panchayat and other political leaders. This means that women were allowed to be the members and earn money through livestock business but as soon as they thought something bigger like buying land and taking loan of 8 to 10 lakh to build milk society house in their villages, it was taken as a threat. In most of the cases, women were stopped to access electricity connection and water supply while building the house and women had to find other sources to continue their work. In few cases, local leaders verbally abused women for taking huge loans for developing village milk societies. Women had to go through a lot of pressure and trauma while coming up and developing their own milk collection centers in their villages.

In such situations, the women milk producers could stand fearlessly and go ahead with their objectives because they had a strong back up from the leaders and staff of Vasudhara milk union. Moghabhai Desai, Narendra Vashi and other senior staff members have always maintained low
profile and created such atmosphere at the milk union that the women milk producers can trust them and confidently work with them.

4.2 Gender sensitive policies and framework

Women participation was in the main agenda of the milk union and therefore all the policies and strategies were based on the idea of gender mainstreaming. Vasudhara milk union collaborated with Bank of Baroda, Gujarat Agro, Vasmol to initiate interventions in support of women’s cooperatives. The three main policies developed by Vasudhara milk union in favor of women was a big step towards gender mainstreaming.

4.2.1 NDDB’s Mahila Vikas Programme (NDDB’s women development programme)

In 1984, when the women milk societies were formed, NDDB initiated special programme to encourage and make women aware about dairying business. It was really helpful in spreading awareness and increasing the number of women milk society in Valsad region.

4.2.2 Swavlambi Gramin Nari Yojana (Independent rural women scheme)

It was not easy for Vashi and other local leaders to initiate women’s cooperatives as women do not have any legal property on their names to show as guarantee for bank loans. After two years of hard work Vasudhara contacted the regional office of Bank of Baroda in Mumbai and developed a scheme by becoming a guarantor. It was indeed a huge step towards gender mainstreaming.

The scheme enabled women to take loans for buying cows, biogas plant, cattle feed, water hand pump, chap cutter etc. The milk union received great positive response from women cooperative
members. The first loan of Rs.84000/- was given to one milk society for biogas plant, which was paid back within six months by women members. After that women started taking loans for different purposes and paying back with their income.

4.2.3 Self Help Groups (SHGs)

In 1994, Vasudhara milk union decided to form self help groups of women milk producers so that women can save their income. Initially there were 4500 self help groups and at present there are 84000 SHGs in the region with savings of Rs. 72 crore.

This was another achievement for Vasudhara milk union. Under this scheme, women can take loans for different purposes like education of their children, family functions, social ceremonies etc. as there are 86 objectives in the list of the scheme. Till today every month the union forms 30 to 40 new SHGs.

The scheme has contributed largely in changing the socio-economic condition of women and making women more economically independent.

4.2.4 Vachharadi Uchher Yojana (Calves growing scheme)

Buying a healthy cow requires decent amount of Rs. 30 to 40 thousand. Many women could not afford it and therefore Vasudhara introduced a new scheme called ‘Vachharadi Uchher Yojana’ (calves growing scheme). Under this scheme women were given calves from the milk union to raise them and generate income.
4.3 Strategies to support women

The moment Vashi and other local leaders understood the practicality and feasibility of working with women; they started exploring different ways that women can be supported financially. The milk union collaborated with government bank and other companies and initiated new schemes in support of women which created a huge impact.

The unions never forced or pressurized any women milk producer for not paying back the loan. Instead of that the milk union created optional schemes like ‘Vachharadi Uchher Yojana’ from where women can generate their income and pay back their loans.

Vasudhara milk union has taken care of all the basic needs of the household and accordingly supported women to uplift their standard of living for example Vasudhara guided women and supported them in developing rain water harvesting, biogas plants, building toilets with linkages to biogas plant etc. At present there are 35 thousand biogas plants in the district.

The interventions of Vasudhara were not limited only to the grassroot level. Vasudhara milk union strongly supported women cooperative leaders to participate in cooperative elections. During the cooperative elections of 1994-1995, the first women vice chairman was selected with majority 154 votes out of 194 total votes. At present Vasudhara milk union has 8 women milk producer members in the board of directors out of 14 members.

4.4 Socio-economic empowerment and its effects

The socio-economic empowerment of women played a huge role in providing women their rights, respect, dignity in families and society.
Women became independent and gained power to participate in decision making process. As women started generating income, they started investing their income in their children, families. Their opinions were taken in their families before making any decisions and they gained more respect.

Women also gained more knowledge and confidence by interacting with other women in groups and learning from each other. The training programmes also built their capacities and developed life skills like communication skills, networking skills, resource management skills, coping skills etc.

5. Conclusion

‘Social innovation refers to new ideas that work in meeting social goals. Innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a social need and that are predominantly developed and diffused through organizations whose primary purposes are social’ (Mulgan, G., Tucker, S., Ali, R., & Sanders, B. (2007)).

Social innovation is an approach which highlights the critical role played by the ‘connectors’ in any innovation system. Though there is always a risk of unpredictability in following the path of innovation, social innovation helps in bringing economic growth. Social innovation is brought by the leaders and their encouragement to people to come up and be the change.

Social innovation can be initiated by an individual, social movement and any other organization. In most of the cases, social change is initiated by heroic leaders who have charismatic personality. These leaders transform the world by inspiring people with their innovative ideas and passion to achieve the vision. Many times social innovation is brought by social movements. These movements have their roots in ideas. The number of campaigns, forums and movements
are increasing which encourage and empower people to fight for their problems rather than waiting for state or leaders.

This paper aims to examine the social innovations that enabled gender mainstreaming in cooperatives of Vasudhara milk union. The social innovation brought by the collaborative leadership of Narendra Vashi and Moghabhai Desai. It can also be identified as a social movement by local leaders and women milk producers of Valsad region. The paper highlights the factors that can foster space for gender participation in cooperatives through conscious and effective collaborative leadership. As a result of which today the milk union has the highest number of women milk producers in cooperatives and the board of management.

Gender mainstreaming is a challenging concept where we are trying to make it a new form of policy practice and strategy development. As a practice, gender mainstreaming is proposed as a way of improving the effect of mainline policies by making visible the gendered nature of assumptions, processes and outcomes (Walby. S, 2005).

There are many factors behind lack of participation of women for example like increased labor work, underestimating women, domination of others; social pressure and ill treatment are some of the factors that inhibit the growth of women. The real empowerment has to be materialized and a value based approach has to be followed. After that only we will be able to produced effective women leaders at larger level.

Vasudhara milk union has innovated new interventions that are gender favored, formed such policies that ensure greater women’s participation. The thought of gender mainstreaming is
a main agenda and priority of this dairy of Valsad region which has achieved sustainable development of the region by empowering women.

Vasudhara dairy is an excellent example of mainstreaming women in cooperatives which can be replicated in other milk unions of Gujarat. The efforts made by the dairy for not only economically empowering women but creating opportunities and space for the real sustainable social and psychological development of tribal women and their families.
References


