

WID/Gender Units and the Experience of Gender Mainstreaming in Multilateral Organisations

"Knights on White Horses"??*

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* A commentator in one of the organisations surveyed here likened the WID/gender advisers to knights on white horses, who like their medieval counterparts defend their vision of an ideal society sometimes persuasively, sometimes aggressively, but always with bravery and conviction.

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Executive Summary

Purpose of the study

This report documents the history of the institutionalisation of WID/gender concerns from 1985 onward in three multilateral organisations, namely UNDP, FAO and the World Bank. It considers WID/gender concerns within the organisational context of the organisations' "headquarters" in New York, Rome and Washington respectively, focusing on policy developments, organisational forms, strategies and activities over time, paying particular attention to gender mainstreaming. It then looks at gender mainstreaming aspects at country level, using Uganda, Malawi and Bangladesh as examples. The study's ultimate aim is to document and evaluate the efficacy of Norwegian funding aimed at strengthening WID/gender concerns in the multilateral organisations, giving recommendations for future areas of support.

WID, GAD and gender mainstreaming

The UN has been recognising the need to promote women's rights as part of its human rights agenda from its very beginning. Under the guidance of the Commission on the Status of Women 1975 was declared International Women's Year followed by the UN Decade of Women (1976-1985) with its World Women Conferences, notably the Nairobi Conference in 1985. The Beijing Conference ten years later changed the paradigm from a WID to a gender mainstreaming perspective. UN agencies have embraced this concept, which aims to make gender an aspect of all development projects and programmes, to varying degrees and with varying success.

Norwegian assistance to WID/gender concerns in the multilateral system

Norway has raised WID issues since 1971, urging since 1984 for the active integration of women into development. Norway's strategy for Assistance to Women in Development in 1985 espoused a new agenda, setting mainstreaming goals. From 1985 on-wards Norway actively supported the institutionalisation of WID/gender concerns not only within NORAD but also in the UN system. Norwegian foreign policy has had a two-pronged approach to influence UN organisations. Norway has consistently raised WID/gender concerns in the governing bodies of relevant UN organisations, already at a time when WID/gender issues were not commonly addressed. Concurrently Norwegian trust funds or "seed money" was instrumental in establishing WID units and to ensure their ability to function. Earmarked funds have boosted WID/gender divisions with personnel, and funding for pilot projects, seminars and policy papers. By carrying initially up to half of WID units' budget, Norway substantially helped those units to establish gender as a legitimate concern in development, attracting regular budget funds. Once the units were established and an institutional policy was in place, Norwegian trust funds have increasingly helped with the

operationalisation of gender mainstreaming, spreading gender earmarked funds further into the organisation's mainstream.

Comparing gender mainstreaming in UNDP, FAO and the World Bank

A comparison of the organisational experience of UNDP, FAO and World Bank with gender mainstreaming reveals that even though the organisations have achieved differing stages of operationalising gender mainstreaming goals and thus different levels of creating mandates, with UNDP being most and the World Bank least developed, all three organisations lack institutionalised measures of ensuring a high degree of internal accountability. Even if organisations place the responsibility of gender mainstreaming with senior management, as UNDP and also, to a lesser degree FAO, have done, compliance with corporate gender policy is still a matter of personal choice.

Another related constraint in all three organisations has been identified as lying with the low status accorded to WID/gender structures. Within UNDP and FAO gender units are placed at too low an organisational level to be able to carry sufficient authority to influence an entire organisation. In the World Bank the Gender Sector Board in the new "strategic compact" has considerable status and hopefully this will prove to facilitate the unit's operations and networking. In all three organisations gender focal points have been constrained by the low status accorded to their position. Often defined an add-on job, gender focal points lack the time, budgets and managerial skills to comply with their task. This and the lack of professional career benefits, make the position undesirable and pushed onto junior staff. The lack of status and commitment is also carried into institution wide advisory bodies, such as in FAO's COWID.

One aspect of the lack of commitment are the attitudes of staff, particularly in the specialised UN organisations, where social scientists are in the minority and the resistance to the gender concept is much deeper. Thus both in FAO and in the World Bank WID/gender units have had to operate in a professionally unaccommodating and at times hostile environment. In UNDP and World Bank WID advocates have displayed a careful non-confrontationist agenda, which in the World Bank is still embedded in efficiency arguments. The more confrontational politics of early WID advocacy in FAO has been taken over by more diplomacy but has had a lasting effect of imbuing FAO discourse with more radical content. UNDP has had the most success with changing male dominated organisational cultures and improving the internal gender balance. However, none of the three organisations has seriously reformed its employment policies to be more gender responsive. As another aspect of attitudinal change, gender mainstreaming "tools" and training have been employed in all three organisations with varying seriousness and success. FAO has established a good record of mandatory training and of following up training with a range of "tools". In all three organisations "tools" and training are required to be more sector specific and target group oriented.

Gender mainstreaming at country level has been particularly weak, with operationalisation being in need of upgrading in all three organisations. FAO encounters the greatest problems with country level gender mainstreaming, partly due to the weakness of gender focal point system from the regional level downwards. Lack of regular country programmes, small country offices and communication problems between the normative headquarter and the practical field further aggravate the situation. In World Bank country offices, gender concerns suffer from the lack of commitment of staff and the weak mandate the gender mainstreaming carries in the Bank. UNDP has a better record, particular with the co-ordinating of UNDAF gender initiatives, but in UNDP country offices, too, personal commitment is still the touchstone of gender mainstreaming.

The evaluation concluded that gender mainstreaming in all three organisations is hampered by a serious lack of internal accountability mechanisms, namely in monitoring and evaluating gender mainstreaming. Particularly glaring is the absence of results oriented indicators and indicators that also allow for qualitative measuring. In addition, organisations often lack specific goals, targets and timeframes to measure gender mainstreaming against. UNDP has possibly gone furthest with this, and the World Bank has done the least – one aspect of the serious lack of operationalisation of gender policies. Other methods of increasing internal accountability to gender mainstreaming, such as staff assessments, mandatory project document screening have not been established for gender. Experiences from bilateral donors suggests that they are problematic measures that need further refinement to fulfil their aim.

Recommendations for Norwegian assistance

Norwegian assistance to gender concerns in multilateral organisations moved from a policy orientation to one that put more emphasis on practically applying policy goals. In view of the fact that the operationalisation of gender mainstreaming is still rather weak and that gender concerns are still focused on gender units, the evaluation team considers the current strategy of the Foreign Ministry a valid one. The strategy for promoting gender mainstreaming should continue encompassing advocacy in the governing

bodies of the organisations and the UN, and trust funds directed towards specific gender mainstreamed projects and programmes throughout the organisations, as well as towards activities that further gender mainstreaming organisation wide. More specific recommendations include:

- One of the major task in this area will be to effect an increase in *internal accountability* to gender mainstreaming. A major aspect of internal accountability is to engender commitment in senior management. This issue should be pursued in the governing bodies. In addition funding of a number of activities could assist in furthering the aim.
- Assessments of the level of *commitment of senior management* at the country level (where it has been found to be particularly weak) could open the way to identify constraints and opportunities to improve the situation.
- Assessments of the *gender focal point systems* would serve a similar purpose. What are the major constraints of focal points, and how can they be improved? Possible solutions could be sought in a review of the Terms of Reference to account for the fact that a focal point is an additional work load, improvements to the institutional status of the positions, the career benefits attached to them, etc. Funding for additional gender focal points, such as at sub-regional level in the FAO, might also improve communication of the gender message to the country-level.
- Advocacy should focus also on effecting *gender units to move to a higher organisational rank*, such as to an advisory level to top management in order to create the necessary authority for the gender unit to capture the entire organisation.
- The *monitoring and evaluation* of gender mainstreaming must be reviewed urgently. The improvement of indicators to measure both quantitative and qualitative results of gender mainstreaming, particularly in the target population, is the most urgent need. In tandem with this effort it will be necessary to *define concrete measures, targets and timeframes* to measure gender mainstreaming against.
- The above need ties in with the establishment of *gender focused project screening and staff appraisals*. These can only work if targets, goals, and timeframes exist. Moreover, project screening might only be effective if it is combined with project supervision, i.e. the focus includes results rather than just inputs.
- *Analytical research* on the successes and failures of a number of mainstreaming approaches and methods, also in organisational set-up beyond the UN system might provide solutions to problems and help choose effective strategies. Research should also establish the existing gender mainstreaming efforts not under the auspices of the respective gender units. Such effort would clarify the extent of gender mainstreaming and open information for possible funding in units particularly resistant to and important for mainstreaming.
- There must be a much greater emphasis placed on learning from experiences. In order to inspire initiatives and conserve resources, *inter-agency co-operation* needs to increase. It would be befitting for Norway to revive the meetings organised in the late 80s for WID advisers in the UN system in a modified way.
- A different way of learning is the *learning from field level staff and the target group*. This might help shorten the organisational distance between headquarters and field level, and it might engender new and possibly agenda setting approaches to not only gender mainstreaming but also development policy. FAO has tried this approach successfully.

The specific case of UNDP

UNDP is the UN organisation mandated to co-ordinate and administer UN development resources for the world's poorest countries. Today UNDP's mandate focuses on sustainable human development with gender equality a theme.

Gender mainstreaming the centre

The agency is (together with UNIFEM) at the forefront of gender mainstreaming in the UN system today. The development towards this position began with the establishment of a WID division, which initially was heavily supported by Norwegian trust funds and staff. The unit proved to be very successful, getting WID/gender included as one of UNDP's priority goals in 1990. It was then drawn into UNDP's corporate policy umbrella of Sustainable Human Development, which resulted in 1994 in a mission statement which enlisted the empowerment of women as a main goal. Gender equality thus became an integral part of the agency's fundamental mandate.

UNDP has been at the forefront of defining and operationalising gender mainstreaming over and above the agreed conclusion on gender mainstreaming by ECOSOC in 1997. Its own brand of gender mainstreaming focuses on decision making processes. UNDP also successfully instituted an internal gender balance policy, which has tried to reach targets set by the organisation in line with overall UN policy.

UNDP's gender unit, since 1992 called Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), is relatively small and has over the years been downgraded from a division to a programme. The programme is supported by a UNDP-wide gender focal point system and the Gender Advisory Committee. The gender focal point system has been beset by capacity and status problems, which capacity building is intended to overcome. The gender advisory committee has members from across the organisation and is charged with overseeing the operationalisation of gender mainstreaming. In addition, units other than GIDP have started to appoint Gender Specialists. At country level gender mainstreaming rests with resident representatives, a responsibility that is not always adhered to.

The UNDP WID/gender unit initially relied very much on advocacy when colleagues had to be persuaded to a WID approach. Until 1996 much of the projects followed a WID approach which occurred in women specific and WID integrated projects. From then on UNDP relied on a gender mainstreaming approach as corporate policy. Even though UNDP has made great strides towards achieving mainstreaming, constraints have been experienced. These mostly relate to weakness of corporate enforcement of gender mainstreaming, and the lack of appropriate tools and training. But even though UNDP is short of funds for gender mainstreaming financial targets of between 20 and 28 percent of programme budgets have been set.

The UNDP WID/gender unit has over time engaged in various bureaucratic efforts to influence country programming, training of staff, development of specific tools, and global and regional programmes which are linked to the gender mainstreaming efforts at the country level. Gender training was conducted in UNDP from 1987 to 1990 using a project based approach. It became obsolete with the shift to a programme approach in 1990, after which gender training was made part of other approaches until it was discontinued in 1994. Today GIDP directs efforts at building the professional and functional capacity of gender focal points to enable them to have more impact on decision making. Senior management and resident representatives who are made responsible for gender mainstreaming receive little or no gender training.

Parallel to the uneven record with training, UNDP has not shown much initiative in developing gender mainstreaming "tools". With a few exceptions these have stayed too simplistic and not specific enough for technical areas to be of much use. By contrast UNDP has been much more successful in integrating gender concerns into global and regional programmes. The activities include analytical work, capacity building, networking, and constituency building. Regional programmes, which are not dependent on the country agreement adapt their activities to regional requirements, such as political participation of women in Africa and economic empowerment of women in Asia.

UNDP has also gone further than other UN agencies in trying to work towards establishing targets for gender mainstreaming and indicators of gender equality and women's empowerment. Indicators to measure these qualitative results have been successfully used in the *Human Development Report*. They need to be refined further to serve for regular monitoring exercises and to strengthen internal accountability to gender mainstreaming goals.

Gender mainstreaming at country level

The gender mainstreaming mandate is much weaker at country level. There is a general consensus in UNDP that making mainstreaming meaningful is UNDP's greatest challenge. At present resident representatives are not always committed to gender mainstreaming. Gender focal points only have limited influence when support from above is missing. Moreover, GIDP no longer has authority over programming decisions (as the WID unit had). It is in practice up to the Resident Representative if and to what degree gender concerns are part of the country programme. This is why, at country office level, gender mainstreaming still seems to be dependent on personal commitment, explaining the vastly differing situations the evaluation found in UNDP country offices in Uganda, Malawi and Bangladesh. The Uganda country office showed a very bad record of gender mainstreaming, even though Uganda is well inclined towards gender equality issues, the offices in Bangladesh and Malawi by contrast were at the forefront of gender mainstreaming efforts amongst the donor communities.

In the Uganda country office UNDP corporate policies in gender mainstreaming were not implemented, nor did the country office support the Ugandan government in its own gender mainstreaming efforts. In Malawi by contrast, UNDP has been instrumental in co-ordinating UNDAF which came up with a joint UN gender policy statement for Malawi. The UNDAF initiative links in strongly with Government efforts at gender

mainstreaming and UNDP has helped the government in its gender focus. The Bangladeshi country office too was a show-case of UNDP gender mainstreaming commitment at country level.

Norwegian support to gender mainstreaming in UNDP

UNDP represents a classic case of Norwegian assistance to gender concerns in the UN system. Norway has been very active in the Executive Board lobbying for the importance of WID/gender concerns, and engaging in dialogue about gender equality issues. This changed over time from more substantive policy issues to details of operationalising gender mainstreaming, particularly at country level. Norwegian trust funds provided up until 1990 three times the amount of the regular budget of the WID unit. Funding was to ensure the integration of WID issues into UNDP programmes and projects. Funded activities included operational support, production of country WID/gender baselines, innovation WID/gender approaches, preparation of policy papers and monographs. More recently support has been directed towards gender mainstream activities in units other than GIDP, including a technical adviser in gendered statistics, support to sector specific "tools", and support to the Poverty Strategies Trust fund and the UNDP Trust Fund for Support to Governance in Africa, both of which have specific references to gender equality issues.

Specific lessons from FAO

Unlike UNDP, FAO is a specialised UN agency mandated to supply expertise to member governments as requested. Not being a funding agency it has no regular country programmes. Its overall mission is to assist member governments to achieve food security.

Gender mainstreaming at headquarter level

FAO is unique in the UN system in that WID/gender issues have been part of FAO operations since 1949, when a women's unit with regular core funds and a large staff contingent was established. Originally more home-economics oriented, FAO's WID efforts developed a commitment for gender equity already in 1979, with FAO Conferences endorsing the integration of WID concerns. Gender mainstreaming entered into normal operations from 1983 onward, much ahead of mainstream thinking at the time. Exceptional too has been the fact that the FAO Conferences endorsed WID action plans in 1989 and 1995 respectively, the latter a document which commits the entire organisation to specified gender mainstreaming activities.

The speed of policy development has, however, not resulted in gender mainstreaming being accepted by the majority of FAO's staff, mainly natural scientists, many of whom feel uncomfortable with the gender concept. Despite this fundamental constraint considerable progress has been made, particularly with regard to the development of "tools" to assist both the integration and acceptance of gender concerns in technical departments.

FAO's WID unit has gone through a number of changes, including minor changes in organisational positioning, but the moves have been horizontally, not changing its status as a service within a division. Even though there were name changes, and the Service has been espousing a gender approach since the early 1990s it is still called a WID service, pointing to some of the contradictions of gender mainstreaming in FAO. Since 1976 the WID unit has been supported by an organisation-wide co-ordinating mechanism linking the WID unit with technical departments and their focal points. Reforms which meant to upgrade membership to senior management level, to increase internal accountability to gender mainstreaming failed. Gender focal points in FAO are mostly junior staff members who receive neither time nor budgetary allowances for their add-on positions. Regional gender focal points are not supported by sub-regional or country WID structures.

Consecutive WID units have used a number of approaches, ranging from welfare oriented projects until 1980, radical advocacy combined with women-targeted projects in the 1980s and early 90s and a clear gender mainstreaming approach since 1995. The 1995 Plan of Action for Women in Development subscribes, despite its name, to a serious gender approach. Moreover, unlike any of the other organisations this second action plan tried to practice gender mainstreaming rather than just preach it. The plan is an institution-wide action plan, elaborated through a participatory process involving all technical divisions at headquarters. It holds FAO's technical divisions accountable to certain specified mainstreaming activities, formulated in the plan. Even though this is a serious attempt to increase internal accountability, set targets and determine measures of gender mainstreaming, the effect has not been overwhelming. Part of the problem has been the lack of capacity to monitor implementation of the plan coupled with a lack of commitment in senior management.

FAO has been making more efforts than other agencies trying to break through resistance in staff. FAO was one of the few organisations which made gender training mandatory the early 90s, and which was

conducted with needs assessments and follow-ups. A new needs assessment was being done in 1998. FAO has also been very active to follow up gender training with "tools" to assist the application of gender concepts. The Socioeconomic Gender Analysis (SEAGA) initiative which integrates gender into broader social aspects, has been a major initiative. It tries to offer guidelines and a training basis for all levels of the development process, for use within FAO and member governments. Still in its experimental stage SEAGA has had mixed reactions and impacts. More unequivocally successful has been a sector specific guide on irrigation, which follows the SEAGA concept. The model of the sector specific guide, based on participatory approaches, seems to fill the "tool" void existing in FAO and other agencies. Strengthening FAO's lead role in "tool" design are the "tools" developed by technical divisions independently of SEAGA.

Activities of the WID unit beyond SEAGA comprise a range of pilot projects in member countries, such as helping to establish gender sensitive and participatory planning, integrating gender concerns into bio-diversity issues, and other activities designed to help mainstreaming goals in member countries. As already mentioned capacity to monitor gender mainstreaming is grossly inadequate, making the gender action plan a well meant but unrealised gesture to gender mainstreaming. In addition FAO's plan of action has remained too input oriented to be of much use in monitoring gender mainstreaming progress.

Gender mainstreaming at country level

FAO's success in instituting and operationalising gender at headquarters has had little effect on the ground. Our case studies of FAO country office operations clearly and uniformly showed for all three countries that gender mainstreaming mandates are not followed-up. A number of factors might be involved. FAO does not have a gender focal point system with full time staff that reaches beyond the regional level, and not all country offices appoint a person responsible for gender. This might be related to the fact that FAO country offices are very small operations, and country operations rely heavily on local expertise and international consultants, who might or might not be aware of gender concerns. Country representatives are briefed on gender as part of their training, yet those who were interviewed by the evaluation team alleged that they had received neither documentation nor training, even though such information is apparently regularly dispatched from headquarters.

The communication breakdown is obviously also an effect of the fact that regional gender focal points are re-active rather than proactive, given the area they have to cover; that no consultation over the gender action plan happened with field level staff, and that field level staff are only very indirectly represented on COWID, the gender co-ordination network in Rome. In fact, a workshop on gender mainstreaming, organised by the WID unit which brought together field and government staff with Rome based staff, revealed that many gender mainstreaming initiatives actually happen on the ground, which are not immediately visible from the project outline. FAO obviously will have to make gender mainstreaming at country level a very urgent priority.

Norwegian assistance to gender concerns in FAO

Norwegian assistance to FAO's gender concerns has followed a different pattern to both UNDP and World Bank, because historical circumstances were rather unique. FAO already had a well established WID unit with core funds and staff in 1987 when the establishment in other UN agencies was facilitated with Norwegian trust funds. Moreover, the unit was through the 1980s and early 1990s headed by social anthropologists embracing a radical feminist approach to development. What the unit needed most urgently at the time, was support in lobbying for the importance of WID in the FAO mandate.

Norway did support these endeavours consistently in the FAO Conference, demanding that policy goals were operationalised in FAO mainstream. Norway strongly supported gender training, the importance of women in food security issues and in pushing for the support of senior management. When the plan of action was in place Norwegian contributions to the FAO Conference strongly called for monitoring and accountability measures with regard to its implementation and continued to complain about the lack of responsibility delegated to senior management. Norwegian trust funds towards the operations of the WID unit were directed mainly to gender focused agricultural projects until 1995. Funding has since broadened to include gender sensitive planning, gender focused bio-diversity and food security issues.

Specific lessons from the World Bank

The World Bank is a development bank which has espoused a human development perspective. It defines poverty reduction and the initiation of economic growth in its member countries as its mission.

Gender mainstreaming at the centre

WID/gender issues were marginal to World Bank operations until 1987 when a WID division was established with strong financial backing of Norway. Like in FAO, the WID unit has had to deal with strong resistance in Bank staff to the gender concept and to establishing gender as an important aspect of development. However, arguments and examples on the economic efficiency of investing in women (most strongly and successfully made in relationship to girls' education) and lobbying in and outside the Bank led to the adoption of a policy paper in 1994, much later than in other UN organisations. The policy paper committed the Bank loosely to gender mainstreaming but failed to concretise such commitment by actual measures, goals, or timeframes. Even though gender has become more visible in public Bank discourse, the operationalisation of the Bank's gender policy has remained underdeveloped. As a corollary gender mainstreaming carries a weak institutional mandate which is not backed by sufficient internal accountability.

However, the central WID/gender unit moved over time into better organisational positions and acquiring more staff. Thus the unit could expand from being a one person operation in 1977 to being, in the new "strategic compact", accorded the status of a Sector Board headed by a director and located in a Network (PREM) considered strategically important in Bank operations. Moreover, being part of PREM means that gender is now well connected though the network. The Gender Board is made up of representatives of other networks and is supported by the Gender Anchor, mandated to act as a secretariat. The situation of regional WID/gender units and gender focal points has, on the contrary, been erratic and variable. This is to a large degree due to the fact that internal accountability to gender mainstreaming is weak and the Bank's Regions enjoy a the high degree of independence. Gender mainstreaming and the appointment of gender focal points in regional and country offices have been matters of personal choice of responsible senior management.

Advocacy played an important role in the early years of the WID unit. Much effort was spent on making WID issues more acceptable to economists using efficiency arguments. The WID/gender unit has also always stressed research and academic excellence as a way of persuading resisting staff members. The main approach used in World Bank operations is still a traditional WID approach. However, there are also more gender oriented interventions emerging.

Despite its restricted area of influence the WID Division was successful in making the case for girls' education, safe motherhood and, initiated by the South Asia Region, micro-credit for women. These issues have subsequently been taken up and included in lending programmes in many countries. Influential too, were country gender studies which facilitated the inclusion of gender into the broader policy documents and in getting gender issues onto national agendas. Moreover, the World Bank's WID/gender units has produced excellent analytic work, which unfortunately seems to have had more influence outside the Bank than amongst its own rank and file. The relative isolation of previous WID/gender unit configurations might improve with the more integrated Gender Sector Board.

Despite these achievements, the gender concept is not widely used in the World Bank. At country level poverty assessments open the way for gender mainstreaming, but they are very variable with regard to the quality of gender analyses. Moreover, even though poverty assessments find their way into Country Assistance Strategies (CAS) in one way or another, gender might not.

Given the Bank's experience with resistance to gender concepts comparatively little efforts have been spent on training and the production of guidelines and tools. Gender training has been erratic, and not covered many staff members, particularly senior management. Efforts have been and still are made in the design of sector specific "tools", but even though they have been made available on the internet, their usefulness beyond quantitative distribution figures never seems to have been assessed. A promising participatory "tool" for the Sahel seems to have not been followed up.

Like the other agencies the World Bank has neglected the measuring of gender mainstreaming. Without targets, measures and goals little focused monitoring is possible. What monitoring does take place is input and effort rather than results oriented. There is a serious lack of follow-up of project implementation on the ground.

Gender mainstreaming at country level

As expected gender mainstreaming appears to be weaker at country level. As already mentioned this is partly due to relative regional autonomy. Thus some Regions have a strong gender focal point structure others have not. Moreover, not all country offices care to appoint gender focal points, nor are all Country Directors in favour of gender training or including gender as a topic in country dialogue. This also applies to task managers, who if they are not committed to gender might choose to allocate their resources for expertise on teams to subjects other than gender. Thus performance of the World Bank at country level is variable with regard to gender.

In Uganda the CAS was known to be relatively gender inclusive, yet gender mainstreaming initiatives are still centralised and not known to all field office staff. Since a gender analysis is not obligatory most projects in Uganda are not significantly gender mainstreamed. The situation was similar in Malawi, where the CD had actively rejected offers of the UNDAF initiative to supply gender training to his staff, and where gender mainstreaming was clearly not an issue, neither in country office operations nor in project implementation. The situation in Bangladesh is, however, better. Even though the Dhaka office had very little gender mainstreamed projects, and the gender focal point was overworked, awareness about the constraints and needs of gender mainstreaming opens for better performance in the future.

Norwegian support to gender mainstreaming in the World Bank

Norwegian support to the WID/unit followed a similar pattern to that in UNDP in that it has used a two-pronged approach taking gender issues, together with a more general concern about attention to human dimensions in Bank operations, into the governing body and by financing targeted operations of the WID unit, and more recently gender concerns in units other than the WID/gender unit. Initially, between 1987 and 1989 the Norwegian Women's Grant covered up to 60 percent the operational costs of the WID unit, leaving funding and reporting mechanisms very flexible. This enabled the WID unit to adjust their activities and strategies to the reactions in the Bank properly. Funding in the early years was focused mainly towards the mammoth task of establishing the credibility of gender for Bank operations. Funding was used for country profiles, best practice studies, and to larger project approaches that finally helped establish the credibility of the WID unit, such as the Safe Motherhood initiative (with a seconded Norwegian national working on the initiative). Most importantly too, Norway funded the research leading into the Bank's policy paper on gender over a number of years. Concurrently the research found its way into the Bank's contribution to the Beijing conference. Other funds, from 1990 onwards were channelled into the regional gender structures. Africa received a large share, as did consecutively Asia and Latin America. In addition special funds were made available to encourage and facilitate gender into CAS. There have also been marked successes to support gender via more over-arching programmes, such as Special Programme of Assistance for Africa, and African Poverty Monitoring Analysis, which have a strong gender focus.

1. Introduction

This evaluation report was initiated by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs two years after Report No. 19 to the Storting (1995-96) had re-affirmed Norway's commitment to "maintain a high degree of Norwegian involvement in the UN with a view to helping to make the UN an effective body" and "to provide a high level of aid through the multilateral system". This, the report stipulates, would be done not only via general contributions but also by consciously using "membership of governing bodies and earmarked funds to promote Norwegian development policy goals" (Government of Norway, 1995/96: 6). Norway has been at the forefront of furthering women's rights and gender equality for a long time, in its own country and in development strategies, both as lobbyists and via targeted development aid. After the Nairobi World Women's Conference in 1985 Norwegian earmarked funds crucially helped build WID/gender expertise within the UN and the World Bank.

It is these lobbying activities for and earmarked contributions to WID/gender units in UNDP, World Bank and FAO that this evaluation concentrates on, following them from 1985 through the 1990s. In part this evaluation overlaps with the 1989 evaluation of the Women's Grant, which looked at such contributions to the World Bank and UNIDO between 1984 and 1988 (Lexow and McNeill, 1989). The current evaluation has three main aims:

- to document the development of WID/gender units, and WID integration and gender mainstreaming.
- to document and evaluate Norwegian earmarked funds to the WID/gender units
- to evaluate gender mainstreaming efforts at country level (see ToR in Annex 1)

The evaluation thus looks at the organisations' headquarters as well as their organisational set-up in three member countries, namely in Uganda, Malawi and Bangladesh.

The report builds on the historical perspectives of WID/gender concerns and Norwegian development approaches towards WID/gender in the support of multilateral organisations, and the UN in particular. On this basis it looks at each of the three multilateral organisations' headquarters in turn, followed by their operations in the three countries. A historical perspective also guides the assessment of WID/gender at UNDP, FAO and World Bank headquarters, a perspective that was, due to the shallow organisational memory, not possible at the country level. Chapter 4 draws together common trends and experiences and is followed by the team's recommendations in chapter 5.

The research on which this report is based was not always as straight-forward as it might seem. Documents are scattered, and even at the organisations' headquarters thirteen years of history seem to be a very long time, with many staff members not being able to look back beyond the early 1990s. We thus tried to include former staff members who were not always easy to locate in their new lives. The evaluation concentrates with a few exceptions to a large degree on the WID/gender units and the organisational forms responsible for WID/gender concerns. This is in many ways a narrow perspective, since these large organisations contain in their ranks many initiatives in the fields of WID/gender which are not under the direct auspices of the WID/gender unit. These initiatives, often even unacknowledged by WID/gender units in the very same organisation are, of course the real measure of the success of mainstreaming, but they are also, as Jahan suggested, more "elusive"(1995). In this sense the evaluation, in keeping with the narrower focus of the ToR (Annex 1) did not comprehensively document the whole extent and quality of gender mainstreaming which is happening. Doing so is an important future research project that could not be fitted into the current terms of reference. In fact, the realisation that gender mainstreaming efforts are so hard to pin-point is in itself a valuable conclusion.

We did, however, in line with participatory approaches, make an effort to listen to the "voices" not only of the members of WID/gender units, but also – and predominantly – of staff members "in the mainstream". We have tried to record these voices throughout the report, and have chosen to use one such voice as the title, to signify that attitudes are, in the last instance, the most important factor in the gender mainstreaming process. Listening to the main stakeholders in the mainstreaming process was very instructive, as was talking to government officials of member countries, who are equally important. At FAO and UNDP headquarters, for example, many staff members seemed to appreciate talking to an outsider about the WID/gender mandate in their organisation. The research thus started, even though momentarily, a situation of dialogue and of reflection. Similarly in Uganda, the researcher felt, that by working closely with the national gender machinery a process of critical assessment of and information seeking about the work and the possibilities of co-operation with the multilateral organisations was strengthened. If these impressions are right, this is more than we could have hoped to achieve.

We would like to thank all those persons who talked to us, fitted us into already busy schedules and gave us their ideas and opinions, and commented on our first draft.

2. WID, GAD and gender mainstreaming: concepts and meanings

In 1946 a resolution of the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established the Commission on the Status of Women within the UN to "promote women's rights in political, social and economic fields" (quoted in Jackson 1992:86). Twenty-nine years later the Commission recommended to ECOSOC and the UN General Assembly that 1975 be designated International Women's Year. It was to remind the international community that discrimination against women ran deep in law and custom and that more needed to be done not only "to promote equality between men and women but to acknowledge women's vital role in national and international development efforts" (Boutros-Ghali, 1996:33). Part of the new effort was the International Women's Conference held in Mexico in the same year. The resolutions of the Conference emphasised equality, development and peace calling for governments to set up national 'machinery' for women as part of government to promote and oversee national efforts to advance the status of women. In the event the ensuing decade between 1976 and 1985 was declared the UN Decade of Women guided by the targets set by the Mexico Conference.

By the end of the decade, the UN had made considerable progress in promoting equality between women and men. In 1979 the General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the first international legal instrument to define discrimination against women. It is formulated on the premise that "women must be as free as men to make choices not only in the political and legal sphere but also in such areas as marriage, the home and family life generally" (*Ibid.*:42.). The *Forward Looking Strategies* of the Nairobi Conference (1985) affirmed the themes of the Decade and recommended strategies to be developed in the following areas: constitutional and legal rights, equality and social participation; and equality and political participation and decision-making. The Strategies again called on governments to establish women's machinery as an avenue for more decision-making powers in the political domain.

The advances of the UN system were not immediately reflected in either the UN agencies themselves or national development agencies. Up until the 1970s development approaches to women were restricted to improvements of their roles as wives and mothers, with a concentration of activities in the areas of reproductive health and nutrition. But the Decade of Women helped change these development paradigms. Its biggest achievement was to re-direct the focus on women as home-makers to one that recognised their economic role as producers. This underlined the importance of changing the division of labour between

men and women and the need to value women's unpaid labour. With it came the recognition that women had been invisible as producers in development policy and statistical records. There was a need to gather disaggregated data and research results to prove that women's roles went far beyond child bearing and rearing.

The Decade also opened the way for considerations of the need for women to be involved in decision-making at all levels and in all areas. Increasingly after the Nairobi Conference, Development agencies installed WID advisers in WID units. These administered women targeted projects and tried to establish women's issues as a serious development concern, because as producers women were, albeit invisible, participants in the development process. In line with today's efficiency logic the WID approach stressed that women were an untapped resource for economic development. Its adherents also stressed that women were predominately found amongst "the poorest of the poor", thus integrating them as a major target group into anti-poverty measures. These had become more prevalent as the realisation of the negative effects of structural adjustment policies on "vulnerable groups" grew through the 1980s. Warnings that women were affected by such reform process differently and deeper than men, and affecting economic development more severely, helped *inter alia* raise the status women were accorded in the development policy process.

A clear drawback of the WID approach was, however, that it viewed women in isolation, not only from men but also from mainstream development, exemplified by women targeted projects. At the end of the Decade and up until 1990 it became increasingly evident that women focused development interventions had little to no impact on either women's welfare or their legal and social status. In fact, many women's projects ended up being "subverted" to another form of welfare approach from which WID advocates had tried to distance themselves (Rasavi and Miller, 1995b: 8).

Already in the late 1970s radical feminists, often with a background in Marxism, had started to discuss the differences between biological sex and socially constructed gender, and biological and social reproduction and production. Gender relations focused on social and cultural mechanism and processes of women's subordination to men. With the new emphasis on the nature and reproduction of women's subordination to men, gender as a concept based itself on the socially constructed relationships between men and women replacing the more simplistic earlier paradigm, which conceptualised women in isolation.

The new emphasis had radical implications for the development debate: WID had essentially not threatened mainstream development at all, being safely tucked away in special projects and units. Gender and Development (GAD), however, questioned existing power relation between men and women, not only in projects administered in developing countries but also in the workplace and ultimately the home. If gender relations, which subordinate women, are socially constructed, they can, and must, be changed if women should be equal to men. And this was clearly an undertaking that could not be done in isolation but needed to happen in the mainstream, questioning as it were basic tenants not only of development practice but also of societal values.

Even though the gender concept was developed in the late seventies it took until 1990 and beyond to establish it in development agencies. Another related concept, that of empowerment, developed through the 1980s was adopted by development agencies at the same time. The empowerment approach had grown out of initiatives from women in developing countries who from the Copenhagen Conference (1980) onwards started to question the very nature of development aid, criticising its euro-centric, non-participatory approach. The initiative, exemplified by the network Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) rejected integration into mainstream development altogether because development practice itself was opposed to the very goals of equality. Instead its members proposed a new development which would turn current paradigms up-side-down. It would focus on people, use bottom-up approaches, try to preserve existing farming systems and protect food production, and respect the environment (Sen and Grown, 1988). Empowerment for DAWN was a recognition of the centrality of invisible, disadvantaged groups. The new vision saw the need for a "reorientation of production processes in agriculture, industry and services, so that meeting the needs of the poor becomes the principle focus of planning". It was not enough "to recognise poor women's work, what was needed was giving it centrality in the development processes." (*ibid.*, 83). Obviously such radical changes could not be integrated into current development practice.

It was not until the International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo 1994 that the UN talked of gender equality, the empowerment of women, and the role of men in achieving gender equality "because, in most societies, they exercise preponderant power in nearly every sphere of life" (quoted in Boutros-Ghali, 1996: 62). The Nairobi Forward Looking strategies had defined 'equality' as "a goal and a means whereby individuals are accorded equal treatment under the law and equal opportunities to enjoy their rights and to develop their potential talents and skills so that they can participate in national, political, economic, social and cultural development, both as beneficiaries and as active agents"(UN, 1996b: 310).

In 1995 the Commission on the Status of Women in their preparation for the Women's Conference in Beijing, further discussed the nature of the term 'gender', which together with 'empowerment' was copiously applied in the *Beijing Platform of Action* (UN 1996). The Platform re-endorsed gender equality as a goal. Also for the first time UN resolutions called for gender mainstreaming. In 1997 ECOSOC agreed with reference to the *Beijing Platform of Action* that the UN system should promote an "active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective". It defined gender mainstreaming as

the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

The ECOSOC agreed conclusions also note that the responsibility for gender mainstreaming rests at the highest levels; that it requires efforts to broaden women's participation at all levels of decision-making; that it must be institutionalised and apportioned enough resources to succeed. However, the note also mentions that gender mainstreaming does not "replace the need for targeted, women-specific policies and programmes, and/or positive legislation, nor does it substitute for gender units or focal points (UN, ECOSOC, 14 July 1997).

A Workshop on Gender Mainstreaming organised by the OECD/DAC Women and Development Expert Group (now OECD/DAC Working Party for Gender Equality) in co-operation with the UN Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality later that year, further added their commitment, as did a statement of the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) on Gender Equality and Mainstreaming.

The adoption of these concepts and meanings by development agencies has, however, been neither uniform nor always coherent. There is thus some confusion as to the content of the concepts introduced. Between organisations, within organisations and even within WID/gender units 'WID' and 'GAD'; 'gender' and 'women' are used interchangeably, sometimes within one sentence. The word 'gender' is thus often used to connote the meaning of 'women'; and 'GAD' is used even though 'WID' is meant. This eclectic usage of terms and concepts, causes conflicts and confusions, and it has *inter alia* also "subverted" the gender mainstreaming task, in the sense of offering a strategy of opting out by using correct terms attaching incorrect meanings.

It is generally acknowledged that WID is a concept which denotes an approach that advocates women targeted interventions within the mainstream of development. While WID intended to integrate women, it achieved at best the inclusion of a women targeted intervention in larger projects or programmes, or at worst separated women's projects. It would thus seem that WID is a difficult concept to mainstream, precisely because it considers women in isolation from men. Agencies thus talk of "integrating WID into the mainstream" or "mainstreaming WID" both suggestions that are explicable only if one understands mainstreaming as "integrating" concerns as an add-on task.

The "integrationist" approach has indeed been the most common way of understanding and operationalising gender mainstreaming. According to Jahan this approach "builds gender issues within existing development paradigms". The approach widens the areas of application of WID but does not transform the overall agenda. A good example of this approach to mainstreaming is the "designing of WID 'components' in major sectoral programmes and projects. Women are fitted into many sectors but the sector priorities do not change with this inclusion" (Jahan 1995: 13). 'Integrationist' approaches can also be taken using the term 'gender' but not using the concept. If the concept is understood to mean the socially constructed relationships between women and men, then its inclusion would have to change the mainstream. Inclusion in the 'integrationist' style, as a component, or add-on task, is thus based on a WID approach.

The 'integrationist' understanding of gender mainstreaming is not in line with the more radical UN resolutions, but it is the predominant approach used – within FAO, the World Bank and to a lesser degree UNDP. National development agencies are no exception to this. Development agencies all too frequently talk of "women and gender concerns" and there is talk of "women's human rights", as if it were a separate thing from "men's human rights". A good example of the confusions that can occur is described in this evaluation. Within the FAO and in the organisations own language, a WID Service promotes gender mainstreaming of WID concerns into the mainstream. At the same time the WID unit, true to its name only, but not its mandate or strategies, promotes Rural Women's Day. By the same token technical departments integrate gender by publishing a leaflet on women amongst others on, say, housing, irrigation, health and bio-diversity.

It is, indeed, very difficult to escape the trappings of language and concept, as the authors of this report discovered. Not only does this evaluation examine WID and gender concerns in relationship to mainstreaming, but WID approaches are listed under gender mainstreaming approaches and activities. These imperfections seem unavoidable, particularly since the time-span of the evaluation covers 13 years of changing concepts and meanings.

What then is the correct approach to gender mainstreaming? "Real" gender mainstreaming must in Jahan's terminology be "agenda-setting", seeking the transformation of the existing development agenda. It involves women as decision-makers in all sectors of development. Women would "thus not only become part of the mainstream, they would also shape the mainstream". This view of mainstreaming echoes the UN's definition and it owes much to the empowerment approach associated with DAWN. The empowerment of women (amongst other disaffected marginalised voices) is indeed part of 'agenda-setting' gender mainstreaming.

Yet, the revolutionising concept of 'empowerment' has with ease been co-opted by mainstream development vocabulary and discourse. 'Empowerment' has thus, similar to 'gender mainstreaming', become a concept watered down from its originally intended meaning. In its common usage it connotes participatory approaches.

The literature on WID/GAD and gender mainstreaming often suggests that the 'gender' concept is more acceptable to those resisting WID. This might be so in that it deflects attention away from overt feminist notions. Yet, in its "true" meaning gender mainstreaming is a much more radical and interfering concept than is WID. It is thus asking for more radical strategies of rejection. The "integrationist" approach can, ultimately, be interpreted as a strategy of rejections, since it tends to avoid "agenda setting" goals.

The evaluation analyses how these concepts have developed over time and how they have been interpreted and operationalised by the three multilateral agencies.

3. Gender equality in Norway's development policy

Over the years the Norwegian Government has distinguished itself as a champion of women's rights and gender equality both in Norway itself and also in its development aid strategies. The Ministry of Development Co-operation (MDC) established a WID advisory post in 1979, increased to two positions in 1985. In the same year the Ministry was one of the first national development agencies to present a coherent policy document on the integration of WID into development aid.

WID issues had first been raised in the 1971/72 Parliamentary White Paper. They were from then on regularly picked up, urging from 1984 onwards for women's active integration into development. The focus of such interventions was, as was common in other development agencies, concentrated in the health and social welfare sectors. The 1984/85 White Paper for the first time also recognised women's productive role, arguing in efficiency terms that "because of women's great share in total labour input, development assistance to improve their productivity will carry considerable potential for overall economic improvement" (Government of Norway, 1984/85: 5). In 1984 the Ministry of Development Co-operation Grant for Women in Development was established for the "purpose of strengthening the Ministry's efforts to integrate a women-oriented perspective in the overall development assistance". The Grant was meant "to oil the machinery for integrating women and to create opportunity and flexibility not possible via ordinary budget quotas" (Lexow and McNeill 1989: 15 ff.). The Strategy for Assistance to Women in Development, published a year later, subscribed to two main goals, namely

- improvement of women's living conditions
- provision of opportunities for women to participate in economic, cultural, and political activities with a view to change the mainstream of development to make it benefit women.

The strategy thus espoused a very radical, in Jahan's terminology 'agenda-setting' approach to mainstreaming. In comparison to other development agencies at the time, including the UN system, this was a remarkably clear commitment to gender mainstreaming, also exemplified by the ministry's internal organisation. When other agencies set up WID units, NORAD, the operational unit of MDC, decided against a separate unit, arguing that this would work against mainstreaming goals. Instead NORAD expected regular budget staff and consultancy resources to be allocated to WID. In addition to the two full-time WID advisers, NORAD relied on WID focal points assigned in departments. They filled the posts in addition to their regular jobs and without clearly defined terms of reference (Jahan, 1995:39, 41). In 1990 the then Minister of Development Co-operation, Vraalsen, explained that "the WID contacts are supposed to play an advocacy role for integration of WID issues into all areas and serve as resource persons for other staff

members." However, he also admitted that this "watch-dog role" had been less efficient than originally planned, due to lack of time, competence and influence (Vraalsen, speech at Informal Consultation on Strategies for WID, Lysebu, 24-28 October 1990).

The Strategy also contained a specific Plan of Action for Norwegian Multilateral Assistance to Women. It suggested that Norway's active participation in the multilateral organisations is "an opportunity to work towards a wider understanding of women's role in development and thereby to influence both the member countries and the organisations in relationship to WID" (Government of Norway, 1995:31). It also subscribed to "the integration of women into overall activities" as the over-riding goal, but still combined with a women targeted approach. It refers to the establishment of focal points and the need for an explicit WID policy in the multilateral organisations. The Action Plan also noted the intention of Norway "to finance expert positions for WID to strengthen the secretariats, to further assist them with consultants and with WID training programmes for their employees".

Between 1984 and 1987, for example, about half of the Women's Grant went to multilateral organisations, with the lion share of between 52 and 77 percent/year of this going to UNDP followed by substantially smaller contributions to an array of UN organisations, with UNICEF and ESCAP receiving the next largest shares. Much of the contribution to UNDP's WID effort (NOK 15.368.000 over three years) went into the Women and Water Decade Consultancy (PROWWESS).¹⁷ UNESCO, UNIDO, and ILO received "seed money" and ESCAP money for a WID co-ordinator in 1986 only (Lexow and McNeill 1989: 21 and 27). An evaluation of the Women's Grant in 1989 concluded that the Grant had been effective in influencing multilateral organisations (*ibid.*). The patterns for the Women's Grant up to 1987 were maintained thereafter. In 1990 it was announced that the Grant would be increased to nearly US \$ 5 million. This evaluation report covers Norwegian funding after 1987 for UNDP, World Bank and FAO (see Annex 2). WID funding to the multilateral organisations financed and seconded WID experts, seed money and money for strategically important activities. These included WID policies, WID approaches, and research to establish the importance of WID for development.

How much Norway invested, also emotionally, into its support to the UN's WID units and advisers is shown by the initiative in 1988 to invite UN WID advisers and Focal Points to informal workshops or retreats in Norway. The workshops were meant to create a forum to exchange viewpoints, experiences and gather strength in solidarity. It also offered the opportunity for officers in the MDC's Multilateral Department to establish personal contacts with the WID advisers the Ministry supported in one way or another. The meetings were the brainchild of a member of the Multilateral Department, based on her experience as lone WID co-ordinator in UNESCO. She had needed all the help and support she could get in an environment hostile to her task, Skard admitted in an interview in 1988 (*Aftenposten*, 21.1.1988). Another such meeting, in 1990, invited not only current but also previous WID advisers.

The beginning of the 1990s saw a re-thinking of Norwegian approaches to North-South co-operation. As a result efforts in new areas were announced, singling out environmentally sustainable development, human development, democracy and women as the most important. The 1991/92 Report to Parliament recommended again that support to women should include data collection and "research into the relationship between the sexes and the situation of women". It specified the improvement of the legal position of women, support to women's organisations at all levels, to women's health, their economic role and the education of women and girl children. The report also pledged to both "support special measures aimed at women" and "stimulate the integration of a women's perspective in all development programmes" (Government of Norway, 1992).

The Commission on North-South and Aid Policies, which had been appointed in 1993, recommended in its 1995 report *Norwegian South Policy in a Changing World* that Norway "must make efforts to ensure that the values we regard as important in our society are safeguarded in connection with the demands for economic reforms in the South". Equality and the provision of services and social security by the state are amongst those values (Government of Norway, 1995). Report No. 19 to the Storting (1995-96) defines Norwegian South policy as contributing "towards improving economic, social and political conditions in the developing countries within the limits of sustainable development". Amongst the main goals, the promotion of equal rights and opportunities between women and men in all areas of society features prominently. Also in line with Norwegian values is Norway's strong support of the 20/20 proposal which was launched at the UN Social Summit in Copenhagen in 1995. The proposal suggests that developing countries must pledge 20 percent of their official budget for basic social services, with donors allocating a similar proportion of their aid budgets.

A 1995 publication of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs *Gender Issues in Norwegian Development Cooperation* introduces the shift from WID to gender. The leaflet explains that "a gender approach is increasingly being

used to integrate women's concerns into Norwegian development cooperation". One of the "guidelines for reaching women" in Norwegian development co-operation is

Strengthening the position of women in developing countries by, on the one hand, encouraging the integration of the gender perspective in all development cooperation, and, on the other hand, supporting special measures directed towards women.

In 1997 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published its new Strategy *A Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development Co-operation*. The strategy reaffirms Norway's commitment towards gender mainstreaming, noting that individual projects towards women are inadequate. Instead "equal rights and opportunities for women and men must be integrated into all aspects of development co-operation". Based on experiences at "home" the strategy presents gender equality "as a national concern and not just a matter of women's rights." In line with the Beijing Platform of Action it gives priority to rights, participation in decision making processes, economic participation, education, health, management of natural resources and the environment.

In the context of multilateral co-operation the strategy identifies the following specific strategies to be pursued:

- urging as many governments as possible to sign CEDAW
- lobbying for minimum of 30 percent representation of women in decision making bodies
- urging for the upholding of objectives of adequate participation of women and men in the development process and supporting this by capacity building
- safeguarding women's concerns in economic reform programmes
- contributing financially towards concrete measures which promote social aspects of economic reform processes
- contributing towards primary health care services via multilateral organisations
- supporting the goals of the Convention on Biological Diversity
- Importantly the strategy also suggests that in multilateral organisations gender concerns will be a permanent item on the agenda for Norway's consultative meetings.

¹ The funding details of PROWWESS can be found in Annex 3.

4. The organisational experiences of gender mainstreaming in UNDP, FAO, and the World Bank

The experiences with gender mainstreaming are unique to each organisation. UNDP, FAO and the World Bank, all have specific set-ups that create specific constraints and opportunities as we will further show in our case studies in chapters 6, 7, and 8. There are, however, a number of common trends in all three organisations, and as we explain also beyond the UN system, in any institution engaged in the process of gender mainstreaming. These common themes represent important indicators for lessons to be learned. The commonalities concern policy on WID/gender and gender mainstreaming and the organisational positioning of the WID/gender units including the status of focal points, and other intra-agency organisational forms. In addition, there is the intangible area of attitudes which in the case of gender mainstreaming is important, particularly if - as is the case in UNDP, FAO and World Bank - no sanctions, reward structures, or adequate monitoring and evaluation to drive the institutionalisation of gender are built into the system. Resistance to WID and gender equality goals can take a number of forms, some more overt than other more subtle "subversions", but whatever form resistance takes it can sabotage or slow down the institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming. Measures to increase internal accountability, particularly of senior management are therefore very important, but have not been pursued with any vigour in the UN system. Because of these constraints monitoring and evaluation systems which employ process and results-oriented indicators are particularly important, yet in all the surveyed institutions under-developed. The same holds for other internal accounting measures such as the screening of projects, staff evaluations and other measures to insure compliance with gender mainstreaming.

Only little analytical work has thus far been done on organisational experiences with gender mainstreaming in historical and comparative perspectives. Jahan (1995) and Staudt (1998) analyse the respective experiences of a number of bilateral and multi-lateral development organisations with gender mainstreaming. The constraints identified by Jahan did not substantially change over the years, with mainstreaming remaining elusive and a distant goal as WID advocacy still confronts bureaucratic inertia and resistance. Yet, she was also able to document modest progress, particularly in a number of bilateral development agencies, such as in Scandinavia, Canada and the Netherlands. Progress has been slower in multilateral organisations. As Staudt argues, gender mainstreaming must be situated in its political context, and given that bilateral development agencies are much more directly accountable to governments and tax payers, development agencies of gender progressive countries, embedded as they are in those politics, tend to mount major WID/gender efforts. Jahan, following a similar argumentation, believes that by comparison multilateral agencies are relatively shielded from the scrutiny of public interest groups, reporting directly to governing bodies. Interest groups have thus less access to internal discussions (Jahan 1995:47). Moreover, reminds us Staudt, many of the member governments of multilateral organisations do not embrace democratic ideals that include gender equality so that pressure to comply with a gender agenda might be very weak.

The authors also argue that accountability to taxpayers and the need to justify aid budgets to their respective governments might favour a more "results oriented" measurement of WID/gender concerns (such as employment of the DAC/WID guidelines), particularly in countries where WID units have powerful national lobbies. The authors further suggest that in multilateral organisations WID/gender lobbies have (had) to struggle for resources within their organisation, and they lack powerful lobbies (or national policies) to boost their standing *vis à vis* big budget programmes like infrastructure and energy, which are backed by "demands" from recipient countries. This, Jahan concedes, would breed a culture of quantitative counting, as "an important sales pitch" (Jahan, 1995:77 ff.). Thus the measuring of gender mainstreaming has stayed underdeveloped, particularly in multilateral agencies, staying for most part too input and "effort" oriented to be of much use.

The tendency of development agencies of co-opting feminist language, represented by terms such as empowerment, participation, self-determination and the like, into their discourse further clouds what actual progress is made. Jahan suggests that actual progress can only be seen on the ground, and that field level assessments are "needed to judge whether the changes in agency language reflect(s) only rhetorical shifts or implied real changes in policies, programmes and investments" (*ibid.*:95).

The situation for WID lobbies has, according to Jahan and Staudt been particularly difficult in organisations that are male dominated, where WID/gender lobbies tend to question institutionalised male interests. Organisational cultures, staffing policies and a predominance of professions dominated by men contribute to this as much as the related "old-boys networks" which can make agencies uncompromising places for women.

4.1. The question of gender policy

In terms of policy the three organisations represent three different gradations on a sliding scale. UNDP, at the top end of the spectrum, has a definite policy on gender mainstreaming, which is institutionalised sufficiently to carry a strong mandate, at least at headquarters. UNDP staff no longer question publicly that gender mainstreaming is one of the main strategies of the their organisation and that gender equality is an organisational goal. At the other end of the spectrum we find the World Bank. The organisation has taken a long time to produce a policy on WID/gender which has not been sufficiently operationalised to carry a strong mandate, at headquarters and at field-level. The middle of the scale is occupied by the FAO, with WID/ gender and mainstreaming policies which carry a mandate via the Plan of Action on women and development but are very slow to take root with FAO's specialised technical staff. However, FAO is the only one of the three organisations with a Plan of Action which theoretically holds divisions and departments accountable for the implementation of divisional/ departmental mainstreaming goals.

UNDP follows a very integrated, consistent, and explicit policy of gender mainstreaming which is closest to UN resolutions. FAO follows UN policy goals but in a less stringent manner. Unlike in UNDP, the FAO, for example, has relied on the ECOSOC guidelines, and has never attempted to define mainstreaming specifically with FAO in mind. With regard to the translation into action of policy supportive of gender mainstreaming the World Bank has shown the least initiative and direction. Even though the President of the Bank has been vocal in promoting gender concerns at the level of public relations, this commitment is not sufficiently operationalised. FAO, too, has a Director-General at its helm who has distinguished himself by championing WID/gender concerns. This might be very important in organisations, such as the FAO and the World Bank, where staff is – due to their professional background - more resistant to gender concerns than in an organisation mostly staffed by social scientists. A supportive leader, however, is not enough to

change an organisation around, if his/her advocacy role is not backed by a solid policy that is integrated into overall organisational policy goals and operations.

It must of course be noted that all three organisations lack any institutional measures to "enforce" gender mainstreaming, or to sanction those who do not apply the policies or directives that exist. The effect of a policy is greatly reduced if it is neither used nor its application followed up. There is no differences in this between World Bank who has been slowest in operationalising gender mainstreaming and FAO and UNDP. The result is that gender mainstreaming only works if sufficiently large numbers of staff apply the policies, be it because they believe in the policy/directive or because it carries a strong mandate. The latter scenario is more likely to happen at UNDP where the mainstreaming strategy seems more entrenched. In all cases gender mainstreaming is ultimately carried by individuals willing to pursue it.

4.2. The institutional status of the WID/gender structures

Given that gender mainstreaming still largely rests with committed or dutiful individuals, the organisational forms established to oversee and direct the mainstreaming effort are all the more important. What is important is both the location and status of central WID/gender units in relationship to their mandate as well as the presence and status of focal points and organisation-wide networks.

In both UNDP and FAO the central WID/gender units are at the level of a programme or service respectively, located within a division and under a divisional director. In UNDP the unit was originally a division but was down-graded; in FAO the WID unit only moved horizontally between divisions and departments but not vertically in status. The World Bank arrangement is hard to compare, due to its rather different organisational structure - particularly after the 1997 reorganisation. However, the central WID/gender unit started out as a division and was in 1993 downgraded even though the staffing resources remained the same. The positioning in the "strategic compact", however, has again upgraded its status both in terms of the importance for Bank operations of the "family" it was grouped with and in terms of being allocated a board and a director. The effects of the latest move still need to be seen when uncertainty and confusion have settled and a director has been appointed.

In UNDP and FAO, the WID/gender units are not placed in ideal strategic positions to oversee gender mainstreaming in large organisations. Low organisational status makes it more difficult for WID/gender units to fulfil their mandates, particularly if they involve advice and "instruction" to divisions and departments across the organisations. As a service/ programme it might well be difficult to establish enough legitimacy to be effective in such task. Moreover, it is almost impossible for a service or programme to effect far-reaching organisational change not only in one division/department, but in a whole organisation. It might well be much more effective to place a WID/ gender unit high up, such as in the office of the President/Director General and mandated with authority over departments or equivalent.

Gender focal points have fared even worse when it comes to organisational status. In UNDP and FAO the appointment of gender focal points has been mandatory, which is not the case in the World Bank where their existence is up to the Regions and the country representations. But even then UNDP and FAO focal point systems did not work out the way they were intended. In both organisations the administrative and chief focal points were to be senior managers, in the case of UNDP represented by Resident Representatives and bureau heads, in FAO by departmental and divisional directors. Instead in both organisations senior managers have not fulfilled their responsibilities and the lower ranking "technical" gender focal points have turned out typically to be junior members of staff, women, and /or JPOs or APOs respectively. There are a few male gender focal points in both organisations, mostly by default "because nobody else wanted to do the job."

In all three organisations being a gender focal point is not considered desirable, conveying as one person put it, a feeling akin to being "orphans". Gender focal points feel unappreciated by the colleagues and superiors. FAO junior women focal points do not dare raise gender too pro-actively lest they spoil their chances for promotion. Work as a gender focal point is also unrewarding in more tangible areas. In all three organisations gender focal points fulfil their ToR as an add-on to their regular job, whatever that may be. They receive no extra time, money or other inducements for this responsibility. They receive no financial or logistic resources to fulfil their mandate, nor do they always have the skills to fulfil them. In FAO, for example, gender focal points are charged with nothing less than the monitoring of the implementation of the divisional Plans of Action. Not surprisingly the task of monitoring their implementation has proven way beyond the scope of the focal points' add-on tasks.

These limitations reduce and limit the efficiency of gender focal points, and it might dampen their enthusiasm and the enthusiasm of others to volunteer for the positions. Within FAO, focal points have

typically reduced their long list of tasks to being information channels for those who want to be informed. Being mere reactive, however, is not enough to change attitudes and organisational practice.

In addition, UNDP and FAO have a gender co-ordinating committee to back gender focal points and the central WID/gender unit. Within UNDP the Gender Advisory Committee in its present form grew out of the preparatory working group for Beijing. With organisation-wide representation the committee has mainly advisory and networking functions in addition to the heavy task of "monitoring the advancement of women within UNDP". The parallel structure within FAO has in similar form been in place for a much longer period from 1976 onward. Yet it is beset by problems. The Inter-Departmental Committee on Women and Development was supposed to have had a membership from senior management level, but has attracted gender focal points and the lower level alternates sent by senior management in their stead. Its functions, too, are of an advisory and networking nature combined with the task of overseeing and facilitating gender mainstreaming and the implementation of the Plan of Action. Contrary to intentions its members are too junior to be able to push through any of the decisions or recommendations of the committee. Senior management has remained aloof. Interestingly in both FAO and UNDP the co-ordinating committees are felt to spend too much time on internal gender balance issues.

In addition UNDP also has appointed gender specialists in some regional bureaux and other strategic programmes, mostly financed from core funds. In the World Bank's new 'strategic compact' gender specialists are spread throughout the organisation and available on the internal consultancy market, in addition to external consultants. UNDP has also started to upgrade the capacity of focal points, including their ability to influence policy. It seems that in addition to just skills what is needed is institutional backing and up-grading of focal points, something that applies to all three organisations.

In UNDP and the FAO the upgrading of focal points and intra-organisational networks could possibly be managed by allocating to focal points and gender co-ordinators specific time and a budget for their responsibility. A structure of in-built incentives that would positively take account of service as a gender focal point might help ease some of the anxieties of junior staff and might attract more senior staff to the positions. It might also open the opportunity for focal points to be more pro-active.

4.3. Attitudes towards gender mainstreaming

The success of gender mainstreaming has much to do with the attitudes of staff towards gender issues, particularly in the absence of sanctions and incentives. All three organisations registered negative attitudes of a kind, but they were sporadic in UNDP and prominent in both FAO and the World Bank. This suggests, as mentioned before, that UNDP's "softer" approach which is more embedded in the social sciences and stresses human aspects more than technical details, has a more positive "fit" with gender mainstreaming. This organisational congruence eases the mainstreaming task. The other two organisations have had a much harder time getting staff interested and also committed, even though both organisations had a certain measure of WID lobbying going on in their ranks since the late seventies. One cannot but conclude that staff with a background in the more technical areas find it harder to accept social issues *per se* and gender issues in particular. Gender seems to have no obvious connection to their work, and considering the implications of gender theory and analysis these are not issues many men enjoy contemplating. Indeed, gender equality and women's rights are issues that male establishments seem to reject on personal grounds, precisely because they assume it is personal issues that drive women's demands. Gender thus occupies a different status than other cross-cutting themes, such as environment, because they are not imbued with the same degree of personal implications.

Men obviously feel differently about the need for gender equality than do women, and men resent and fear women's intensity on the issue, such as a director in one of the organisations who recommended "the ladies to slow down a bit", referring also to the fact that they tend to work late into the night rather than go home. Such eagerness at the workplace seems to rouse suspicions and the suggestion of what is seen as fanaticism, both reactions that would not be applied to marine biologists – male or female - working nights. For WID entrepreneurs gender is, indeed, a personal as well as a professional matter, which might be pursued with more determination or conviction than other cross-cutting issues. Moreover, WID/gender units were and in some instances still are "given the near-impossible task of criticising and reforming the very organisations they serve" facing "contrasting demands from their two constituencies, the agency on the inside and the women's movement outside (Jahan, 1995: 119).

Thus, in the early stages of WID advocacy, WID "entrepreneurs" had two options: they could try to be very diplomatic and concerned about communication, or they could launch a more aggressive front. Whatever the strategy they chose, they tended to be blamed or acclaimed by their constituencies for personal rather than professional qualities/faults. In both UNDP and the World Bank early WID lobbying put the stress on both establishing a common professional basis with staff and making WID/gender palatable in technical

terms, as economically efficient, as better human development. The image thus has been one of avoiding confrontations within and appearing "reassuring", a personal image that in UNDP was initially created by the fact that the WID staff were "married mothers" (Jahan, *ibid.*).

In FAO early WID advocates are perceived to have chosen a more confrontational agenda. Several factors might have been involved: the early WID entrepreneurs had to struggle both against members in their own unit who had subscribed to a welfare based approach for over 30 years, and struggling for recognition with technical, predominantly male staff who were not even prepared to recognise African women as own account farmers. In the event, and with the benefit of hindsight, some feel that the lobbying of early WID staff might have failed to create a basis for fruitful communication and mutual understanding. The results of this are still noticeable, even though now WID/gender "entrepreneurs" actively seek communication with technical departments by speaking the language of their colleagues. It has been recognised to be a much more effective and satisfying strategy on both sides. Moreover, in FAO as in other agencies, the trend has been to replace the feminists of the earlier phase with what Jahan calls "managers" who are expected not to push their male colleagues too much (*ibid.*).

However, the equation that diplomacy equals success and radical feminist tactics equal failure is too simplistic. A corollary for the FAO has been the fact that the WID lobbyists were very radical not only in their behaviour towards others but also their analytical work. They have thus been able to imbue WID/gender paradigm with a radical contents, much earlier than was the case elsewhere. Thus the FAO WID/gender unit did in the late 1980s deal with women in more strategic contexts than a focus on safe water and motherhood could be. Even though the WID Service seems less radical now, the early phase helped set radical WID paradigms within the organisation. Even though opposition might have been strong at the time, the argumentation did have an impact beyond causing antagonism. Even though the FAO is far from having succeeded in gender mainstreaming, there are many laudable gender mainstreaming initiatives in a number of technical departments.

Excellent and radical writings have also emerged from the World Bank's WID/gender unit, but the problem has been that the research output of the unit has always been free standing with little connection to and impact on the mainstream of the organisation. Moreover, the tendency in the World Bank to make gender palatable to economic mind-sets by stressing the economic efficiency of investing in women might not do gender mainstreaming a favour in the long run. If gender concerns are only deemed important when economic gains can be made, gender equity might only be deemed relevant in situations where this leads to increased efficiency. The approach thus might fail to promote gender equality as a matter of social justice.

Attitudes are very slow to change, in individuals and even more in institutions. Gender equality grapples everywhere with problems of attitude. Gender mainstreaming should endeavour to put into place measures that aim at tackling attitudinal changes. Policies, mandates and organisational structures will remain toothless if attitudes are left untouched. This will take longer than institutional changes and it will have to be supported. Capacity building through training, guidelines and other tools make a contribution.

4.4. The question of HOW: Gender training, guidelines and tool kits:

In all three organisations staff indicated that in order to comply with gender mainstreaming they needed tools and guidelines instructing them in how to go about gender concerns in their everyday work. But relative to the clamouring for "tools", the guidelines, tool kits and manuals that have been produced seem not to be all that popular with staff. This might be due to the fact that available tools are inadequate, that they are not sufficiently advertised, that they do not respond to the needs of the users, or that their complexity scares potential users into inaction. Another, less constructive interpretation, might also be that the lack of adequate tools is just a convenient way of delaying action. Elements of all these possibilities have their role to play and can here only be guessed at, since the uses and impact of tools have not been sufficiently followed up in any of the organisations surveyed here.

The FAO seems to have pursued the idea of tools and training with more seriousness than the other two organisations. An example is the development of the SEAGA framework, which was initiated jointly with UNDP and World Bank but then pursued by FAO alone. The SEAGA concept of integrating gender into a broader socio-economic framework and of covering field, meso- and macro-level approaches and handbooks was considered very useful. Complaints with the SEAGA framework related to the quality of two of the handbooks, not with the concept. The fact that the one sector specific SEAGA handbook published so far, was welcomed enthusiastically, seems to indicate that tools can be designed to be useful. In this case part of the secret is also that sector handbooks are conceptualised with the co-operation of the users. This ensures technical know-how, addresses issues most urgently felt about, and creates a sense of ownership, making the guidelines both more convincing and more widely accepted. FAO divisions, such as

in forestry, have also developed their own gender mainstreaming tools, and these too seem popular within the FAO and beyond.

It thus seems that gender mainstreaming tools must be conceptualised together with the users and must be sector specific, addressing the needs of the users to be successful. *Inter alia* being involved in the making of a sector guide represents a kind of constructive gender training in itself.

Gender training has been widely used in the late 80s and early 90s as a gender mainstreaming tool. All three organisations used the same gender training approach, the Harvard Model, but again little is known about the successes or failures of gender training. As far as the evaluation team knows, needs assessments prior to training were only conducted at FAO, also the only organisation that ran a post-training evaluation repeated after 6 months. Gender analysis training was in the early 90s mandatory in FAO, perhaps explaining the seriousness with which the effort was conducted. Yet the fact that training was "enforced" did not help to endear participants to gender approaches.

Within both FAO and UNDP (with no information available from the World Bank) participants of the gender training stated that they considered the training frustrating, because it did tell them about the importance of gender but did not reveal how it could be integrated into their work. The complaint here interlocks with the demand for more and better tools. Indeed, gender training, as the experience of the FAO shows, should possibly best not be made mandatory. It should, moreover, be conceptualised with the trainees in mind. Sector specific training courses where the participants contribute cases and problems from their own work might create more ownership and greater responsiveness. In fact gender analysis training courses must be made so relevant to potential audiences that people gladly participate.

4.5. Organisational cultures: internal gender policies and professional mixes

Many public institutions have staff demographics that are skewed to the benefit of men, who monopolise high-level decision-making positions, with women gathering at the lower levels. The fewer the women are, the more prejudice they face in situations where they are not "supposed to be". These structural dynamics have unfortunate consequences, leaving women to either leave the institution, to embrace the prejudice and act accordingly or to increase performance in order to gain recognition (Staudt, 1998:65). The last option might also imply the women refuse to deal with gender issues in order not to jeopardise their career.

Suggestions are that institutions require a critical mass of women to be able to change such organisational cultures. WID/gender lobbies thus target an improvement of internal institutional gender balance as one aspect of gender mainstreaming. The employment of more women, particularly in managerial positions is not sufficient to ensure gender mainstreaming or greater institutional responsiveness to gender concerns. There are indications that the employment of women is not just a matter of organisational justice, but that it also opens for a change in organisational culture, because essentially women pursue different management styles (Adler, 1994:26). Despite the dangers of assimilation and co-optation experience seems to suggest that a critical mass of women can have significant impact on organisational cultures: the influence of women in Scandinavian countries have had on politics has been documented. It is possibly not without reason that women make up a high percentage of employees in development agencies which pursue gender mainstreaming seriously. Examples are development agencies in the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Canada.

Within UNDP which has been more successful than other UN agencies (with the exception of UNIFEM) in recruiting women, employees clearly noticed that most women managers are much more supportive than men to gender balance policies, not on account of corporate policies but on account of being woman. A typology of bureaucratic responses to gender mainstreaming also suggests that supporters of WID policy goals are mainly women (and some men), while "hesitators" and "hard-liners" who rejects those policies to varying degrees are predominantly men.

Moreover, evidence seems to suggest that organisational cultures dominated by male interests are particularly resistant to gender mainstreaming and to the employment of women. The World Bank has often been identified as "a bastion of male privilege" which constitutes "an uncompromising place for women" (Jahan 1995:78 ff.), and FAO seems to share a similar reputation. All three organisations surveyed here, have in fact taken measures to increase the number of women employees, particularly at higher levels, but both FAO and World Bank has had only moderate success even though special measures were introduced. The World Bank for a period employed a WID adviser in the personnel department to push for an acceleration of women's recruitment and promotion in the Bank. FAO, on the other hand, has promoted internal gender balance policies in public speeches and has employed a female director of personnel. Both organisations claim to have difficulties finding qualified women. According to Jahan the supposed lack of qualified women partly stems from agencies looking in the wrong places (governments and banks rather

than NGOs). In FAO it has been suggested that women already employed at lower levels should more readily be promoted to avoid window-dressing with women in a few managerial positions.

Difficulties finding women might also be related to the fact that many agencies, and the three surveyed here are amongst them, have not been flexible enough to put in place gender responsive career development policies, such as flexible maternity leave, flexitime, employment opportunities for spouses and the like. Even in UNDP married women with children tend to be unable to take up difficult country postings and thus face problems in promotion. FAO thought it was difficult to persuade married career women to live in Rome, because spouses would find it difficult to find employment, yet no strategy to counter the problem had been put in place.

Organisational cultures might also be influenced by disciplines that dominate any given institution, particularly if curricula for the discipline tend to be not particularly responsive to social issues. A former social scientist employed in the Bank, for example, suggested that the hegemony of economists worked against the mainstreaming of cross-cutting social issues, amongst them gender. Social scientists thus "felt like an endangered species". Therefore, after some years of service social scientists tended to subscribe to the dominant organisational culture. Similar responses were heard in FAO with its predominance of natural scientists, who tend to have little social science training. In such settings, suggests Staudt, WID missions remain isolated and disconnected from the mainstream, and internal coalition building is underdeveloped.

It is, of course, much easier to change the internal gender distribution of institutions than to change the disciplinary mix particularly of specialised agencies, such as the World Bank and FAO. However, both organisations have committed themselves to a number of cross-cutting social issues, which should also be reflected in the staff composition.

4.6. Gender mainstreaming at the country-level

The evaluation found that in all three organisations gender mainstreaming is weakest at the country level. It almost seems as if the policy goal of gender mainstreaming weakens with organisational distance from the centre.

All three organisations have been going through processes of decentralising responsibility and authority from the centre to the regions and country representations. Within the World Bank the country offices and the country representations can decide if they engage in gender mainstreaming, appoint gender focal points or gender co-ordinators, or support gender training or not. It is also the Resident Representative and the Country Director who guide the direction of the content of the Country Assistance Strategies, decide on the consultants to be hired and Task Teams to be put together to research background material and so on. Country directors and Resident Representative thus decide together with the country economist and key national stakeholders as from Ministries of Finance and Planning if the CAS has a gender content or not. As shown more detailed in the case study gender mainstreaming is weak even in the World Bank's centre and it is therefore unlikely that checks and balances are applied with regard to gender issues in country dialogue and strategies.

The situation is different for UNDP country representations in that gender mainstreaming carries a stronger mandate, and country representatives are theoretically responsible for applying corporate policy goals, including gender policies. However, the reality is otherwise. UNDP Resident Representative can avoid attention to gender, and even if there are checks, these can be circumvented. One is the programme approval procedure, made not very effective by the fact that gender can be included to make the proposal acceptable and thereafter sidelined or forgotten. Ultimately it is the Resident Representative who influences the content and budget of country programmes and whether efforts are applied in terms of gender mainstreaming.

The situation with FAO offices at country level is worse, since the FAO representatives have little influence on the types of projects at country level. FAO country offices are very small, acting as a "mail box" between government and FAO headquarters. Projects are often executed by national staff or international staff hired for the particular position. It is thus accidental if these staff members are gender aware or not, or if they have been gender trained. There has not been much gender training at the country level. In fact, FAO staff in two of the three country-level studies seemed to suggest that their offices did in fact have nothing to do with gender at all. Problematic, too, seems the communication not only from country to headquarters but also from country to regional office. In fact communication to the sub-regional office in Harare, has, in the experience of the evaluation team, been inadequate. In two of the three FAO country offices included in this evaluation FAO representatives claimed not to have received guidelines, policy decisions or even the Plan of Action.

The evaluation found that the depth of gender mainstreaming of country offices of the three organisations varies widely, between countries and organisations. The reasons for this remain unclear, and do not seem to hinge on either the level of gender mainstreaming within the organisation, or the gender policies and attitudes of the host country. While UNDP was considered to be at the cutting edge of gender mainstreaming in Malawi and Bangladesh, much ahead of World Bank and FAO, UNDP performance on gender mainstreaming in Uganda was under the current Res Rep almost non-existent. Likewise, World Bank performance on gender mainstreaming was considered satisfactory in Uganda and Bangladesh, but next to absent in Malawi. These variations seem to be largely related to the degree of willingness of the country representations to embrace gender issues.

Moreover, whether gender mainstreaming is implemented or not does not significantly depend on the recipient country's willingness to discuss or embrace gender, even though this is often used as a reason for slow implementation at country level. Uganda is a case in question: The government of Uganda has shown an interest and willingness to implement gender equality policies and it has a well developed gender ministry, yet UNDP has not integrated gender into its current CCF, nor has the office consulted with the Ministry of Gender. The World Bank office by contrast has co-operated with the Ministry on a number of occasions and has also integrated gender into Uganda poverty assessments, even though the findings have found their way into the CAS only in an inconsistent manner.

These findings raise questions about the benefit of gender mainstreaming for the target populations. Does mainstreaming actually change the way target groups and stakeholders are dealt with at the project level? This evaluation seems to indicate that consistent gender mainstreaming at the centre does not mean automatic translation of these aims onto the country level. Even more uncertain is the effect on the target population, and on the ways project development and implementation happen. This uncertainty is partly due to the fact that the country representatives do not feel sufficiently responsible for gender mainstreaming at country level, and that project and programme planning and implementation does not mandate gender mainstreaming techniques to a sufficient degree, particularly when it comes to post-planning stages. Moreover, both development agencies and development partners have largely failed to establish indicators to monitor the achievement of their goals. The failure is particularly evident with regard to monitoring impact of policies on the ground. Jahan suggests that this has to do with the fact that gender mainstreaming has often turned into a goal in itself rather than being a means to the goal of gender equality (1995: 106).

The UNGAD initiative of the UN representative in Malawi is to be commended. Given that UNDP is the leading organisation with regard to gender mainstreaming, the initiative to promote a joint UN gender policy is laudable. Such a joint policy might not only remind UNDP of its gender mainstreaming goal and obligate the organisation to be pro-active on the matter, but it also might initiate gender mainstreaming activities in organisations who are not very pro-active. UNGAD did not have that effect on either FAO or World Bank offices in Malawi yet, but this might change with time and pressure.

UNGAD might thus act as a control mechanism and might help prevent the current situation where gender mainstreaming in the UN system is ultimately a matter of personal commitment of individuals, and where performance thus varies tremendously between countries and between Resident Representatives. Given that the aim is to encourage the governments of partner countries to embrace gender mainstreaming, an on-and-off approach to gender can be very damaging indeed. Consistency in policy should at least be the goal.

Beyond organisational co-operation and co-ordination, gender mainstreaming must at the country level seek to build bridges to the target group, be that via NGO's or the national machinery for women. What needs to be part of the gender mainstreaming agenda should be capacity building of the gender mainstreaming ability of the host country. The ability of national WID/gender lobbies to translate gender concerns into consultative and participatory approaches should be strengthened. Thus the voices of the "women on the ground" should be part of the mainstreaming agenda of development organisations, because ultimately the success and progress of gender mainstreaming can only be measured at the field level.

4.7. Internal accountability: monitoring and evaluation

Gender mainstreaming is an elusive agenda and it might also be an illusive one, if we look at the pit-falls and inefficiencies of measuring it. Even though agencies look more and more to internal accountability to ensure compliance with WID/gender mandates, WID accountability measures have as a rule not been established.

Comparative literature suggests that most development agencies measure gender mainstreaming via the gender distribution of agency personnel, the WID/gender classification of budgets and the WID/gender

classification of projects. By and large project proposals, poverty assessments, and country strategies are counted according to the degree of gender inclusiveness (often divided into gender specific, gender integrated, and gender relevant or similar) which emphasise WID intentions and efforts rather than actual results. This means that they do not measure what actually happens or happened on the ground. Such quantitative input oriented indicators might capture the degree of political correctness only. Moreover, agencies have, according to Jahan (1995:52), concentrated on measuring the adoption of gender mainstreaming instruments and procedures rather than the way these measures have affected the aid recipients.

There is a realisation across the board suggesting that the measurement of the effect of gender mainstreaming must remain weak as long as agencies fail to supply goals and timeframes against which to measure progress. Further than that, indicators to measure the goals must be established at the outset. These must also move from being quantitative only, to include qualitative indicators such as empowerment. The UNDP Human Development Reports have begun to deal with operationalising such qualitative measures successfully.

There is, however, a realisation in UNDP that monitoring and evaluation tools to measure the impact of gender mainstreaming need to be further developed. The FAO has perhaps gone furthest of the three agencies in trying to define goals and indicators of gender mainstreaming in their Plan of Action for Women and development, but the goals and indicators used by the agencies are also input and activity oriented. In fact, FAO has promised to improve the monitoring of its field programmes to include indicators for monitoring progress on the integration of women, to capture data on women's participation throughout the project cycle and to report on achievements (FAO 1996a:27). Yet, no real progress has been made on the issue in the organisations evaluated here.

Experience from bilateral development agencies suggests that even the gender friendly ones are still experimenting with appropriate indicators of measurement. Most commonly used are the fourfold OECD/DAC classification criteria, which have been included in the guidelines for the statistical reporting to the DAC by member countries from 1990 onwards. They are defined as

- Women from the aid-recipient countries must be consulted and given active participation;
- WID expertise must be utilised throughout the project cycle;
- Barriers to female participation must be identified; and
- Measures must be introduced to overcome them.

Canadian, Scandinavian and Dutch development agencies, for example, have introduced a WID/gender category into their internal accounting systems which was defined as fulfilling one or more of the four OECD/ DAC criteria. A number of bilateral development agencies, including NORAD and the Netherlands, used the OECD/DAC categorisation as a basis of institutional target setting. However, agencies discovered that they were not suitable as a base for target setting because they were too vague and multi-interpretable (see box).

Experiences with OECD/DAC criteria in the Netherlands

The development agency of the Netherlands (DGIS) had been using OECD/DAC measures since 1988 which in a policy document of 1990 determined that "by 1998 50% of expenditure on Dutch activities in programmes which are of direct importance to women (...) must satisfy the OECD/DAC criteria". Experiences in the Netherlands with using DAC criteria indicate that they are deemed important in raising attention about women's participation in project planning and implementation by 80% of the respondents of a recent evaluation, but only 43% deemed them a useful tool to ascertain how much aid benefits women. Use as a basis for target figures was thus deemed doubtful (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands, 1998:136).

Jahan has also pointed to the gap between OECD/DAC classified projects and projects with some WID involvement, with the latter being consistently higher. Gaps also exist between WID/gender relevant projects and projects that are classified as having a WID/gender budget. The issue here was that only a fraction of the projects with WID/gender involvement had WID/ gender budgets.

Budgets and the accuracy of measuring financial accountability to gender mainstreaming is an even more elusive goal. Even though agencies might set financial targets, the very nature of gender mainstreaming means that funds are dispersed and not easily identified. Moreover, even though financial accountability

might also, as Staudt (1998:180) suggests, represent incentives for staff to meet targets, the very idea of separately accounting for gender budgets might run counter to the very idea of mainstreaming. Yet, some kind of financial accountability should be in place not only to measure mainstreaming results but to also make sure that departmental or sectoral budgets take account of gender mainstreaming goals. UNDP which has set funding targets for gender mainstreaming of between 20 and 28 % for various programmes, is also working on indicators to financially track the allocation of such funds.

Other unsolved problems in monitoring and evaluation relate to the capacity of the unit responsible for monitoring or evaluating. Initially WID/gender units themselves fulfilled this task, something that has now been delegated to central evaluation and monitoring departments. In the case of the FAO, which has gone to some lengths trying to make departments responsible to gender mainstreaming via the Plan of Action, however, ultimately leave gender focal points in charge of monitoring the implementation of the action plan. The focal points, however, have neither the capacity nor sufficient authority to undertake such a task. Moreover, project evaluation is often done by consultants, who might have no background knowledge of gender analysis. Extensive guidelines and indicators, which should be result oriented, must be supplied. This also applies to dealings with the recipient countries and their ability and willingness to collect gender disaggregated data, specific enough to be used as a baseline for gender equality indicators.

4.8. Making staff do gender mainstreaming: screening, mandates and staff appraisals

Policies, goals and targets might help to create an organisational climate that favours compliance with goals such as gender mainstreaming. Moreover, rather than making every employee vaguely responsible for mainstreaming, responsibility must be delegated to specific individuals. Experience has shown that focal points are placed low in the organisational hierarchy and are too over-burdened with other tasks to be effective. Again the FAO example of leaving divisional plans in the hands of focal points, rather than divisional chiefs, comes to mind. The World Bank, on the other hand, will have to clearly think about the diffused responsibility structure of the "strategic compact" and assign responsibilities to gender and other cross-cutting social issues to avoid them being marginalised. UNDP has made a right step by placing the responsibility of gender mainstreaming at the highest level, with senior management. Yet, our country level assessment of UNDP performance in Uganda suggests that compliance of senior management to gender mainstreaming goals is not always forthcoming.

Corporate goals alone might thus not be sufficient. Tougher measures might be needed to "enforce" compliance. But mandatory gender mainstreaming measures have not fared well where they have been tried out. Mandatory gender training at FAO in the early 1990s, meant to create a corporate policy goal, raised the hackles of the non-converted, alienating them further from the goals. Yet, when gender training is not mandatory, those who need training most, that is senior management and "hard-liners", might not participate at all.

Other mandatory measures such a screening of project proposals, might be successful in getting gender concerns into proposals at the planning stage. But they also have a number of drawbacks in that they slow down the project approval process considerably, and in that they require capacity to do the screening, something that most WID/gender units do not have. More importantly, project screening did not always result in an actual improvement of attention to gender concerns in project implementation. In almost all cases the screen caused ritualistic and meaningless insertion of gender paragraphs which have no consequence on actual project performance.

Screening of project proposals alone is an incomplete strategy since it does not take account of actual project performance. This was the conclusion of a 1996 review of the World Bank's mandatory environmental assessment screening (EA). The review found that even though effectiveness could be established at the level of project planning EA screening was less effective in ensuring that EA results were adhered to during project implementation. The review highlighted the importance of ensuring that bidding documents and construction contracts also reflected the EA process. It recommended the strengthening of environmental supervision of project implementation and suggested the use of local specialists and NGOs for such tasks (World Bank, 1996e). Similarly the review of one component of the EA, dealing with involuntary resettlement, suggested that screening improved the planning of projects but criticised that Bank supervision and monitoring of field activities had not improved "in tandem with the planning phase". The review concluded that "the main failings were not so much due to lack of Bank attention as to the difficulty in reaching Bank objectives using "plans" rather than "results" as the touchstone of quality management" (World Bank 1998c:7).

Experiences with mandatory gender project screening

The German development agency, BMZ (GTZ), introduced mandatory project screening in 1993. It implies that all institutional projects include attention to women, lest delays or even rejection would result. If there is a veto only the under-secretary can overrule this. By 1994 experiences showed that rather than leading to confrontations, the mandate opened for dialogue and compromise to avoid conflict and delays resulting in revised proposals. Initially half of the projects proposals had to be revised, but this decreased to 25% after a year of practice. WID advocates in BMZ believe that the countersignature procedure has been more effective in encouraging cross-sector project attention to women than any other strategy. The drawback has been immense pressure on the staff of the 4 person WID/gender unit (Staudt 1998:206)

USAID procedures originally required a "women-impact" statement in each project proposal. The WID staff, who reviewed proposals, realised that the lengthy review process was useless because proposals merely recycled a token paragraph on women from one proposal to the next. The procedure was replaced by more specific requirements on gender disaggregated data and strategies (Staudt 1998:71).

The development agency of the Netherlands introduced a development screening test in 1992. It was aimed at testing project proposals for compliance with three main objectives of Dutch policy, including women's autonomy (the Dutch term denoting empowerment). The test includes questions related to OECD/DAC criteria and on the expected effects of interventions on women with respect to an 11 point checklist for women's autonomy. Funding is withheld if negative effects are expected for one or more of these policy objectives. However, according to a recent evaluation only one case of a rejection of a project on the basis of this test has been known in 6 years. Moreover, evidence suggests that non-compliance with WID/gender policy goals had no negative repercussions. Not surprisingly, users of the test consider it an administrative ritual, and even senior management believed that the test was only "pro forma" and "on paper" (Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1998:139).

Staff performance appraisals have been used to hold staff accountable to gender mainstreaming. UNDP and the World Bank have staff performance appraisals. These do, however, not feature performance on gender mainstreaming. The hope in UNDP initially was to introduce a reward system to motivate middle management staff, interested in moving up the corporate ladder, to improve their WID performance. A 1997 appraisal of gender mainstreaming still calls for staff to account for their gender planning efforts as part of the staff appraisal process and for incentives to encourage staff to be compliant with corporate goals (Mondesire, 1997:13).

CIDA's experiences with staff appraisals also led them to concentrate responsibility with senior management rather than spread responsibility amongst all staff members in a diffuse way. Similar strategies were amongst others taken by Germany's BMZ in 1993. In the 1985 strategies NORAD mandated WID responsibilities at the highest level, with the Minister and Secretary General of Development Co-operation (Government of Norway 1985; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, 1993)

CIDA experiences with staff performance appraisal

In 1986 the CIDA WID Action Plan delegated all CIDA branches to ask employees to specify WID responsibility where applicable in their work-plan objectives; and to take performance on WID into account in staff performance appraisal. Thus CIDA hoped to persuade officers to allocate time and resources towards WID objectives if they had the necessary resources and were required by performance appraisals and job descriptions to meet specific performance criteria. However, an evaluation in 1992 found that performance review had not worked very well because it was too vague and diffuse. It also stated that to make everybody responsible meant that nobody was responsible. Instead key managers should be held accountable for WID performance only. Moreover, performance appraisal tended to become, like project screening, "mechanical" and "neglected". (Jahan, 1995:45ff.)

Like monitoring and evaluation, project screening and staff appraisals can, however, only work if measurable goals of WID/gender performance and timetables have been set to measure performance against. In the event, reviews vaguely measured the WID performance of agency staff for non-specific targets. In Jahan's view the absence of institutionalised targets actually meant that accountability will still rest on the personal commitment of top decision makers, and thus would vary with personalities (Jahan, 1995:46). Suggestions in UNDP have been made that successful gender mainstreaming would also have to allow for horizontal decision-making to facilitate staff to interact and to share experiences (Mondesire, 1997:11).

5. Recommendations: Norwegian assistance to gender concerns in multilateral agencies

Norway has targeted assistance to multilateral agencies on two levels: it uses the organisations as a channel for Norwegian development assistance and tries to influence the organisations' development philosophy. Gender equality has been very high on Norway's interaction agenda with the multilateral organisations. Together with other Scandinavian donors, Norway has focused on gender concerns in speeches in the governing bodies and in presenting proposals. Earmarked funds have boosted WID/gender divisions with personnel, "seed money" for pilot projects, seminars and policy papers. In addition, Norway has been a major supporter of the UN's own women's organisations, UNIFEM and INSTRAW.

Up until the mid nineties efforts have gone into "contributing towards ensuring that the multilateral organisations' decision-making bodies enter into binding agreements to integrate the women's perspective into their activities" (Government of Norway 1994:52). This was done through consistent *and persistent lobbying in governing boards* of the organisation, at a time when not many other donors pursued gender issues. Concurrently, once WID units were sanctioned, Norwegian *funded WID personnel and trust funds* made their operations possible. These operations prominently aimed to establish WID concerns within the organisations. Support for the *production of policy documents* and concept papers were a major effort in anchoring WID concerns. Attempts at broadening the information base on the role of women, through *pilot research projects*, pilot country gender assessments and country baseline studies, as well as research into innovative WID/gender approaches and best practice studies, where all aimed at establishing gender concerns as valid and important factors in development policy.

After WID units had established themselves and attracted more funds from their own organisations' budgets, Norway's efforts changed towards operationalising WID policy goals within the organisations. Much of this activity has been directed towards mainstreaming gender. *Tools and guidelines* facilitating the integration of gender concerns in the mainstream have been part of this. More recently increased efforts have been made to support *gender concerns in mainstream projects*. In addition, within UNDP for example, Norway has recently lobbied for a stronger focus on operationalising gender policy at the *country level*, stressing dialogue with member countries and assessing the efficacy of gender focal points, tools and other strategies on the ground.

Effects of Norwegian assistance

Even though it is not possible to causally link developments in multilateral organisations directly to Norwegian funding, it is fair to say that at least in the late 80s such influence was undeniable. Then Norway carried in some cases more than half of the budget of WID units (in the World Bank), seconded Norwegian personnel (in UNDP and the World Bank), at a time when gender advocacy was still largely a Scandinavian priority. Today, when gender concerns are raised by more countries and trust funds are no longer directed to WID units only, causal links are, maybe appropriately, less easily made. This has also in the past been the case with Norwegian support to WID/gender concerns in FAO, which due to the historical circumstances (existing large WID unit with regular programme funds), required mainly operational funds for specific activities from the late eighties onwards. However, the Norwegian advocacy role in the governing body of the FAO has also been very pronounced, and had great effect in this specialised agency.

Supporting central WID units and its operations was possibly an easier funding goal than is the new task of assisting the operationalisation of gender policies. Yet, this policy direction is a sound one. The evaluation clearly established that policies alone carry a very weak organisational mandate, and that all three organisations to varying degrees needed to further operationalise their gender mainstreaming policy. UNDP has gone furthest with this, and consequently was found to have the strongest WID/gender mandate. At country level gender mainstreaming mandates were found to be much weaker since its operationalisation is less developed than at headquarters. The evaluation found this to be a particularly serious shortcoming for FAO country level operations.

The challenge: How to operationalise gender mainstreaming

The evaluation team thus agrees with the recent shift of Norwegian assistance to gender concerns moving to an emphasis on operationalisation of policy goals particularly at country and field levels. In this respect any strategy formulation should keep in mind that gender mainstreaming is not a goal in itself but is a means to achieve greater gender equality particularly in the target population. Even though greater gender equality within the development organisations is also a goal, it will ultimately have to show positive effects, also in qualitative terms, at the field level. Reference here is made to the great need for suitable indicators, targets and time frames to facilitate sensible measuring and monitoring of progress.

The successful operationalisation of gender mainstreaming means that activities should no longer be located in the gender unit only. As such concerns spread through the organisations there will, at least for a period of time, be a need to direct gender ear-marked funds throughout programmes, projects and departments. Far from making gender units obsolete, this development should involve a strengthening of the authority of such gender units by placing them in a position where they are more readily able to influence and guide departmental operations. Efforts must also be made that gender focal points are in place and that they have the resources and authority to fulfil their task. Concurrently efforts must be made to ensure that senior management is committed to and compliant with gender mainstreaming goals.

Within the World Bank the situation is somewhat different since the WID/gender unit was elevated in the "strategic compact". Here priority should be given to monitor the operations of the Gender Sector Board in the diffused new structure. Given that the gender mainstreaming mandate is very weak, gender expertise might not fare well in competition with more technical expertise, or with cross-cutting issues that carry a stronger mandate such as the environment.

Recommendations for a general strategy for assistance to gender concerns

The evaluation team believes that Norway should pursue the operationalisation of gender mainstreaming via advocacy in the governing bodies of the organisations, in other relevant bodies, such as the UN Commission for Gender Equality, and through ear-marked trust funds to "jump-start" important activities and processes. Advocacy in the governing boards and organisations should focus particularly on issues related to *internal accountability*, particularly of senior management and on the need to focus attention more concretely on country operations and the field level. Also important here is a strong lobby pushing for *participatory methods* and procedures, which include dialogue with member countries. In addition advocacy should continue to include *internal gender balance* issues, particularly in the case of World Bank and FAO and should raise the lack of gender-responsive career development policies in all three organisations.

Norwegian funding strategy should be directed towards gender mainstreaming in mainstream projects and programmes. Opportunities to directly support gender mainstreaming approaches in mainstream projects and programmes is possibly most urgent in organisations like World Bank and FAO which are more resistant to the gender concept. Supplying extra-budgetary funds to include a gender perspective in departments or programmes not willing to allocate regular programme funds might help overcome resistance. Such an approach might have best results if a *cost sharing* formula is applied. A convenient entry point for such endeavours are *cross-cutting programmes* and projects, such as the Special Programme for Food Security in FAO. In addition, and with no additional funding, there should be more emphasis on making sure that Norwegian support to on-going programmes, projects and units other than the gender unit are in fact directly linked to the achievement of gender equality. A specific strategy is needed to ensure that Norway uses all available opportunities to *strengthen gender equality in other initiatives* that it supports and that all support is monitored from a gender perspective.

Funding for activities that broaden knowledge about and towards gender mainstreaming should take precedence. The most important elements here are the need to review existing practices and institutional arrangements, to extend knowledge on the "lessons learnt" also *beyond the UN system*, and on the basis of those lessons carefully assess opportunities to *increase internal accountability* to gender mainstreaming. Dealing with the improvement of monitoring and evaluation systems by moving from an input oriented to a *more process and results oriented* approach is one part of this endeavour, looking at *staff incentives or sanctions* to increase compliance with gender mainstreaming goals is another more delicate part. Within this strategy the following important activities come to mind:

- The production of sector and target group specific tools, such as guidelines and training based on participatory approaches, which should also include senior management;
- The improvement of monitoring and evaluation indicators and the establishment of goals and timeframes for gender mainstreaming including field level implementation data;
- The development of better systems of monitoring and possibly supervising the implementation of gender mainstreaming in projects;
- Support for a detailed assessment of **all** current gender mainstreaming (i.e. counting the activities that might be beyond the purview of the gender unit) in organisations of interest to Norway.
- Research addressing the efficacy of mainstreaming, such as focal points, tools and guidelines with a view to establishing best practices;

- Research addressing existing experiences with establishing internal accountability measures such as project screening, staff evaluations and the like, also outside the UN system, in bilateral development organisations, and other government departments;
- Events and networks that strengthen communication within and between agencies, that help establish participatory consultation between headquarters, country office and field level;
- Support for the establishment and strengthening of gender focal points at regional and country levels.

Specific recommendations for assistance to UNDP, FAO and World Bank

The above recommendations apply to Norwegian assistance to gender concerns in the multilateral system in general. Based on the three case studies (chapters 6-8) the evaluation team puts forward the following specific recommendations for future Norwegian assistance to UNDP, FAO and World Bank.

In **UNDP** the priority areas for intervention include commitment and training for senior management, a review of the gender focal point system, user-friendly tools, the monitoring of all projects supported by Norway and a monitoring of UNDAF activities.

The need to *ensure senior management commitment* to and compliance with mainstreaming should be flagged in all relevant dialogues and in all meetings in which Norway and UNDP interacts. Specifically recommended is a follow-up baseline *assessment of gender mainstreaming* in a larger sample of programme countries than previously. The focus of this assessment should be to evaluate the level of management commitment, the assumption by management of responsibility, and the degree to which this is concretely reflected in policy dialogue at country level and in Country Co-operation Frameworks.

Direct support for capacity building for senior management in gender mainstreaming skills should be provided. Questions should be raised about the role and activities of the Learning Resources Centre, and the current capacity building for gender focal points should be broadened to include senior management.

Because of the importance of the gender focal point system in supporting management's responsibility to mainstream, a *review should be made of the gender focal point system*, both at headquarters and in particular at country level. The emphasis should be on finding best practices which ensure support for gender focal points by senior management and which heighten the impact of their work on gender mainstreaming in country programmes.

Given that UNDP staff say they require "tools" for gender mainstreaming, experiences in using the Gender Mainstreaming Kit at country level should be documented and assessed. In addition, there should be advocacy, and where necessary funding, to support the *development of user-friendly tools* such as kits in UNDP units other than GIDP, where Norway has an interest.

UNDP has acknowledged the need to improve the monitoring and evaluation capacity towards better *indicators and baselines*. Given that UNDP has made progress in establishing qualitative indicators such as empowerment and gender equality, efforts for the development of suitable indicators for assessments of project impact might well be most effectively placed within UNDP.

There is a need to make sure that Norwegian support to various UNDP units and programmes other than GIDP is directly linked to achievement of gender equality. A specific strategy is needed to ensure that Norway uses all available opportunities to strengthen *gender equality in other initiatives* than it supports.

Because of the importance of UN reforms including the UNDAF initiative at country level, the *UNDAF experience* in strengthening and co-ordinating gender equality mainstreaming initiatives should be carefully followed and specific questions raised about the achievements and constraints in this respect in each UNDAF country.

In **FAO** priority areas for intervention include the strengthening of the accountability of senior management to gender mainstreaming, the upgrading of the focal points at headquarters and an extension of the focal point system at regional and country level, improvement of communication between headquarters and country and field levels, spreading gender mainstreaming support to projects and programmes other than the WID unit.

Senior management in the FAO has resisted being made responsible for gender mainstreaming, both within COWID and via the Plan of Action for Women and Development. This issue should be raised by Norway in all consultations with the FAO and be flagged in FAO conferences, possibly with the support of the like-minded donor group. In addition to the review of COWID recently done in connection with an assessment of

training needs, the monitoring of *the implementation of the Plan of Action should be reviewed* and adjusted to possibly include stricter reporting methods and sanctions that would encourage more commitment at headquarters. Even more urgent is a *review of senior management commitment at country level*. The review should focus on the training and information needs of country representatives.

In addition FAO has started reviewing the experiences and needs of gender focal points at headquarters pointing to a lack of resources, time and authority to execute their tasks. The tasks and allocations to *gender focal points should most urgently be reviewed*, and Norwegian advocacy should stress the need to up-grade the position of focal points. Even more important is a review of gender focal points in regions and at country levels. Given that there are very few full-time gender focal points even at regional level, Norway might consider funding of additional posts at sub-regional levels, to improve communication between headquarters and country-level. In this respect, Norway should lobby for the appointment of gender focal points in country offices to be made mandatory.

The efficacy of the Plan of Action for Gender and Development could be improved by including specified results oriented targets and timeframes, and by suggesting *suitable indicators for monitoring progress*. More importantly the role of gender focal points in monitoring the implementation of the plan should be urgently reviewed. The team is of the opinion that this task is way beyond the capacity of focal points and should be administered centrally. We suggest that a review of the successes and weakness of the current Plan of Action would go a long way in improving the next, due in 2001.

There is an urgent need to *improve communication between headquarters and the field-level*. Workshops like the Norwegian funded "Harvesting Best Practices" held in 1997, which brought the two sides together might be the most effective way of improving communications and allowing for a cross fertilisation of ideas on gender mainstreaming. We recommend that Norway funds such events in the future and at regular intervals. The model could prove to be useful for other UN organisations.

There is an unrealised field of opportunities for Norway to ensure that *projects funded by Norway within the FAO outside the WID unit* should comply with gender equality goals. In addition there are ample opportunities to encourage the inclusion of gender concerns by offering extra budgetary funds or by specifying gender components at the projects which are accepted for funding. Opportunities should be taken in divisions such as fisheries, which receive a large share of the Norwegian trust funds. Other opportunities should be sought in cross-cutting programmes such as the Special Programme for Food Security.

Norway should continue to question the lack of progress on improving the *internal gender balance* which is heavily skewed towards men particularly in middle and upper management.

FAO has made good experiences with *sector specific gender mainstreaming tools*. The participatory approach of such guidelines is recommended for funding in a larger range of technical departments. The model for such sector specific guidelines might be exported to other agencies.

In the **World Bank** priorities should centre around the operationalisation of policy, internal accountability of senior management also at country level, policy dialogue at country level, a greater emphasis on training and tools, and the follow up of gender issues in project implementation.

In order to raise the World Bank's policy on gender beyond paper, efforts should be made to persuade the Bank towards *specifying the measures the Bank intends to take*, and the goals and targets it sets itself. Such a specification will help strengthen the weak mandate gender mainstreaming carries in the Bank today.

In view of the weak commitment to gender mainstreaming the team recommends that an assessment of the commitment to mainstreaming at headquarters, in the Regions and at country and field levels exists, to identify constraints. The assessment should include constraints of gender focal points. Further than that Norway should lobby for the appointment of *gender focal points to be made mandatory* at country level.

Greater lobbying efforts should be made with regard to *the inclusion of gender into CAS*. The inclusion should be such that gender is an integral part of CAS. Strengthening the importance of gender in Poverty Assessments might be one way of increasing its weight in CAS. Since the CAS is such a strategic document, the Bank might want to consider establishing a mild form of gender screening for CAS.

Related to the above issue is the proposed investigation into *budget use by task managers*. It should be investigated if task managers are in fact able to buy gender expertise amongst "more pressing" needs for technical expertise, when assembling Task teams. The review should try to capture the reasons for making decisions on task teams. Bottlenecks could thus be removed.

The team recommends that a careful analyses of the monitoring of the implementation of gender clauses in project plans through the implementation of projects. Given that gender often evaporates from project proposal to implementation stage, forms of *project supervision* after the model of the environmental screening might be useful.

There should be a greater emphasis in the Bank on country consultation on issues related to gender concerns. For this to happen, there is a great need to improve the knowledge of the gender concept and gender analysis in World Bank staff, particularly at regional/country level. More rigorous *gender training* than has been happening in the past should be considered, particularly of country directors and task managers.

Norway should continue to make efforts to advocate for a widening of the efficiency approach to gender to include *human rights* inspired justifications. This would be more in line with the Bank's recent emphasis on human dimensions and with general trends in the UN system. Ultimately the emphasis on gender as an issue of improving development efficiency might backfire in that gender equality is no longer the issue at all.

The team finds it very necessary to carefully monitor the *performance of the Gender Board* in the "strategic compact". Questions that must be addressed should focus on the improvements gained by having a gender network that reaches through the organisation, the frequency and sources of gender expertise utilisation on the Bank internal consultancy market. Such careful monitoring is hoped to reveal any problems and opportunities the new Gender Sector Board might have.

The World Bank has had mixed success with regard to *gender training and tool kits*. Assessments of the effect of the tools that have been employed should open the way for improvements. Consultation with FAO, which has more extensive experience with gender mainstreaming tools is highly recommended.

Broader implications: Learning from past mistakes and alternative models

On a more general note and for the benefit of **all UN agencies**, the team recommend that much greater emphasis must be placed on learning from experiences, not only within their own organisation but also across agencies. We already suggested areas where we consider particular agencies as well placed to inspire others with their approaches and successes in gender mainstreaming. We believe that to avoid mistakes and to conserve resources *much more co-operation between UN agencies* should happen in the field of gender mainstreaming. Norway is well placed to initiate such a co-operation as an extension of the meetings hosted by the Norwegian Department of Development Co-operation in the early days of WID/gender advocacy.

We believe that to assist such co-operation and learning it would be useful to commission a *larger review of the approaches to the operationalisation of gender mainstreaming* not only within but also outside the UN organisations. A number of bilateral development agencies have had many years of experience with gender mainstreaming, which might prove useful for the future. Apart from the Nordic countries, the experiences of CIDA, Dutch Development Co-operation and governments such as Australia and New Zealand promise to enrich our knowledge of possibilities and constraints in for example working towards greater internal accountability and in specifying gender mainstreaming goals and results. In the moment very few comparative studies are available.

In the same spirit the team recommends that, in addition, gender advocacy must look beyond institutional set-ups and *consider alternative approaches to development* which are expounded by gender activists in recipient countries. Only if this happens might gender mainstreaming come to be truly agenda setting.

6. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

UNDP was established in 1966 to co-ordinate and administer UN development resources for the world's poorest countries. It is a tri-partite organisation, bringing together UNDP itself, other specialised agencies in the UN system and member states. Its "overarching mission is to help countries build national capacity to achieve sustainable human development, giving top priority to eliminating poverty and building equity."

UNDP's New York headquarters has overall policy oversight responsibility and co-ordinates country and regional work through regional bureaux. UNDP's operational support to assist countries to achieve their development priorities takes place at country level, with 134 country offices serving 174 countries. UNDP has nearly 800 core international professional staff, of whom one-third are women, and there is staff movement from headquarters to field and back again. Despite this, field staff are reported to view headquarters as something of an ivory tower, far removed from on-the-ground political, economic and cultural realities of a specific country. Staff tend to have professional backgrounds in development related

fields, not only administration but also social science which enables appreciation for and support of the multi-dimensional focus of UNDP work – poverty reduction with equity.

The mission of UNDP has become more focused over time. Earlier UNDP funded directly, or through the specialised UN agencies, a diverse array of initiatives on almost every conceivable topic. Since the late 1980s however, the mandate has focused on thematic priorities, today referred to as Sustainable Human Development, with advancement of women's status as one of the major cross-cutting themes. In support of poverty reduction with equity, the previous Country Programmes composed of many discrete projects have now embraced a more coherent programme approach.

At the country level the Resident Representative co-ordinates the UNDP-supported country programme. In some countries a Resident Co-ordinator, who is sometimes but not necessarily the UNDP Resident Representative, co-ordinates all UN development activity, within the context of the UN reform process. The highly decentralised character of UNDP has always meant that it must be sensitive to the national political and cultural context, including managing the tension between the equity focus and highly patriarchal structures and values in many countries. There are over 500 national programme officers and other local professional staff in country offices, again with one-third being women.

UNDP is governed by an Executive Board (before 1994 called the Governing Council) of 36 members, each with one vote and meeting four times a year. Norway and Denmark are currently Board members, and the Nordic countries have a long tradition of consistent and co-ordinated statements on WID and gender issues. This is a permanent Board agenda item, and UNDP reports yearly progress on actions taken on previous Board recommendations. UNIFEM reports separately from UNDP, reflecting the division of responsibility between UNIFEM as an autonomous agency which implements projects in the field, and UNDP which has its own in-house gender equality policy and related organisational forms.

The OECD states, though outnumbered on the Board by member states from the South, provide more than 90 percent of core (non-earmarked) funds to UNDP's budget. Norway is one of the largest core fund contributors after the USA, Netherlands, Denmark and Japan. In addition the industrialised countries give non-core funds, including trust funds earmarked for specific purposes. Norway has provided various types of non-core support in relation to women – to the Statistics Office, to the promotion of the role of women in water and environmental sanitation services and to capacity building for WID and gender equality initiatives within UNDP itself. This evaluation focuses on the latter.

6.1 WID and Gender Equality Policies

As the lead development agency in the UN system, policies at UNDP have been influenced by and have responded to the UN-initiated International Decade for Women, 1976-85, and the cycle of Global Women's Conferences. In the early years policy was loosely based on assumptions arising from international agreement on the need to support women's roles in development. After 1985 corporate policy was more clearly articulated as one of integrating women in development, after 1990 as empowering women and from 1995 it took on a gender equality focus.

Reflecting on twelve years' service at UNDP, one senior manager observed that there was a clear shift from "treating women as a special consideration" to the present situation in which gender equality as a development issue is "internalised in people's consciousness". The shift is by no means complete, however. WID as a special consideration and gender equality as a fundamental development imperative continue to be conflated in the thinking of some staff and especially in the way in which policy is operationalised in country programmes.

Past WID Policies and Sustainable Human Development

In response to the Women's Decade, UNDP appointed a Swedish national as its first WID adviser in 1977. She sensitised staff to the importance of integrating women in development, initiated some training and created the first system of WID focal points, staff members (at that time mostly women) located in various units at UNDP, such as Regional Bureaux, who met and discussed strategy. Corporate policy was limited to *Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development* (1977). These were included in the Programme Manual as one of the "Special Considerations in Projects". Early efforts to survey the degree to which WID was actually included in projects at country level showed that the guidelines had not contributed to inclusion of women in projects in any meaningful way other than as an "add-on" WID component in a few.

In 1987 and as the organisation's response to the Forward Looking Strategies from the 1985 Nairobi Conference, UNDP created a Division for Women in Development. At the same time it released a new policy and procedures statement stating that,

A priority concern of UNDP is to ensure the integration of women as participants and beneficiaries in all development programmes and projects. This arises not only out of the recognition that women are significant contributors to economic and social development, but also from the conviction that sustainable development is possible only if women are more effectively involved (UNDP 1987).

The clarification of UNDP policy, with its much stronger emphasis on the productive roles of women in relation to overall national development goals, was attributed by commentators who were part of UNDP at this period to the vision of the organisation's new leadership. The in-coming administrator not only created the Division of Women in Development but also, for the first time, included women/gender concerns in UNDP official policy.

In 1990, after extensive lobbying by the Director of the WID Division, the Governing Board included WID/Gender concerns as one of UNDP's priority goals. These policy goals, including that on WID/gender, were gradually drawn together into an overarching corporate policy umbrella of Sustainable Human Development (SHD) resulting in a new mission statement and mandate in 1994: "UNDP's mission is to help countries in their efforts to achieve sustainable human development by assisting them to build their capacity to design and carry out development programmes in poverty eradication, employment creation and sustainable livelihoods, the empowerment of women and the protection and regeneration of the environment, giving first priority to poverty eradication."

The SHD policy umbrella, according to many staff members, means that it is no longer necessary to "make space" for women's empowerment in UNDP's activities. Rather, said commentators, gender equality has become an integral part of the agency's fundamental mandate.

Although this may have been true in a general way, it was essential to clarify UNDP policy on women's empowerment within the context of SHD. The Gender in Development Programme, successor to the Division of WID, released a concept paper in 1995 explaining the relation of gender to the other cross-cutting themes (UNDP n.d. c1995). In spite of this, some commentators noted that even today most staff understand gender equality as a policy goal linked primarily with poverty eradication and not as clearly inter-related with the other cross-cutting themes in support of poverty eradication to achieve sustainable human development. Thus, when people at UNDP talk about women and gender issues, they typically understand them in relation to poverty rather than to sustainable livelihoods, good governance and environmental issues.

Because WID and gender policy was enmeshed in the Sustainable Human Development policy framework, there apparently seemed to be little need for corporate guidance on how to understand the nuances of changing conceptual paradigms, from "integrating women", to "empowering women" to promoting gender equality.

A recent internal workshop of the Environment Division assessed UNDP's corporate policy, including that on gender equality. Participants found that UNDP policies still lacked clarity, that they frequently changed and therefore their relevance could be questioned, that many staff had little information on policy directives and that they were insufficiently receptive to policy directives (SEED, Feb. 11-13, 1998: 40). If this is true at headquarters, it is probably even more true in country offices where policy directives are said to be seen as too general and idealistic and difficult to apply to the concrete realities of countries which execute UNDP supported programmes.

Recent Policy Initiatives

Policy development was further influenced by the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. In 1996 the Administrator sent a "Direct Line," a memorandum to Resident Representatives and Resident Co-ordinators in country offices, on Gender Equality and the Advancement of Women. Direct Line 11 reaffirms UNDP's commitment to promoting gender equality, notes the lack of progress in gender mainstreaming and in women-targeted interventions in country programmes and makes commitments, notably financial, to improve UNDP's record (UNDP, 1996f).

UNDP policy has always endorsed two approaches: specific interventions to advance the status of women and the "incorporation of women's concerns into as many projects in the mainstream of development as possible," as stated in 1987. Direct Line 11 clarifies that the goal is advancing the status of women, "whether through UNDP gender mainstreaming as a cross-cutting theme or gender-specific programmes for targeting women."

The second recent policy initiative has been to clarify what mainstreaming means, who is responsible and how it is to be carried out, in relation to the ultimate policy goal of gender equality and advancing women's

status. In 1997 senior management released a "Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming" to provide direction to the organisation's work. Mainstreaming of gender equality goals:

- is part of the reorientation of methods to ensure holistic approaches to the empowerment and well-being of people;
- is part of the processes of change in UNDP;
- is not an end in itself but a strategy for bringing about gender equality and change in countries as well as within UNDP;
- has policy, programme, human resource management, financial and administrative dimensions; and
- is mandated by the Platform for Action from Beijing (UNDP, 1997e).

In 1997 the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) adopted draft Agreed Conclusions on Gender Mainstreaming, as follows:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implication for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (United Nations 1997).

The ECOSOC resolution responds to the call for mainstreaming in the Platform for Action, applies to the entire United Nations system and therefore provides a common strategy within which UNDP's two current guiding policy statements, Direct Line 11 and the Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming, fit.

Many commentators linked the agency's gender equality policy to its internal gender balance policy. UNDP has recently revised its 1995 policy for Gender Balance in Management with a second phase programme of targets to the year 2001. By setting targets to increase the number of women in managerial and decision-making positions, the agency's ability to demonstrate to its partners at country level that it practices what it preaches will be enhanced.

Women commentators felt that most women managers were far more committed than men to supporting both gender equality and internal gender balance policies. As one put it, "we women didn't have to think about our corporate policy obligations. We just went ahead and did it, by showing ourselves to be women's champions." Many women who occupy senior managerial positions, especially in country offices, are unmarried and without children. This bias contradicts the internal gender balance policy, constrains the promotion of gender equality within the ranks of the organisation and needs to be systematically addressed.

At the present time, women constitute one-third of senior management at headquarters, but less than 25 percent of Resident Co-ordinators and Resident Representatives are women. Some women in middle management believe there is still a long way to go, internal gender balance targets notwithstanding. Men, they say, are not sanctioned for being disrespectful to women in meetings. "Gender mainstreaming only succeeds here at UNDP when a woman staff member has powerful allies. Her proposed programmes are scrutinised much more than a man's are. She has to constantly push, and that takes courage."

Assessing the past ten years however, UNDP has made considerable progress in developing its gender equality policy. Many staff met during the evaluation had internalised UNDP's policy commitment to women's advancement, in that they viewed this as a legitimate and indispensable component of SHD generally. Although UNDP speaks with one voice, as it were, on the fundamental mandate of the organisation to ensure gender equality and the advancement of women, there is also a consensus that translation of this policy into concrete actions, particularly in country programmes, requires more work in future.

Key findings from the evaluation are that:

- UNDP's policy on gender equality and women's advancement is located within the overall corporate policy context of Sustainable Human Development and within this context is widely known and accepted through-out the organisation.
- The gender equality goal is linked primarily to poverty eradication and not as well linked to the

other cross-cutting themes of SHD such as good governance.

- Although the goals of gender equality and women's advancement are widely known and accepted as legitimate, some staff do not yet have sufficient information on specific policy directives and feel they are vague and too idealistic to be applied to concrete areas of responsibility.

6.2 Organisational Forms for the Promotion of Gender Equality

UNDP has a long history of organisational development to institutionalise first Women in Development and later Gender in Development into the agency. There has been progress from a single WID adviser in 1977, through the creation of a Division of Women in Development in 1987 to the present situation in which organisational forms that together form a "gender network" are well established at UNDP headquarters. Although this network includes links to country offices as well, it is here that the organisation and structure for achieving UNDP's policy goals are still weak.

Division of Women in Development

During the late 1970s and up until the Nairobi Conference, the Nordic countries repeatedly advocated in the Governing Council for UNDP to allocate its own resources to create a stronger institutional presence for WID. A single WID adviser, from 1977, had been given the responsibility to make UNDP WID-sensitive. She had allies amongst the few "WID entrepreneurs" in the agency but had limited possibility for making an impact on a big organisation. A commentator recalled, for example, that the Adviser issued a "Letter to the Field", informing Resident Representatives of their WID-related responsibilities. But a lengthy letter, not backed by senior management support or a clear corporate policy, could clearly not have much impact.

As a result of external pressure combined with a new, supportive senior management at UNDP, the Division of Women in Development was created in 1987. The high-level post of Director was internationally advertised, and a Norwegian woman with extensive political and administrative experience assumed the position. Because she was in a high post, she had access to senior colleagues "in the corridors" and at high-level meetings in which she participated. The functions of the WID Division within the larger organisation were clarified:

- to arrange [once again] for the establishment of WID focal points in regional bureaux, field offices and other operational units;
- to liaise with these units to ensure the participation of women in UNDP programmes and projects;
- to undertake training programmes for staff and that of partner governments; and
- with the Central Evaluation Office to establish evaluation criteria to determine whether UNDP's WID objectives were achieved in implementing programmes ("Mandate for the Division for WID", n.d., c1987).

The Division was located in the Bureau for Programme Policy and Evaluation. The Director sat on committees which screened documents related to the country programme cycle in specific countries and thus had opportunity to raise WID-relevant issues. There were only two other professional officers in the Division, and the work load of trying to integrate WID aspects into so many projects, in so many country programmes, in all the regional bureaux was daunting. Besides the three staff in the Division, a WID trainer was employed in the training unit, with whom they worked closely.

As a highly decentralised organisation however, most UNDP operations took place then, and still do today, in the country offices. One of the main problems for the WID Division was to find ways of influencing decision-making in country level programming activities and to monitor what was happening in country projects and programmes. The strategy followed by the WID Division was to work entirely within the existing UNDP institutional setting. The only new mechanism established was a project review form through which actions to integrate WID perspectives could be documented at country level and assessed at headquarters. A questionnaire sent to field offices in 1989 also attempted to capture whether there was compliance at country level.

The first Director was reluctant to apply for Norwegian Trust Fund money, fearing that her nationality, Norwegian advocacy at the Governing Council and Norwegian seed money would signal donor interference and control. By 1989, however, these issues were no longer felt likely to be perceived as problems, and the Norwegian Trust Fund for support of strategic activities in line with the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies was granted. Both core and non-core funds were used by the WID Division to support an integrated approach, for example to integrate gender training as a part of regular training at the Training centre and to

support UNDP’s role in strengthening co-operation on WID within the UN family. In 1989, however, as the first Director was leaving her post, a Norwegian Trust Fund for strategic activities to promote institutional capacity building was granted.

One commentator, remembering the initial activities of the WID Division and the way it worked within the organisation, said that the few women staff "had to fight constantly to get their point of view across". Their point of view was perceived by many of their colleagues as a personal, not institutional, agenda. They were "the women’s unit" – notwithstanding the high divisional status. They alone, and no one else, were responsible for doing something within the organisation to address women’s concerns.

The present structure

In the 1990s there were changes in the position of the WID Division within UNDP, three successive directors or managers took up the post, the network throughout headquarters was strengthened and eventually fully institutionalised and efforts continued to link the headquarters’ organisational forms to country offices.

The Gender in Development Programme (GIDP)

In 1992 the WID Division was renamed the Gender in Development Programme (GIDP), continuing under this name to the present day. Commentators noted that during its first few years, GIDP suffered from personal conflicts between key managers within UNDP, subsequent staff resignations and staff shortage and from widening of the focus on WID and gender to embrace other issues such as HIV/AIDS. Its status was downgraded, and it was incorporated into the Programme Development and Support Division, which was responsible for strengthening capacity in the cross-cutting thematic areas, of which the advancement of women’s status was one. This Division is now the Bureau for Development Policy (BDP), headed by a Director/Assistant Administrator who reports directly to the Administrator as head of UNDP.

The BDP comprises three divisions: Management Development and Governance (MDGD), Sustainable Energy and Environment (SEED) and Social Development and Poverty Eradication (SEPED). Within SEPED there are four other units besides GIDP: Poverty and Sustainable Livelihoods, Civil Society and Participation, HIV and Development, and Health.

Thus, GIDP has a lower position in the bureaucratic hierarchy today than did the WID Division in the past. The following diagram shows the position of WID/ GIDP within UNDP’s structure:

Position of WID/GIDP within UNDP’s Structure

1987	1997
1. Administrator	1. Administrator
2. Bureau for Programme Policy and Evaluation	2. Bureau for Development Policy
3. Division of Women in Development	3. Social Development and Poverty Eradication Division
	4. Gender in Development Programme

There have been four WID Directors and GIDP Managers since 1987. The size of the unit has never been large, with around three to five professional staff, and an additional trainer in the training unit until about 1993.

Today GIDP carries out the following functions, among others:

- provides guidance on mainstreaming policy and the integration of gender equality concerns into management and decision-making processes;
- builds the capacity of all staff to mainstream; and
- facilitates gender analysis in programme and policy development and implementation, with a particular focus on gender as a cross-cutting theme in poverty, environment and governance policies and programmes.

GIDP's current function must be located and understood within the context of SHD priorities and the implementation of change management processes at UNDP. The terms of reference for BDP have changed, and the functions of GIDP and the way in which it works reflect this.

Change management processes (UNDP 2001) are replacing the old development assistance "culture", including for example automatic funding entitlements for country programmes and centralised control of and intervention in country programmes. "UNDP 2001" focuses on the provision of strategic development services that are aimed at efficiency, results orientation and accountability and that are client-focused and supportive of learning. Within this overall organisational context, BDP is mandated, *inter alia*, to provide development policy leadership on SHD, to develop policies, strategies and methodologies in UNDP's focus areas and to support development of the organisation's learning processes. BDP's role is therefore to provide methodologies, tools, research information and other services of a catalytic nature, and GIDP's functions are similarly catalytic.

Because BDP, and GIDP within it, support country offices at a much earlier point in the programme cycle than before, this has opened major opportunities for better impact and improved results. For example, GIDP works to strengthen management's understanding of its responsibility for gender mainstreaming with specific focus on capacity building, strengthening information systems and supporting research on key issues such as monitoring indicators. Other functions which were important in the past such as technical backstopping to operations continue, although on a reduced scale, and are primarily the responsibility of recently organised regional support units.

In spite of "UNDP 2001" and the focus on services which will have a catalytic impact on supporting SHD in client countries, some of those interviewed, who are outside of UNDP's "inner circle" of those who work with gender equality issues, were unclear on what GIDP's mandate is. A minority still see GIDP as solely responsible for "doing something about women", as was the case with the former WID Division.

GIDP also represents UNDP on the Inter-Agency Task Force on Gender Equality and the Advancement of Women, which spearheads a common UN approach, and in the gender sub-group of the Joint Committee on Global Policy. It also participates as an observer at the OECD/DAC Working Party on Gender Equality. Thus UNDP, through GIDP, is well connected to United Nations and other international bodies.

Gender Focal Points

After several false starts and need to reactivate previously created gender focal point positions, a UNDP-wide gender focal point system, at headquarters and in country offices, is now institutionalised.

Although a WID focal point system was put in place from 1987 and revived thereafter, it is clear from the written documentation and people's memories of this period that the system never functioned as intended. The Resident Representatives and Bureau heads were always intended to be the "administrative" WID/gender focal points, with assistance and backstopping from "technical" focal points whom they appointed. In reality, the technical gender focal points experienced the following constraints that made it very difficult to fulfil their multiple responsibilities:

- they were mostly junior staff;
- often JPOs, who are non-core staff on two-year contracts, were assigned the focal point responsibility and any organisational capacity which might have been built was only temporary;
- the focal point responsibility had low priority within the bureau or country office and they had little support from senior management;
- the role was an "add-on" to other responsibilities, and focal points were not given time or resources to execute their duties;
- they mostly did not have the technical expertise to handle diverse gender issues in complex country programmes;
- similarly they did not have the administrative, managerial and networking skills to be able to make a difference in UNDP country programming; and
- those in country offices were isolated and received little peer support or concrete assistance from headquarters.

As one person put it, "we felt like orphans".

Many of these constraints still apply today. Although there are still junior core staff and JPOs as focal points in some country offices, some at least are more senior in status such as Assistant Resident Representatives. At headquarters many focal points are quite senior. The focal point role continues to be an add-on to other responsibilities. Although many country office focal points do not have the technical and administrative expertise required, many have received or will receive capacity building from GIDP in the analysis, advocacy and decision-making skills needed for successful gender mainstreaming.

This capacity building is designed to strengthen the ability of focal points to work with senior managers who have ultimate responsibility for gender mainstreaming. Although it currently benefits mainly gender focal points, it is intended to yield lessons which can be applied to development of materials and approaches relevant to capacity building for the whole staff of UNDP country offices, including the management.

Besides sharpening skills of focal points, GIDP is currently putting information-sharing and networking systems in place to strengthen the focal point structure by linking headquarters with countries and countries with each other. Activities include a web-site and a newsletter. These and other activities are intended to overcome some of the identified past weaknesses of the WID/gender focal point system.

Gender Advisory Committee

In the past the focal points at headquarters met periodically to exchange information. It appears that this "informal" group was not an official forum at UNDP and that it had little influence. In the period preceding the Beijing Conference a UNDP Working Group on the Fourth World Conference on Women was constituted. After Beijing the Working Group became the Gender Advisory Committee (GAC) with the function, among others, of follow-up of actions stemming from the Platform for Action.

The GAC has more than thirty members, including GIDP staff and representatives of the regional bureaux, other divisions and units within BDP, other UNDP bureaux and UNIFEM. Among the Committee's functions are the following:

- to guide GIDP in carrying out UNDP's mandate for gender mainstreaming and women's advancement;
- through representatives of regional bureaux to liaise with country offices for up-dating on gender issues;
- to facilitate country offices to identify partners, especially in the South, for advocacy, research and programme development;
- to identify opportunities for cross bureaux collaboration;
- to share information on gender issues ("act as a clearing house") throughout UNDP;
- to identify the gender training needs of bureaux and facilitate training; and
- to facilitate and monitor the advancement of women within UNDP (UNDP, 1997f).

Because GIDP has no direct operational contact with country offices, it is dependent on focal points in the regional bureaux who meet in the GAC for transmission of information, feedback, needs identification and liaison.

The GAC seems to function well as a consultative mechanism. It meets regularly and is well attended. The current four-year Global and Regional Gender programmes, to be described below, were planned after thorough consultation in the GAC. It has also successfully lobbied the management, for example on the second phase targets in UNDP's internal gender balance plan and on the financial targets for gender mainstreaming. It has strengthened links between GIDP and the regional bureaux in particular. Interaction within the GAC is an important, but not the only, mechanism that facilitates two-way information flow and assists GIDP to support the regional bureaux to work with country offices in mainstreaming activities.

Some commentators felt that the GAC spends too much time discussing internal gender balance issues and that this should not be one of its responsibilities. Others were unclear on the Terms of Reference of the Committee, which were not circulated or reviewed regularly.

Gender Specialists

In addition to GIDP, other units and bureaux have recently employed gender specialists. In spite of a general situation of staff downsizing this demonstrates a commitment to gender equality as a fundamental UNDP mandate. Core funds have been used to employ gender specialists in the Regional Bureau for Africa

and in SEPED to engender poverty-related, macro-economic policy work. Non-core funds have been used to employ additional gender specialists in the Environment (SEED) and Governance (MDGD) divisions, as well as in some regional projects.

Because of the felt need for gender expertise in country offices, UNDP/GIDP in co-operation with UNIFEM and the United Nations Volunteer Organisation (UNV) has recently placed eighteen volunteers as gender specialists in country offices. They are responsible for supporting Resident Co-ordinators to follow-up the Platform for Action and in general for gender mainstreaming within the UNDP/government country programmes.

Institutionalisation of Gender beyond Headquarters

Although it was stated in 1987 that the Resident Representative, assisted by a field office WID focal point, had the responsibility together with partner governments to mainstream attention to women's roles into project and programme design (UNDP 1987), in reality the WID Division bore almost total responsibility. All matters with respect to this "special consideration" in projects and programmes were referred to the "women in the women's unit". Staff, especially the Director, had to advocate in order to get access to and attempt to influence projects in the initial stages of design. To the degree that this strategy worked, the few staff in the WID Division were subsequently flooded with much more work, such as reviewing project designs, than they could handle.

The 1997 "Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming" states that "senior management are the first centre of responsibility to provide active leadership in implementing the UNDP commitment to gender equality" and that they will "hold Resident Representatives and headquarters managers accountable" (UNDP, 1997g:3). The ECOSOC resolution similarly states that "responsibility for translating gender mainstreaming into practice is [UN] system-wide and rests at the highest levels" (United Nations 1997).

This is an achievement of gender equality work at UNDP and within the UN system generally: the increasingly explicit directive that responsibility rests with management. Although a system of accountability, with rewards and sanctions, is not yet in place, the principle is now established.

In reality, however, the most problematic part of the structure through which UNDP's gender equality goal is implemented is at field, or country office, level. UNDP has always been very decentralised, and this aspect of the organisation has been strengthened in recent years. In the past, after five-year country programmes were drawn up by the partner government, the UNDP country office and other participating bilateral and multilateral agencies and were approved by the Governing Council, individual projects and programmes were reviewed, discussed and approved by a hierarchy of committees at headquarters. Through the committee structure, the former WID Division had an opportunity to analyse WID issues in selected projects and programmes and to "advise."

This opportunity no longer exists as more authority for programming decisions is now devolved to country offices, and direct involvement by GIDP in operational issues is not possible. It was a clear consensus at UNDP that the biggest challenge, now and in the future, is to make gender mainstreaming meaningful in country programmes.

Many feel that implementation of the policy to promote gender equality and women's advancement depends on the personal commitment of individual Resident Representatives and Resident Co-ordinators. In speaking with staff in regional bureaux, country offices were typically portrayed as being divided between those where the management was personally committed and those where commitment had not been as clearly shown. In any case, as one commentator – himself a previous holder of the post – put it: "a Res Rep is the king."

Financial targets have been set to encourage management to promote gender mainstreaming, personal commitment or its absence notwithstanding. In the past, each country office worked within an Indicative Planning Figure, based largely on a country's per capita income, as the financial framework for a country programme. UNDP's thematic priorities were originally not taken into consideration in funding allocations. Today approximately 60 percent of the funding allocation to a country programme is an entitlement and is not conditional on demonstrated capability to foster sustainable human development. Most of the balance, however, is approved only when the country office and executing agencies in the partner country have shown previous capability to deliver, by directly promoting SHD including gender equality and women's advancement. According to Direct Line 11, at least 20 percent of the total country allocation must be shown to support gender equality mainstreaming and women's advancement. For this, the Resident Representative is supposed to be held responsible. Commentators noted, however, that a proposed country programme has never been denied funding on grounds of insufficient attention to "women."

A country programme belongs to and is executed by the government, increasingly in partnership with civil society organisations including the private sector. Therefore, country partners are the most important part of the structure through which UNDP implements the SHD mandate. A central point of contact is the dialogue between the Resident Representative and key country officials, mostly economists, in planning, finance and sectoral ministries. To the degree that country officials support gender equality, as in some African countries where there is an active national machinery for women's advancement and a strong women's movement, efforts to mainstream and develop targeted interventions to advance women's status are possible. To the degree that government is resistant, as in the Middle East and North African region, mainstreaming and targeted interventions are more difficult. The latter situation is reported to be an easy "excuse," however, in some country offices where mainstreaming is given only lip service.

Country offices contain many national staff. One former Resident Representative gave the example of her efforts to achieve gender balance in her office, which included a decision to hire a female driver in what was otherwise an all male driver corps. When the men objected that a woman driver wouldn't be strong enough to lift heavy mail pouches, she said that she would buy a wheeled cart. The men asked why they hadn't already been provided with wheeled carts to make their job easier, a point that she conceded. Country offices, like headquarters, are expected to meet targets for internal gender balance, as one way of making the point to country partners.

A new country-level opportunity to mainstream gender equality initiatives in a co-ordinated fashion within the UN system exists under the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), initiated in 1997 in eighteen pilot countries. UNDAF is one of the UN reform initiatives, "to achieve goal-oriented collaboration, programmatic coherence and mutual reinforcement" among the agencies of the UN Development Group – UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNIFEM, WFP, IFAD and others. Under a Resident Co-ordinator, a common country assessment is prepared which outlines common areas of development collaboration, including gender and development. The UNDP agencies have their own gender equality policies, strategies and activities. The effort to mainstream, as per the ECOSOC agreed resolution, will hopefully be enhanced in the future by a common position and strategy in relation to the partner country.

Key findings from the evaluation are that:

- A relevant institution-wide structure has been created at UNDP, linking GIDP as the central technical unit with other units throughout headquarters and with country offices, primarily through gender focal points.
- GIDP has clearly defined functions and strategies for fulfilling its responsibilities, but these are as yet not sufficiently known and understood throughout the organisation
- Gender focal points face many constraints in carrying out their functions, and follow-up to ascertain the effectiveness and impact of focal points especially at country level, once systems for supporting them have been strengthened, is necessary.
- The responsibility of senior management, especially Resident Representatives and Resident Co-ordinators at country level, to work actively towards achieving gender equality has been made clear.
- Despite this, adherence to corporate policy still depends too much on personal commitment, and there is a continuing challenge at country level to make the mainstreaming approach to gender equality a reality.

6.3 Approaches to Gender Concerns

UNDP has always endorsed a mainstreaming approach, in the early years directed at integrating WID and then later gender concerns into the normal routines of the institution. In the early years, these were women-specific concerns, increasingly replaced after 1990 by the development internationally of a gender conceptual framework. In the beginning when the WID Division was established, it was necessary to advocate for any kind of approach at all.

Advocacy

In 1987 the new WID Director found some existing commitment to the integration of women into UNDP activities, reflecting the work of the previous WID adviser. At the same time there was the sense of being "forced into this" by UNDP's need to respond to the Forward Looking Strategies from the 1985 Third Global

Conference on Women. It was also a time at UNDP when the organisation wanted new people with new ideas – a time to make a "fresh start" in development thinking, including on WID.

A fresh start required convincing colleagues that integrating women into UNDP's development activities would make a difference - that projects would benefit. Advocacy by the Director and other WID entrepreneurs was not aggressive or strident, however. Rather, the approach taken was "to intrigue male colleagues," for example at meetings, by availing data and reasoned arguments to demonstrate how WID was relevant to UNDP's mandate in a specific project/programme context. At meetings the WID entrepreneurs would even position themselves strategically around the conference table, so as to be able to make eye contact with each other and monitor how they were doing.

Commentators remembered this period very well and confirmed that the "style" of advocacy had been non-threatening and helped to create a climate of acceptance for WID.

Currently, general advocacy is no longer necessary at UNDP headquarters. It would be politically incorrect for a staff member to question gender equality when this is fundamental to the organisation's mission. The debates are on more specific issues, whether or not to develop a certain gender-relevant activity in a regional programme or not, for example. However, some focal points in regional bureaux reported that they are tired of lobbying male colleagues "who will never change."

Women in Development

The Division of Women in Development took two approaches to improving women's status in 1987. First, to "encourage the incorporation of women's concerns into as many projects in the mainstream of development as possible" and second, to develop "women specific" projects where necessary but linking these to the country programme (UNDP 1987).

The first Director explained that the WID Division worked by trying to show that women were actors (not passive recipients) who, if integrated, would improve the performance of UNDP-supported projects at country level. The Division situated an analysis of women's roles in the social context of gender relations in particular cultures and sectors. They felt, however, that gender analysis was rather academic and hard to grasp and that making a case for "women" was easier for their colleagues to comprehend.

The WID approach was incorporated into routine UNDP programming procedures. The 1987 paper on "Policy and Procedures" recommended that integrated attention to WID should take place:

- in country programming (dialogue with national authorities, data collection and country studies for example);
- in the project cycle (a WID review at the project identification stage and preparation of Terms of Reference for consultants for example); and
- in the monitoring, review and evaluation processes (including analyses of impact of project activities on women).

This was, in fact, an early mainstreaming approach, focusing on WID rather than gender equality.

The Division prepared a Project Review Form to be completed for all projects during the identification, approval, annual review and evaluation stages (*Ibid.*, Annex I). 1,258 submitted project forms were subsequently analysed for their WID content.

In 1989 the Division sent a questionnaire to 112 field offices and headquarters' units to establish benchmarks and baseline data for monitoring the inclusion of WID concerns in the Fourth Country Programming Cycle. Analysis of responses showed that these concerns were infrequently addressed. A later review of projects approved in 1994-5 revealed the same picture. Only 1.7 percent and 6.7 percent of funding approved for projects in these years could be categorised as "explicitly" (women clearly identified as the target group) or "implicitly" (women assumed to be the target group) directed at women's advancement (de Avelar 1996:5).

The early documentation from the WID Division uses both WID and gender terminology, without clearly distinguishing between them. In 1993, GIDP put out a concept paper, "Integrating Gender Concerns in Programming," explaining the relevance of gender differences to development activities. A gender conceptual framework had been used before this, as in training events. What is noticeable about the concept paper, however, is that gender equality as the ultimate goal is not mentioned and that much of the

paper is about women, not gender relations. Although the concept paper deals with programming issues, a mainstreaming approach is not defined (UNDP 1993).

In spite of limited evidence for the impact of the WID mainstreaming approach in UNDP supported country level projects and the occasional, token women-targeted projects, many staff, particularly at country level, felt that this was sufficient to satisfy UNDP's corporate policy obligations. Many commentators during the present evaluation felt that this is still largely the case today.

Gender Mainstreaming

It is easier to target women than it is to mainstream. The experience of UNDP has been that the intention to mainstream cannot just be proclaimed, as was the case in the past. A successful mainstreaming approach requires a clear definition and concept of what is intended, an assignment of responsibilities, capacity building so that all stakeholders know their responsibilities and how to execute them and specific strategies through which mainstreaming can be implemented. After a long period during which UNDP proclaimed its mainstreaming approach, work is now underway to operationalise the approach.

That this is not easy and is subject to different interpretations is confirmed by what commentators said. "I don't understand mainstreaming." "I understand it, but others don't." "I understand it, but I don't know how to do it." "Mainstreaming means that the focus on improving women's status will be lost." "It means that other units at UNDP, not just GIDP, can take the ball and run with it."

Defining Mainstreaming

Serious work on establishing mainstreaming processes began only a few years ago. During 1995-96 GIDP carried out baseline analyses of gender mainstreaming in fifteen country offices in order to document experiences to date, to identify opportunities and constraints and ultimately to improve mainstreaming processes at UNDP. The synthesis report, based on the individual country reports, identifies the existing strengths at UNDP: among them, the SHD mandate, the existence of a gender equality policy and in a few country offices gender advocacy by senior management and appointment of a high ranking gender focal point.

The constraints to gender mainstreaming were more numerous than the strengths however. Among those identified were:

- UNDP's corporate gender equality policy is not enforced, and staff is not always aware of the policy.
- There is frequently a conflict, or disjuncture, between UNDP's global priorities and priorities of specific countries and executing partners;
- Staff do not understand the difference between WID and GAD.
- There are no instruments for gender mainstreaming.
- There are no monitoring and evaluation tools to measure impact of mainstreaming.
- The gender disaggregated data base for country programme planning is weak, and gender data is not seen as a priority.
- Where gender relevant documents exist, they are not used.
- UNDP has limited funds for mainstreaming.
- Most gender focal points are junior, and there is high staff turnover (Mondesire January 1997:22-23).

In 1997 senior management met to review the findings of the country studies and to clarify the roles of Resident Co-ordinators, Resident Representatives and gender focal points in gender mainstreaming. The result of the meeting was the "Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming" which is today accepted as part of UNDP's corporate policy (see section 4.1.1.2).

The ECOSOC definition of mainstreaming has been given earlier. At UNDP gender mainstreaming is defined as, "taking account of gender equality concerns in all policy, programme, administrative and financial activities, and in organisational procedures, thereby contributing to a profound organisational transformation. Specifically, bringing the outcome of socio-economic and policy analysis into all decision-

making processes of the organisation, and tracing the outcome. This includes both the core policy decisions of the organisation, and the small every-day decisions of implementation" (UNDP, 1998).

What is innovative and constructive about GIDP's approach to mainstreaming is that it focuses on decision-making processes as the key to success. Therefore, the "tools" needed to effect mainstreaming are basically skills for having an impact on decision making. GIDP hopes to "market" its work on gender mainstreaming by presenting it as an institutional process relevant to all thematic priorities, not just gender equality.

Funding

The Administrator's Direct Line 11 challenges Resident Representatives and Resident Co-ordinators to commit country programme (TRAC) funds to achieving gender equality through mainstreaming. Specifically, he has challenged them to "initiate a dialogue with Government regarding opportunities to ensure that at least 20 percent of TRAC resources are allocated to gender mainstreaming activities" (UNDP 1996f). The original intention was to ensure that core funds for gender mainstreaming were brought to parity with the average allocations for other SHD thematic priorities.

There are also minimum percentage targets suggested for other UNDP funds. Besides the 20 percent for core funds in country programmes, at least 20 percent of funds for Regional Programmes and 28 percent of funds for Global Programmes are to be used for gender mainstreaming. In the case of the latter, this means that 28 percent of all global funds go to the Global Programme for Gender Equality and the Advancement of Women (described below). The remaining global funds, as for poverty reduction, sustainable livelihoods, governance and so on, should also include the 20 percent target for gender mainstreaming.

Other than the challenge to target funds, there are as yet no accountability mechanisms, or systems of rewards and sanctions, to give more weight to the gender mainstreaming approach.

Feedback from country offices indicates that much work needs to be done on methods for tracking funding allocations to promote gender equality and the advancement of women. When gender equality has been well mainstreamed into specific country programmes, and when it is cross-linked to other thematic programming priorities such as poverty eradication, it is not easily traced in budgets and therefore cannot be accounted for. On the other hand targeted interventions to advance women's status, such as specific activities within programme sub-components, can be easily identified and tracked financially. This contradiction tends to reinforce the continuing tendency to promote women-specific interventions rather than mainstreaming.

UNDP is aware of the problem and is currently working on indicators to monitor gender mainstreaming actions and on financial systems to track the allocation of funds. In general, however, the responsibility of country offices to account for funding allocations to gender mainstreaming raises the larger issue of need to build commitment and capacity of senior management in gender mainstreaming generally.

- Key findings from the evaluation are that:
- Efforts to introduce a WID approach into country programmes were difficult to implement in the past and reportedly had little impact.
- Although the WID approach has been replaced by the gender and development paradigm and a gender equality mainstreaming approach, many staff continue to conflate the two approaches, believing that targeting women satisfies corporate policy to promote gender equality.
- GIDP's current activities to develop the mainstreaming approach, is a significant improvement over vague mainstreaming strategies in the past.
- Without appropriate financial systems in place to track funds spent to promote gender equality through mainstreaming, there will continue to be a tendency at country level to choose the easier women-targeted approach.

6.4 Activities towards WID and Gender Concerns

Activities undertaken by the WID Division and subsequently GIDP have included various bureaucratic efforts to influence country programming, training of staff, limited development of specific tools and global

and regional programmes outside the country programme funding framework but linked to mainstreaming at country level.

Gender Analysis Training and Capacity Building

Training of staff began in 1987, starting at headquarters with senior staff and then spreading to the field where regional workshops introduced gender concepts and their use to UNDP country office staff, executing agencies from partner governments, NGOs and so on.

No needs assessment was conducted prior to launching the training. It was organised by the Division in co-operation with UNDP's Training Centre (now the Learning Resources Centre). The training model originally used was the so-called Harvard Model developed by the Harvard Institute of International Development in co-operation with USAID. This model uses a gender roles framework which analyses gender differences in access to and control over income and resources (Miller and Razavi 1998:7 ff.). It had been designed for analysis of gender roles in agriculture and was not as useful for analysis of the wide range of development support activities in UNDP programmes. It was also a project-based approach and not suitable when the shift from projects to programmes began in the 1990s.

The training was not targeted systematically at Resident Representatives. Although need for their support for gender mainstreaming was recognised, the importance of their management and decision-making roles was not singled out at that time.

When it was suggested at UNDP that such gender analysis training might be discontinued, the results of the 1989 questionnaire survey of field offices were used to put pressure on the Training Centre to continue. A broader, more eclectic training approach was adopted by GIDP in the early 1990s, offering a range of analytical frameworks beyond the gender roles, economically-oriented approach (Razavi and Miller 1995a:23). In 1994 when the gender trainer left the Training Centre this type of institution-wide training directed at diverse target groups and focusing on general understanding of WID and gender concepts and their applicability in a range of approaches (welfare, basic needs, empowerment, etc.) was discontinued.

Commentators who had experienced some version of these training activities said that the training was interesting, but frustrating, in that it provided no assistance to participants on how to apply the concepts and frameworks to concrete operational activities. Although gender training did not give participants the technical skills they wanted, it did provide opportunities for a large number of people to talk about how understanding of women's and men's roles could improve project performance. This has had an impact within UNDP with regard to change of attitude towards an issue that was seen only as a "special consideration" earlier.

Much of GIDP's current effort is directed at building the professional and functional capacity of gender focal points to enable them to have more impact on decision making. A pilot programme to develop capacities for gender mainstreaming has discussed with gender focal points from over 100 country offices on a range of capacities necessary to mainstreaming gender considerations. This consultative process has identified the following broad areas in which capacity building is necessary: gender analysis, economic analysis, gender mainstreaming as a methodology, strategic planning processes and decision-making skills, project cycle entry points for greater gender mainstreaming and information systems. So far in this four year programme the consultations, and resultant capacity building activities, have been chiefly, but not exclusively, with gender focal points.

Capacity building relates not only to the functional capacity of gender focal points but also to institutional capacity. Therefore, GIDP is currently working on a systematic tracking, follow-up and management mechanism through which responses to recommendations can be monitored.

GIDP does not provide gender mainstreaming training to senior managers of units at headquarters or to Resident Representatives and Resident Co-ordinators in country offices. Staff training, especially of field staff, is the responsibility of the Learning Resources Centre which does not provide training on gender mainstreaming. GIDP and the LRC currently understand their respective responsibilities differently, and the gap in gender mainstreaming training is clearly an important issue for future collaboration.

GIDP does not appear to have opportunities, other than meetings and seminars, to present its work on processes of gender mainstreaming to other units within UNDP. The evaluation found that UNDP headquarters is relatively segmented, with units operating quite autonomously, often with little knowledge about what happens elsewhere in the house. Not only were some staff unclear about what GIDP does, but they also did not know about the current work to systematise processes of gender mainstreaming. The typical assumption, frequently heard during the evaluation, is that because gender equality is one of

UNDP's mandates, and because the directive is to mainstream, this will happen more or less automatically. History has already shown that this is not the case.

SEPED, the division in which GIDP is situated, has already identified the need for more collaboration on integrating the cross-cutting themes with each other. With respect to poverty eradication for example, gender and poverty have often been conflated, as the "feminisation of poverty". SEPED is currently working on the Human Poverty concept, one which is multi-dimensional and multi-faceted and which will give opportunity to develop measures of the various dimensions, including the gender dimension, of human poverty without reducing it in a simplistic way to a problem of female headed households. In these new efforts, the work of GIDP on processes of gender mainstreaming could usefully be shared. This will require capacity building at headquarters in addition to the efforts now largely directed at gender focal points in country offices.

Guidelines and Other Tools

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the WID Division undertook a variety of activities in support of integrating and mainstreaming WID concerns into projects and country programmes:

- preparation and dissemination of a simple, practical, and consolidated set of guidelines on development planning; population, health and nutrition; environment; education and training; agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries; small-scale enterprises in the informal sector; industry; credit, and water supply and sanitation;
- preparation of one-page WID profiles for specific countries;
- preparation of a consultants' roster for use by country offices; and
- literature reviews, retreats, sensitisation workshops and consultations, often in connection with thematic topics, such as Women and the Environment (in preparation for the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992) and Women and AIDS.

The effects and impacts of these activities were not monitored and are not known, except through the perceptions of those present at the time. For example, one commentator noted that many of the WID profiles were said to contain factual errors and therefore were of little use to country offices. Guidelines were said to be too simple, or on the other hand too complicated, or too many or too mechanical. Notwithstanding the lack of impact assessment of past efforts, many commentators currently emphasise that they need "tools" to help them mainstream, or that other people – country office programme officers for example – need useful tools.

One example of what is meant by a useful tool is the 1997 kit containing a strategy document and other materials developed by the Office to Combat Desertification and Drought (UNSO). This kit is specific to a technical subject area, implementation of the Convention to Combat Desertification and SHD in drylands generally, and a women-targeted initiative is mainstreamed within the implementation process. The kit contains, for example, a detailed one-year Action Plan to guide stakeholders at various levels and guidelines on how to conduct a working session to introduce gender concepts. The kit has been translated into French and Spanish; 2,500 English copies have been distributed and there is need to reprint.

It is not within GIDP's capacity to develop such toolkits for each of the many technical areas in country programmes. GIDP believes that there is no "magic bullet" – for example, a simple set of guidelines such as was attempted in the late 80s. The call for tools, or complaints about their absence, is in fact seen by some as an excuse for not grappling with the processes and skills required for meaningful gender mainstreaming.

In this regard GIDP has now developed its own "tool", a kit of materials for use at country office level. These materials include key policy documents and resource materials such as seven commissioned Gender in Development monographs, a *Handbook for Producing National Statistics Reports on Women and Men* (from the Statistics Division) and a Gender Mainstreaming Information Pack. The latter includes a checklist of useful and important actions to mainstream gender equality considerations into all UNDP country office activities. The mainstreaming information pack is not a magic bullet. Rather it gives concrete guidance, *inter alia* on the need to prepare national gender profiles and gender sensitive national *Human Development Reports* and to work with gender equality issues in settings ranging from country programming, briefings of country office staff and policy dialogue.

Global and Regional Programmes

Many of the gender-relevant activities at UNDP take place within the context of global and regional programmes. These programmes are funded outside of the normal indicative planning figure (past) and TRAC (present) funds for country programmes but are intended to be supportive of country programming efforts. Thus, global and regional programmes in theory should have supported earlier efforts to mainstream WID concerns and more recent efforts to mainstream gender equality.

Special Programme Resources (SPR) were allocated during the Fifth Programming Cycle (1992-96). The goal of SPR was to be "innovative and catalytic, with the main focus on building national capacity in the six [at that time] thematic areas of special UNDP programme focus", including WID and gender (Huntington *et al.* 1996:2). SPR was intended to mainstream WID into all UNDP-funded activities and to strengthen national institutions to implement gender sensitive programmes.

Many diverse, mostly small initiatives were funded under SPR, including training of government staff and NGOs, assisting governments and NGOs to prepare for the Fourth Global Conference on Women and support to production of improved gender disaggregated statistics. The global initiatives, such as those on statistics, were managed by GIDP and the regional projects were co-ordinated by regional gender focal points together with GIDP. National projects were decentralised to country offices.

Funding for the gender and development programme through SPR represented only 5 percent of the total funding for all six thematic programmes. A mid-term evaluation notes this as "most striking, given UNDP's emphasis on gender issues" (*Ibid.* 26).

Since the SPR is one of the few gender focused activities at UNDP which has been evaluated in the past, it is worthwhile noting some of the key findings:

- Few of the funded activities were designed to mainstream gender aspects into other UNDP programmes, in particular country programmes.
- Insufficient guidance was provided on what gender mainstreaming means and how to achieve it.
- Most projects adopted a WID, rather than a gender and development, approach.
- The benchmarks for measuring success were vague (Lifanda 1995).

Lessons learned in implementing SPR activities have been applied in the current, four-year (1997-2001) Global Umbrella Programme for Gender Equality and the Advancement of Women and in five Regional Programmes. The former is administered by GIDP and the latter by the regional bureaux: Africa, Asia and the Pacific, the Arab States, Europe and the CIS and Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Global Umbrella Programme is a collection of diverse activities in support of gender equality mainstreaming and includes the following (UNDP/GIDP 1997a):

- Research and application of policy and analytic frameworks. Activities currently in progress are work to engender macro-economic analysis and to improve the gender content of labour market statistics and a monograph series that focuses on the relevance to SHD of specific gender equality issues.
- Creating networks for capacity building and learning. One of the main activities, described earlier, is capacity building for gender focal points and national counterparts. This is the main context in which capacity building for gender mainstreaming is today being undertaken at UNDP. Networking also includes development of web-sites, production of newsletters, etc.
- Follow-up to Beijing through constituency building and partnerships. This includes support to Resident Co-ordinators, as through placement of UNV gender specialists.

Each of the regions administers a Regional Programme, with the emphasis in activities varying for each region. Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, has worked recently on activities to raise awareness about the widespread problem of violence against women. The Africa Region, *inter alia*, focuses on women in political leadership through creating a network of women parliamentarians and councillors. Asia and the Pacific, among other activities, works on the economic empowerment of women, including the use of science and technology for eradication of poverty. The regional programmes are said to permit work on "cutting edge" issues because they are not so dependent on country agreement, as is the case with programmes at country level. One gets the impression that many of these activities focus explicitly on women and are one-off events that are not clearly linked to gender equality mainstreaming.

Implementation of the global and regional programmes is too recent to assess their relevance and impact.

Key findings from the evaluation are that:

- An institution-wide training programme in gender analysis created sympathy for WID and gender issues but did not solve the "how to" operationalise problems.
- Although gender focal points in country offices are receiving training in mainstreaming skills, there is a gap in capacity building efforts for senior managers and decision makers, both at headquarters and in the field, although policy holds them responsible.
- In spite of reported lack of impact of past efforts to provide guidelines and other tools for programming purposes to country offices, staff continue to demand simple user-friendly "tools" for gender mainstreaming.
- Such tools on specific topics can be developed in other parts of UNDP than GIDP, as was the case with ONSU.
- Many gender-relevant activities which GIDP undertakes should be understood as long-term, inter-linked capacity building initiatives which contribute to strengthening processes of gender mainstreaming.
- Many of these activities reach country programmes primarily through gender focal points, and without management support their effectiveness is likely to be limited.

6.5 Norwegian Contribution

Norway has had two strategies to promote gender equality through mainstreaming and through women-specific interventions. One strategy has been advocacy, lobbying and dialogue at high levels. The other has been provision of seed money in the form of a Trust Fund for strategic initiatives undertaken by the former WID Division and subsequently the Gender in Development Programme. In addition, there are other relevant Norwegian funding activities that support, or in theory should support, gender equality mainstreaming.

Advocacy

Norway's advocacy strategy has been to raise gender equality issues at relevant meetings and discussions with UNDP. These occasions have included meetings of the Executive Board (previously Governing Council), Annual Consultations, visits of Norwegian delegations to New York, meetings of Nordic ambassadors with the UNDP Administrator, briefings of new Ambassadors to the UN and so on. The main forum has been the Executive Board, and the persistence and consistency of Norwegian and Nordic advocacy has been visible and clearly effective.

In the mid-80s Norway advocated for the establishment of a WID Division, a broader understanding of women's roles – especially that their productive roles were reflected in UNDP supported projects and training for staff at all levels. In 1992 when UNDP was restructured, there was a proposal to scrap the WID Division entirely. According to one commentator, Norway was approached "behind the scenes" to counter this and the WID Division survived, albeit in a lower position in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Some commentators feel that Norway used to be a more visible advocate for gender equality in the past than is the case currently. In part, this is because the basic principle of organisational responsibility to promote gender equality is now accepted and well-established. Thus, it is no longer necessary for Norway to lobby on this issue in a general way. The other reason is because Norway, together with the other Nordic countries, is no longer always in the forefront among donors as it used to be. At the UNDP Executive Board, at regular sessions of ECOSOC and at meetings of the G7 for example, there are other countries besides the Nordics which also take the lead in speaking to gender equality than was the case previously. These include Canada, the United States, Austria and Japan.

To Norway, an important aspect of its partnership in multi-lateral organisations is the opportunity to engage in dialogue on important development issues. An issue that Norway has now singled out for dialogue is the degree to which mainstreaming to promote gender equality is or is not operationalised in specific country programmes. Norway has an internal process through which a UNDP Country Co-operation Framework (CCF), which is the key programming document, is circulated, scrutinised and discussed. The Resident Mission at the UN sends a draft CCF to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which then circulates it to other parts

of the development co-operation system, as to the relevant NORAD field office. Concerns, for example on gender mainstreaming content, are then raised in appropriate venues with UNDP.

Since general lobbying on policy and relevant organisational forms for gender equality is no longer necessary, Norway now focuses its advocacy on other specific issues. For example, a member of the evaluation team had an opportunity to hear the statement by the Norwegian State Secretary to the ECOSOC session in July 1998. The following concrete issues were raised:

- Recognising that promoting gender equality is difficult, UN agencies should report their problems and failures, as well as their successes.
- Assessments should be made of the impact of gender focal points and gender units on the organisations of which they are a part.
- There must be more focus on country level, with responsibility resting on Resident Co-ordinators to ensure that policy dialogues with recipient countries make gender equality issues as visible as possible.
- The UN reform initiatives, such as UNDAF, should be utilised to ensure better integration of a gender perspective at country level.
- Tools and procedures for gender mainstreaming that are being developed and used at country level should be systematically assessed so that their impact is known (Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN, 9 July 1998).

Norway's current advocacy to strengthen country offices and to monitor the efforts made at field level to operationalise gender mainstreaming is in line with the current GIDP priority, to provide guidance to country offices on mainstreaming initiatives.

Funding

Norway has backed up its advocacy with provision of strategic funds, or "seed money," for activities that have been mutually agreed as important. Commentators said that without Norwegian seed money, the WID Division would not have been able to function in its early years. For example, in a WID Division report to Norway in 1990, the Division noted that its initial budget for 1986-87 was \$61,600. Four years later in 1990, the annual allocation had been increased by less than 1 percent to only \$65,000. However, in 1989 Norway provided \$146,000 for long term activities to ensure the integration of WID issues in UNDP's programmes and projects.

Since 1989 Norway has allocated 7.3 million NOK to a Trust Fund for the WID Division, later the Gender in Development Programme. These funds were allocated against five separate requests for specific activities which were justified by WID/GIDP in terms of their contribution to the long-term processes of integration or mainstreaming of WID/gender perspectives within UNDP's work. A list of Norwegian allocations, with activities funded, is given in the Annex 2.

Activities funded include the following:

- Specific activities for operational support to integrate WID and gender into country programming and projects, such as hiring consultants, conducting literature reviews, preparing consultants' rosters, participating in missions, working on project formulations, etc.
- Efforts, as in questionnaires, to establish a baseline for country office level programming initiatives.
- Activities to integrate WID and gender into new issues, such as women and the environment.
- One-off missions and follow-up to recommendations in mission reports, as in missions to assess the status of displaced women in West Africa, the status of Palestinian women and women in the Central Asian Republics.
- Preparation of policy concept papers on key thematic areas: the UNDP/GIDP Monograph Series.
- Country baseline studies of gender mainstreaming, preparation of a synthesis report and high-level management consultations.

Agreement between Norway and WID/GIDP on use of Trust Funds has been reached through mutual discussion, based on the fact that GIDP has known what Norway was interested to support and has

ensured that it justified proposed activities in terms of their strategic significance. This process has not been subject to much bureaucratic red tape but has rather been based on face-to-face discussions, exchange of correspondence, and provision of brief progress reports and work plans with justification for proposed spending. The process has apparently been so informal at times that detailed reports were not always provided.

Neither Norway nor WID/GIDP has systematically monitored the impact of the activities that were funded, other than through the information provided in brief, sometimes sporadic, progress reports. Thus, it is difficult to evaluate to what degree Norwegian support to activities that were defined at the time as "strategic" has had an impact.

There is one exception, however, where the impact has been important and is well known. The Norwegian Trust Fund was used for baseline assessments of gender mainstreaming in fifteen countries, as already described. The findings were synthesised and presented at a UNDP High Level Senior Management Consultation on Gender Mainstreaming in 1997. The discussions at the Consultation contributed to the adoption by UNDP senior management of the "Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming". The Guidance Note is one of UNDP's corporate policy documents, and it has contributed to the 1997 ECOSOC resolution on gender mainstreaming.

GIDP has not applied for Norwegian Trust Funds recently because priority was given to consolidating recently initiated activities and because funds have been available from the Global Programme and other donors.

Administrators at UNDP state that their relationship with Norway, in terms of Trust Fund use, is uncomplicated. Norway attaches few if any strings and has little tendency, unlike some other donors, to "micro-manage" – that is, to constantly get involved in details of implementation. A commentator characterised the Norwegian approach as one combining flexibility with responsibility; that is, UNDP is allowed to manage the resources and to implement within the agreed framework. From the Norwegian point of view, there is willingness to provide inputs (funds) and to examine the outputs (the results for which funds have been used), without interference in whatever happens internally to ensure that inputs are successfully translated into outputs.

In addition to the WID/GIDP Trust Fund Norway has made other grants that directly or indirectly have supported gender equality work.

In 1989 a Technical Adviser Post in Statistics on Women in Development was established in the UN Statistics Office with Norwegian support. This support, through 1995, resulted in creation of a gender unit within the Statistics Office with core funding. Work carried out through the technical advisory post to improve methodologies for gender disaggregated statistics and to support countries to improve their statistical data bases has had positive outcomes as in better data for global and national *Human Development Reports*. GIDP co-operates closely with the UN Statistics Office.

Norway supported production of the UNSO kit to mainstream women-targeted initiatives into SHD efforts in drylands, a "tool" described in section 4.1.4.2. This support was given against the background of earlier Norwegian advocacy for inclusion of WID and gender in the Convention to Combat Desertification and existence of a unit at UNDP which responded to Norwegian interest by preparing a proposal.

Norway is one of the contributors to the Poverty Strategies Initiative Trust Fund, established after the 1995 World Summit on Social Development. Norway's contribution is divided equally between support for countries to embark on or improve their national anti-poverty strategies and work on the 20/20 initiative. A request for additional support is pending: to focus in ten pilot countries on a bottom-up exercise in which grassroots initiatives will be supported and results showcased at the Social Summit Review in the year 2000. This evaluation did not assess the degree to which the Poverty Strategies Initiative is engendered. However, GIDP co-operates in this and other cross-thematic initiatives.

Since 1995 Norway has contributed ca 13 million to a UNDP Trust Fund for Support for Governance in Africa. One criteria for use of this trust fund is that activities "will promote gender concerns with a view to removing traditional and other biases against women and enhancing the participation of women in development". It is clear from this that Norway makes efforts in its dialogue with UNDP to promote gender equality in other areas besides GIDP specifically. It is of concern, however, that the criteria do not specify gender equality, but rather "gender concerns". The documentation examined mentions only "women", indicating that women and gender concepts are conflated.

In examining some of the documentation on the Governance Trust Fund, the evaluation noted that there is potential for supporting the mainstreaming of gender equality initiatives into specific components of the programme. In some cases, as in efforts to support decentralised governance and civil society organisations, the relevance to women is made explicit. In other cases, as in programmes for public management and administrative reform, strengthening judicial systems and others, the "involvement of women" is not made explicit. There is no gender specialist on the Governance Task Force or working within the programme.

One conclusion, based on a limited assessment of documentation, is that there appears to be scope for more rigorous attention by Norway to ensuring consistency in promoting gender equality through diverse trust fund mechanisms.

Key findings from the evaluation are that:

- Norway's past and present advocacy efforts to promote gender equality have been relevant, consistent and effective.
- Although activities supported by the Norwegian Trust Fund were not systematically monitored, the evidence indicates that there was consistent effort, through time, to identify for support activities which would be strategic and which would make a difference, given the existing institutional context.
- The most important impact of Norwegian funding has been support to activities and processes to clarify the mainstreaming approach and to raise it to the level of institutional policy.
- There may be missed opportunities to include or to strengthen gender mainstreaming efforts in other Norwegian Trust Fund supported programmes at UNDP.

6.6 A View from the Country Level: UNDP's Gender Concerns in Operation

Key evaluation findings on UNDP are that country offices represent the weakest link in the agency-wide structure for implementing UNDP's gender equality and mainstreaming policies and that the main challenge in the future is operationalising agency policy at country level. The country follow-up assessments show that there are significant differences from one country office to another in the degree to which there is a commitment to gender equality mainstreaming in country programmes or other activities under UNDP.

6.6.1 Uganda

UNDP has supported Uganda in four Country Program (CP) cycles and is now part way through a fifth. In 1997 a major change occurred, with shift from a Country Program with many stand-alone projects (CP4 had more than 80) to a Country Co-operation Framework (CCF) or program approach. The current CCF entitled "Support for Poverty Eradication (1997-2000)" is based on the national Poverty Eradication Action Plan. The objective is "the eradication of poverty through sustainable livelihoods", with decentralised governance and private sector development as the two major sub-components for strategic intervention.

These two focal areas were selected primarily on basis of dialogue between UNDP and the then Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. Ugandan stakeholders who had not had stand-alone projects in CP4 tended not be included in preparatory activities for the CCF. This included the (then) Ministry of Gender and Community Development that had implemented a UNDP funded project in CP3 but whose subsequent relationship with UNDP was *ad hoc*.

Factors relevant to the institutionalisation of a gender equality perspective at UNDP

The following factors have been important in reaching the present position, in which a mainstreaming approach to achieve gender equality is reasonably institutionalised.

- A clearly stated policy, especially with regard to mainstreaming as a strategy to achieve the goal of gender equality.
- A structure, which is now relatively well institutionalised, linking GIDP with units throughout headquarters and with country offices.

- Responsibility for mainstreaming to achieve gender equality resting clearly on senior management, especially at country level.
- The shift in emphasis by WID/GIDP from attempts to directly influence country-level programming to the current focus on supporting country offices with concrete guidance on what activities and processes are likely to make a difference.
- A well-designed capacity building programme for gender focal points in country offices.
- A congruence in approaches and goals of Norway and UNDP which has ensured the relevance of Norwegian advocacy efforts and non-core funding for what both parties agreed were strategic initiatives.

The following factors represent past and present constraints and challenges for the future:

- Lack of clarity on the relationship of gender equality to the other cross-cutting thematic areas of SHD.
- In particular, a narrow interpretation of the SHD mandate which links gender equality more to poverty eradication and less to the other thematic areas.
- The inadequate exposure to the new gender mainstreaming concepts and skills on the part of senior managers both at headquarters and in the field.
- The difficulties in finding effective strategies to ensure gender equality mainstreaming in country office work.
- The absence of a system of rewards and sanctions to ensure that senior management is held accountable; and the lack of will and commitment on the part of some senior managers, especially at country level.
- The ability of gender focal points in country offices to be effective which is dependent on their status and access to senior management and decision making processes.
- The low status of many gender focal points in country offices, and frequent turnover of staff which make capacity building activities less effective than intended.
- The lack of monitoring of effects and impacts of specific activities undertaken by WID/GIDP in the past.
- The difficulty of developing simple but relevant output and process indicators to monitor specific activities and processes for gender equality mainstreaming that are being promoted currently.
- A traditional financial system with budget lines for women-targeted projects and programme components, which is not adequate to track funding of mainstreaming initiatives, either those integrated in large programmes or those cross-linked to other thematic focus areas.

The UNDP office has 9 professional national staff, 4 international staff and 3 JPO's, all of whom are men. There is one woman on a contract from Operation Support at headquarters. UNDP's internal gender balance policy is therefore not followed in Uganda. It is a highly visible institution in Uganda. A government National Execution Unit co-ordinates CCF implementation and monitoring, and the two sub-programs each have a national program manager. Decentralised governance is co-ordinated by the Decentralisation Secretariat, Ministry of Local Government. Private Sector Development is co-ordinated by a specially created office which liaises in particular with small scale business people and their organisations. In the past, when many projects were included in a CP, there were numerous stakeholders directly involved in implementation. Now, however, relevant stakeholders must contribute to integrated sub-program annual Work Plans.

The general picture now in Uganda is that the stakeholders who represent several cross-cutting issues are disenchanted with UNDP. Consider one view, typical of others with the same sentiment: "we know that UNDP has a long history of supporting the advancement of women [read HIV/AIDS or environment as well] but the office here in Uganda seems to have lost sight of this. We no longer understand what UNDP does

here, as there's no transparency. By making us have a sub-program on private sector development, UNDP in our view is missing our real target, the poor."

The perception that UNDP "made" Uganda have a CCF with particular focal areas is unfortunate since UNDP policy promotes country ownership. The problem arises from the way in which the CCF was prepared. The preparatory committees were not guided to understand that gender equality and other cross-cutting themes are fundamental development issues. The Guide on How to Implement [and plan] the Program Approach is silent on mainstreaming of cross-cutting themes. Relevant stakeholders with expertise were not represented or consulted. In the case of gender equality, the Ministry of Gender initially learned about the CCF preparation process informally and was advised to take the initiative and "try to jump onto one of the committees."

The fact that a mainstreaming approach required a clear strategy was also not clear or appreciated in CCF planning committees. One environmental NGO was told, "we are the planners, don't worry – you'll be mainstreamed." Thus the current CCF is a missed opportunity to mainstream not only gender but other cross-cutting themes. According to one knowledgeable commentator there is now a situation of paralysis, with no way to constructively go forward on several cross-cutting issues, including gender.

Because the program approach was being introduced for the first time and it was realised that there could be problems, the CCF was reviewed in 1998, slightly more than one year after the four-year program began. A main review finding was that "the concept and role of cross-cutting issues are not understood clearly by program participants". UNDP's view is that Ugandan stakeholders couldn't easily grasp the program (as opposed to project) idea nor the approach of mainstreaming of cross-cutting issues generally. Ugandan experts in environment, gender and HIV/AIDS contest this point of view heatedly, arguing that they appreciate a program approach but cannot mainstream if a strategy for doing so was not part of the process.

Sub-program managers are now being held responsible to correct the situation, largely by trying to get inputs from stakeholders for cross-cutting issues into integrated work programs. The gender ministry, for example, is asked to add bits and pieces into an already formulated annual work plan for local government. "Mainstreaming" is thus reduced to a few add-ons to other activities, or to setting targets for women's participation in for example a training activity.

The CCF design identifies business women, poor women, women's groups, etc. as targets of various activities under each of the two sub-programs. Thus the approach is clearly women-specific, although the word gender is used interchangeably as though it were synonymous. The Private Sector Development sub-program includes women as a target group, through support to Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association (UWEAL). Commentators question whether this Association represents all, especially very poor, women in the informal sector. Training programs are conducted in English, thus excluding the vast majority of potential candidates. UNDP's relationship with UWEAL is however given as evidence that the current CCF is "gender sensitive."

Prior CPs in Uganda either had a specific women-targeted project or women's components within other projects. In CP3, for example, the then Ministry of WID and Community Development implemented a project (1989-91) which *inter alia* supported a gender focal point network in sectional ministries and carried out training of trainers in districts. Other projects, such as micro-projects for persons and their families living with HIV/AIDS, had some women-focused and/or gender sensitive components or aspects.

Uganda was one of 15 countries in which GIDP commissioned baseline analyses in 1995/6 to ascertain past results of gender mainstreaming, constraints and opportunities. The situation analysis identified an almost complete absence of gender mainstreaming policy, approaches, processes, methods, tools etc. at the country office. Staff conflated WID and gender concepts, responsibility for gender mainstreaming rested on the gender focal point, there was no sense of senior management's responsibility, there was no staff gender balance policy and there had been no gender analysis training for staff nor any plan to do so. At the same time, the progressive stance of Uganda on advancing women's status, the fairly widespread understanding of gender concepts and the availability of considerable in-country gender expertise were noted as positive factors which the country office could take advantage of.

In the two years between the 1996 situation analysis and the present evaluation, little has changed from the previous assessment. The failure to mainstream a gender equality perspective into the current CCF is largely due to the absence of a policy, strategy, competence and commitment in the country office and the failure of UNDP and government planners to include gender expertise in the preparatory processes. Unfortunately, there seems to have been an absence of will on both sides.

Within the country office, UNDP's corporate policy, including Direct Line 11 and the internal gender balance policy, are known to staff. These appear not to affect what happens in practice however, whether in terms of staff recruitment or in the way in which UNDP operates. There is no country office gender mainstreaming policy or staffing policy.

The country office has had gender focal points at least since the early 90s, if not earlier. In the past these were frequently female JPOs. More recently there have also been male focal points with a higher status in the bureaucracy; but frequent changes of staff (three different focal points in 1997/98 for example) has retarded the few processes for gender mainstreaming initiated earlier. The new gender focal point is an Assistant Resident Representative with some prior experience of working with gender issues. He is also the substantive desk officer for HIV/AIDS and feels that these two cross-cutting themes are "compatible" and were assigned to him as one response to the concerns raised about the invisibility of these themes in the current CCF.

None of the program officers mentioned senior management as being responsible for gender mainstreaming. At best, some said that they were all responsible, at least in theory. Otherwise, many believed that responsibility for ensuring that UNDP programs and activities incorporate a gender perspective is clearly the gender focal point's. One commentator pointed out that the focal point's duties were "additional to programming functions, rather than integral to those functions". For example, attending relevant meetings and conferences, liaising occasionally with the gender ministry, responding to requests for information, and so on. And another common view: "we've been guessing what the Gender Focal Point should do since there don't seem to be any terms of reference." Of course, ToR have come over the years from headquarters; and there may have been locally drafted ToR as well; but there was no evidence of this in the files.

In the early 90s the country office had a Gender Technical Review Committee to support the focal point. The committee had not met since 1994; and after the 1996 situation analysis the recommendation to reactivate it was not implemented.

At least some program staff believe that it is everyone's responsibility to understand gender, as opposed to WID concepts, to know what mainstreaming means and to apply the approach in program development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. However, there was a strong feeling that some do not know what these concepts and approaches mean, nor how to do it. "When we think of gender, we really mean women and specifically affirmative action for women. We know that gender means that we have to think about women and men, but we always forget this." But another officer clearly explained that gender means that not only men's but also women's views, needs, problems and priorities should feature in program planning. Since men normally take a much more public role than women, space must be created to ensure that women's as well as men's voices are heard.

And on mainstreaming: "people are scratching their heads as to what this is all about; does it mean that women are participating, or that they are benefiting; and if the latter, how does one measure this?" "Mainstreaming means that gender considerations should be included in the project/program design stage – right at the inception. What usually happens is that we don't think about this at the right time; sometimes we just end up with women in our projects, not because this was part of the design but because they were the ones who do most of the (productive) work in any case."

A few of the current country office staff have had some form of gender training at headquarters or in regional seminars. Except for a few sessions organised by the then gender focal point in 1995/96, the country office has never had substantive gender analysis training. Program officers said that they mostly learned about gender equality and a mainstreaming approach through discussions in such forums as the Program Appraisal Committee. Clearly this has not been sufficient to enable senior advisors and program officers to influence such major processes as preparation of a new country program.

There are no tools or specific methods at the country office to guide program officers to understand and use gender concepts and processes of mainstreaming. There is no national WID or gender profile. The two national *Human Development Reports* have included some gender content, and the intention is to make the 1998 report more gender sensitive. Most staff did not know about the headquarters monograph series of papers linking gender equality to other SHD issues. A checklist that was developed earlier in the decade and revived again briefly after 1996 was not used because it was specific to projects rather than to a programming approach. The various UNDP web sites are known; however because of staff's time constraints it was felt that only the gender focal point, and none of the other program officers, would be interested in using whatever information or tools might be available on GIDP's web site.

Although the current CCF is deficient in a gender equality mainstreaming perspective and procedures at the country office for gender analysis and mainstreaming are weak, there are some positive accomplishments:

- To support Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan, a gender sensitive Participatory Poverty Assessment exercise is under way. UNDP, Britain's Department for International Development and the World Bank are funding. UNDP participates in meetings and follows the progress of this activity, which the gender ministry feels is a good model of gender mainstreaming.
- The country office intends to collaborate with UNIFEM's campaign to eliminate Violence against Women.
- Vision 2025 (a national long-term perspective study as to what Ugandans would like their country to be like in the year 2025) falls under the UNDP umbrella and is implemented by a special office at the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development. When the perspective studies began in 1997 the UNDP country office ensured that the team would include a gender specialist so that district level consultations would include women's as well as men's visions for the future.
- Uganda participates in the Regional Program co-ordinated at the Regional Bureau for Africa at Headquarters; including hosting a conference for African women parliamentarians on women's political leadership and supporting a Regional African Women's Leadership Institute based in Kampala.

One organisation that falls under the UNDP umbrella in Uganda is the Africa 2000 Network, which brings together NGOs and CBOs on issues of sustainable agriculture. This NGO commissioned a gender analysis of their organisation and based on the findings and recommendations have employed a gender and agricultural specialist to provide gender sensitisation training to the CBOs and communities in the Network. This initiative provides a good example of the type of process that the UNDP country office could have followed but so far has not.

The country office did not take an active role in supporting Uganda's preparation for and participation in the 1995 African and Global Women's Conferences, other than providing a few air tickets. The post-Beijing activities, notably support for Uganda's National Plan of Action which is still in process of preparation, are co-ordinated by The British Council rather than by UNDP as one would have expected to be the case.

Key findings of the evaluation are that:

- There is almost no mainstreaming of gender equality (not to mention environment and HIV/AIDS) in the current Country Co-operation Framework because the concepts and approaches in the preparatory process were faulty.
- Little has changed in the country office since the 1996 gender mainstreaming situation analysis: the gender focal point - not senior management - is held responsible, corporate policy is not implemented, WID and gender concepts are confused and the kinds of assistance available from Headquarters is not known or used.
- The country office has no gender mainstreaming and gender balance policies, no training program and no specific tools that program officers can use.
- The activities in which UNDP has exhibited some gender sensitivity largely fall outside the CCF per se and the country office is not actively involved in supporting Uganda's post-Beijing National Plan of Action preparation.

6.6.2 Malawi

Since 1994, when a democratically elected government ended 30 years of autocratic one-party rule in Malawi, UNDP has been the prime mover in assisting the new government in its ambitious reform programmes.

The Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) formulated by the Malawian Government in 1995 embraces policies on smallholder production, economic liberalisation, structural adjustment, new primary health care policies, free primary school education and increased support for the advancement of women and gender equality. PAP recognises the centrality of gender for development policy and programming since men and women have different roles and correspondingly different needs, perspectives and responsibilities. Treating gender as cross-cutting issue, PAP urges all sectors to take account of gender in policy formulation, decision making, development planning and programming.

UNDP's centrality is partly due to the initiative of the UN Resident Co-ordinator, who is the Resident Representative for UNDP and at the same time co-ordinates the activities of UN development group agencies at country level, in establishing in 1994 the unique United Nations Gender and Development Working Group (UNGAD), made up of the Gender Focal Points of all UN Agencies represented in Malawi. Its aim is to promote gender equality within a unified joint UN Gender Programme. The programme's overall objective is to build capacity for co-ordinating, harmonising, and strengthening gender mainstreaming within the UN agencies and with the national gender programme, and creating support for specific interventions that promote gender equality.

To formalise the status of UNGAD, terms of reference and job descriptions of UNGAD and Gender Focal Points were developed. The heads of agencies who are policy organs for UNGAD endorsed the terms of reference and a clause to this effect has been included in all Gender Focal Points' job descriptions.

In 1996 an initiative of the UN Resident Co-ordinator resulted in the UNGAD formulating a UN Joint Gender Policy Statement which outlines basic principles for co-ordinating the effort by UN agencies. Among the strategies for the implementation of the UN Joint Gender Policy was the establishment of a co-ordinating unit. Therefore, in 1997 a United Nations Gender Co-ordinating Unit (UNGECU) was established and placed in the office of the Resident Co-ordinator at UNDP. UNGECU has undertaken a gender capacity and needs assessment study within the UN system in Malawi which resulted in the development of a three year UN Joint Gender Programme and Work Plan (1998-2001) with the overall objective of building capacity for implementing the UN Joint Gender Policy.

Identified priority areas of action in the Joint Gender Programme are:

- the development of gender knowledge, skills and sensitivity
- mainstreaming gender in the programming process of all UN agencies
- information, communication, dissemination and documentation of gender related data
- advocacy and networking with Government and other partners to strengthen the National Gender Programme, and
- identifying and developing joint gender specific projects and programmes

UNGAD has been active in assisting the Government of Malawi in preparing a National Platform of Action for the Advancement of Women (NPFA) in 1995. Using a participatory approach the Plan has emerged from a series of workshops at District level. The NPFA was launched by the Government of Malawi in 1997. Priority areas are poverty alleviation, empowerment, the girl child, violence against women and peace. The resolutions and recommendations have been addressed at a Policy Maker's Workshop in 1997 to discuss the Platform and to reinforce the government's commitment towards its implementation. The NPFA links with PAP in guiding gender mainstreaming and in ensuring that the institutions promoting gender equality apply affirmative action policies.

As the co-ordinator of UNGAD, UNDP has been very pro-active with regard to gender support. The UNDP country office has a gender specialist at programme level who works according to very clear terms of reference. She co-operates close not only with UNGAD members, but also with Malawian Gender co-ordinating bodies, namely the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services and the National Commission on Women and Development (NCWID). The latter was established in 1984 in response to the UN Decade of Women to be a lead agency in co-ordinating WID programmes carried out by both government and non-government organisations. The ministry was created in 1992, mandated to co-ordinate and implement community based programmes that focus on enhancing socio-economic development through poverty alleviation and the promotion of equal participation of disadvantaged groups in society.

UNDP's Country Co-operation Framework for Malawi (1997-2001) incorporates *The Advancement of Women and Gender Equality Programme Support Document* which is based on General Assembly Resolutions 44/211 and 47/199.

The Support Document also addresses gender equality through gender mainstreaming as defined by ECOSOC and is based on the UNDP policy on gender mainstreaming which is contained in three documents:

- The Gender Balance in Management Policy which sets out specific targets for the promotion of women to management and decision making positions

- Direct Line 11 which sets out priorities for gender mainstreaming, defines the relationship with UNIFEM, and establishes minimum budgetary allocations to gender mainstreaming.
- The Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming which is based on an assessment of existing good practises in country offices and identifies multiple centres of responsibility for gender mainstreaming, clearly assigning principal responsibility to senior management.

The broad outline for gender mainstreaming in the Country Co-operation Framework focuses on:

- Sustainable livelihoods through Enterprise Development and Employment Opportunities, Food Security, Natural Resources Management and the Environment, and
- Capacity building for Governance and Development Management through Public Sector Reform and Policy Analysis, Decentralisation, Good Governance and Human rights.

The overall objective of the National Programme is poverty alleviation through the improvement in the status of women and by promoting gender equality. The objective of the UNDP support is to create national, institutional, and sector capacity for gender responsive policy analysis, programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Through the implementation of the Programme it is envisaged that the structural causes of the subordinate position of women in different sectors of development will be identified and dealt with.

The strategies will focus on incorporating gender mainstreaming activities in policy making, programming and implementation in all National Development Plans through the development of gender analysis tools for public awareness, sensitisation and training. The knowledge can improve the collection of data and analysis of gender disaggregated data.

The Programme Support is also aiming at management training in gender focused programme/project design, implementation, co-ordination, and gender responsive advocacy mainstreamed into the formal training programmes offered by the Malawi Institute of Management, and to some extent by the University. Individual capacities at University level will also be trained to add on to the pool of expert trainers on gender.

The Government of Malawi and UNDP signed an initial Programme Support Document in October 1997, within the framework of the National Programme, whereby the Government requested for immediate support in some areas. Within this initial support a number of activities were carried out.

UNDP funded an *Institutional Needs Assessment of Government Agencies Responsible for Gender Issues* which was finalised in 1998. It was undertaken to assess the capacity of government agencies responsible for gender mainstreaming for implementing a National Gender Policy. The other major focus of this initial support was to create capacity for gender policy analysis, programme design, monitoring and evaluation through the development of a National Gender Policy. It was found that the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services has capacity to mainstream gender within its programmes, but will need further support to develop this potential further. The needs are strengthening on gender training, human resources, and updated conceptual and analytical tools on gender. The Ministry's strength lies in its capacity to promote participatory approaches to community development within rural, urban and peri-urban areas.

Based on the recommendations in that study a Strategic Plan for NCWID and the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services has been prepared by the latter. Since the division of responsibilities and tasks between the two bodies had been unclear, the Strategic Plan recommends that NCWID shall restrict itself to a mandate of advocacy and lobbying on gender issues. It is in need of a distinct secretariat and clear mandate concerning its status, goals, objectives and strategies to clarify the division of labour between the Commission and the Ministry. The Ministry will assume the lead responsibility for creating an enabling environment by formulating a gender policy, providing skills in gender analysis, planning and programming within all levels of development.

UNDP also funded the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Development in its work towards drafting the National Gender Policy during 1998. The work was undertaken on the basis of the realisation that the NPFA is too narrow in focus, and is now only part of the Draft National Gender Policy. It has been formulated through consultations across all sectors and Districts of the country. A number of issues are identified as having implications for the Gender Policy. The main issues include women's participation in policy and decision-making (including within households); oppressive and discriminatory cultures, traditions and practises; unequal division of labour; customary and statutory laws which discriminate against women etc. The Policy document addresses the conventions on the status of women and men which the government has ratified (such as CEDAW), and the promotion of corrective actions where gender

imbalances, discrimination and oppression exist. At the time of the evaluation the Policy still had to be approved by government.

UNDP was also instrumental in organising the establishment of the Malawi Gender Training Team (MGT) in 1996, which is now supported by UNFPA; FAO and Germany. The team is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services. It is made up of 21 trainers from different sectors of government, academics and NGOs. The team is training trainers on how policy planners can mainstream gender and how to implement gender concerns in projects and programmes. The team has also trained UN officials. MTG has conducted research within Malawi, for example Participatory Rural Appraisals. Case studies from Malawi have been used when the team has organised training within the SADC region. Members of the MTG were participating in developing the National Platform of Action and the team is working closely with the United Nations Gender Co-ordinating Unit.

The initial support from UNDP to the Government has also been used for gender sensitisation training for all the Members of Parliament in May 1998.

UNDP has also initiated a Management Information System to organise data. This was done to assist the Government in focusing their activities and co-ordinate donor activity. The initial UNDP support was also used to assist in the establishment of the UN Gender Co-ordinating Unit and for the preparation of the United Nations Joint Gender Policy Statement.

Another result of the initial UNDP support is noted to be the Wills and Inheritance Bill which was passed into law during the Parliamentary Session in June 1998. This Bill has paved the way for the establishment of special public prosecutors who will deal with spouses being left destitute after the death of their husband. Members of Parliament have also begun to sensitise their constituencies on the rights of spouses to property in the case of death/divorce. More women are reporting victimisation cases to the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services, where a Legal Advisory Centre will soon be established.

The Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services is also demonstrating increasing capacity in influencing the policies and programmes of donors and government to be sensitive to gender issues. It is suggested that the wealth of gender analyses conducted under UNDP's Initial Programme Support has contributed to this positive development.

The Ministries of Education, Health and Agriculture are all in the process of developing, and partly implementing, gender sensitive policies and programmes. These Ministries are at the forefront on gender mainstreaming in Malawi. Government officials certainly seem to have a clear understanding of what gender and gender mainstreaming is. However, it is recognised that more training of government officials is needed for planning and implementation. This training has started and will be of an ongoing nature – and include all Ministries.

The activities of UNGENCU and the UN Joint Gender Policy Statement in Malawi do not seem to have influenced neither the World Bank nor FAO so far. However, initiated by UNGENCU, all programme staff in all UN agencies will undergo a five days training on gender mainstreaming in 1998. One day training is planned for the Heads of all UN agencies.

Key findings of the evaluation are that:

- Gender mainstreaming activities are well advanced in Malawi
- UNDP has been instrumental in co-ordinating the United Nation's gender and Development Working Group (UNGAD) and its co-ordination unit and activities.
- Malawi has national gender co-ordinating bodies which have responded well to the challenges of Beijing and are actively involved in gender mainstreaming.
- Gender training of all stakeholders including UN agency personnel is organised.

6.6.3 Bangladesh

From an institutional point of view Bangladesh was at the forefront of the developing world when the Women's Affairs Division of the President's Secretariat was upgraded in 1978 into a fully fledged Ministry. However, this Ministry was combined with the Ministry of Social Welfare in 1982. In December 1989 a separate Ministry of Women's Affairs was split off. With the Ministry of Planning, it is responsible for promoting the greater participation of women in development activities. The mandate of the Ministry of

Women's and Children's Affairs (MWCA), as it is known today, includes national policy formulation regarding women's welfare, special WID programs, matters relating to women's legal and social rights, control and registration of all women's NGO's and dealings with donors on issues, projects and programs relating to women. Until 1998 this Ministry had not been upgraded to the status of having a full Secretary in charge of it, but it is reported that this will be happening before the end of 1998. This will strengthen the reach and authority of the Ministry. Since the Fourth Five Year Plan (1990-95) there have been WID focal points in 33 Ministries and Departments.

The Bangladesh Country Co-operation Framework (CCF) agreed between the Government of Bangladesh and UNDP has as its paramount goal the eradication of poverty. The advancement of women is stated to be an important element here, given that the poorest in Bangladesh are preponderantly women.

UNDP has been playing a very active role in promoting issues relating to the advancement of women in Bangladesh in light of the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA). This has included contributions in various arenas including policy advocacy with the government, assisting the government in project formulation, and chairing the Local Consultative Group's sub-group on gender issues.

In the follow-up to the Beijing Platform of Action the government formulated the National Action Plan with support from its development partners. UNDP was also a member of donors who together funded the *Institutional Review of the WID Capability of the Government of Bangladesh (IR)*^{2/3}. The review identified a number of major constraints which would need to be addressed in order to implement the National Action Plan for Women successfully.

In addition to this Institutional Review, UNDP pledged in 1998 US\$11.7 million for three additional projects to facilitate gender mainstreaming. Two of the projects are already operational. One is a project implemented by the Jatiya Mahila Sangstha (JMS) which aims to provide training and credit to 7,000 women entrepreneurs over a period of five years. Another is the Gender Facility, which is providing small scale assistance in gender mainstreaming to the Ministry of Women's and Children's Affairs (MWCA), ministries and sectoral agencies involved in the implementation of the National Action Plan for Women. It is worth mentioning that this project has begun implementing some of the recommendations made under the IR-WID, including the preparation of a Mission Statement for MWCA, as well as the translation of the lengthy Plan into Bangla for wider dissemination to government field staff.

A third project is expected to become operational in 1999, which will be a collaborative effort between four ministries and is comprised of three components, namely, gender training, gender-based research and gender-disaggregated national-level statistical data collection, and an information and communications project, where the concerned Ministry of Information will be used to sensitize the public to gender issues.

In addition to this, UNDP Dhaka has been a prominent and strong advocate for women's rights within the country through the publication of the *National Human Development Report 1994*, among other things. This 1994 report took the empowerment of women in Bangladesh as its main theme and highlighted the inequities of the situation of women vis-à-vis men in Bangladesh by considering various social and economic indicators. This reflected the lack of a gendered approach in policy formulation in Bangladesh and made clear the necessity to work with the government in developing and using such indicators in order to address the needs of women more effectively in policy and programs.

UNDP has been the Chair of the LCG subgroup on WID for the last three years running, and has therefore played a very major role in co-ordinating the activities of the group. Among its more recent activities was the decision to commission a paper on gender issues, highlighting the status of the government's reform of its WID machinery in light of the IR and the National Action Plan for Women. ToR have been developed for the paper, which will be presented at the forthcoming Development Forum meeting to be held in Paris in 1999.

In addition to these activities, UNDP Dhaka has been very actively engaged in the gender mainstreaming activities, by operationalising headquarters directives such as *Direct Line 11* and other gender related policies. The *Guideline for Mainstreaming Gender Equality* has been taken very seriously by UNDP Dhaka. The Dhaka office has a chief gender focal point and also gender focal points in every programme. In addition the Resident Representative is very committed to gender mainstreaming as was his predecessor, who made UNDP the lead institution in gender mainstreaming. The ToR for the gender focal points are very clear and explicit and the chief focal point is also highly qualified for the position. The UNDP office has also taken internal gender balance policies seriously.

UNDP Dhaka strives to fulfil gender equality in budget allocations, currently devoting 37.1 percent of its budget to gender focused projects and programmes. In this connection the chief gender focal point is also aiming at raising awareness through a series of activities on gender issues within the organisation itself.

These include the provision of gender training to country office staff; the hosting of the recent regional workshop on gender mainstreaming for various other country office gender focal points; and the organisation of presentations on gender policy at the regular office management meetings.

UNDP Dhaka is also involved in the UNDP inter-country program of the Asia-Pacific Region *Promoting Gender Equality in the Asia-Pacific Region* which started in 1997. In the preparatory phase a number of consultative processes and meetings took place. A meeting of senior policymakers in May 1997 focused on paid and unpaid labour; and a meeting of women scientists and technologists held in Chennai (Madras) in December 1997 focused on greater access of poor women to advanced technology.

UNDP and Norway were two of the major donors of *the Institutional Review of the WID Capability of the Government of Bangladesh* which was specifically undertaken to facilitate gender mainstreaming in the government. An international team of consultants carried out the review over a period of four years and resulted in nine volumes when finally published in December 1996. The IR was designed to assess whether the mechanisms, information, skills and commitment required to address the issues of women's equality and development had been put in place within the government, and to identify further steps that should be taken. The concerns addressed in the recommendations of the IR are closely related to the National Plan of Action for Women. The Plan of Action focuses on policy and program changes required to implement the commitments undertaken in Beijing. The IR focuses on the institutional mechanisms or infrastructure required to achieve those changes in policy and programmes. It also aims to equip government officials and government agencies with the know-how to continue to address issues of gender equality and development in future. The task of the IR was to identify the steps required to build the capacity of different types of government agencies to integrate gender issues into their plans, policies and programmes.

An underlying premise of the review is that all ministries and agencies of the government have a responsibility for women's development because women are a major part of the public that each agency exists to serve. Accordingly, all ministries have a responsibility for ensuring that their policies and programmes respond to the needs and interests of women in Bangladesh as well as men, and to distribute benefits equally between them. This mainstreaming approach seeks to move beyond isolated and marginal programs for women to consistent and systematic efforts in all Bangladesh's sectoral plans, programs and projects.

The shared responsibility for women's equality and development is strongly emphasised in the Beijing Platform for Action adopted by the government in 1995. Various studies in the IR therefore considered the process for the formulation of longer-term and annual plans under the leadership of the Ministry of Planning and the Planning Commission, the process by which these plans are translated into projects by sectoral ministries, and the assistance government officials are given by their training institutes. The IR also included studies of the national machinery for women's development, the MWCA.

The Institutional Review identified many important gaps in institutional mechanisms, professional skills and information resources in the government agencies studied, as follows:

- Initiatives for women's development are ad hoc and uncoordinated.
- Attention to women's development issues is largely compartmentalised in the "women's development sector".
- Women's development issues are not a standard aspect of the process of formulating, implementing and evaluating development programs across all sectors.
- Projects are not selected in light of national goals for women's equality and development.
- Few sectoral projects incorporate an understanding of differences between women and men in situations and opportunities as a means of seeking a fair distribution of project benefits and a reduction of gender disparities.
- Few projects include specific targets or objectives for women's development.
- There are few mechanisms to ensure that women's development is addressed in planning.
- Very little guidance is provided by central planning authorities to sectoral ministries on how to incorporate women's development into sectoral plans.
- Formats for project preparation and approval do not require project proposers to assess whether the proposal meets women's development needs and give a fair share of benefits to women.

- The data and information base for gender-responsive planning, both within the central planning authorities and line ministries, is weak.
- Many government planning officers are unaware of international and national commitments to women's equality.
- Overall there is limited understanding of the requirements of a mainstreaming approach.
- This is the case for central planning authorities and line ministries, but also for MWCA and also the government training institutes that will need to equip government officers with the knowledge and skills required for gender mainstreaming.

The review proposed six major recommendations including

- Preparation of a *national statement of goals and responsibilities for women's development*: This would be an authoritative statement of the overall goal of the government in relation to women's equality and development. It would include a specification of the roles and responsibilities of the different agencies of government and would provide explicit authority for them to act. MWCA would be expected to take the lead.
- Strengthening of the capacity of MWCA as the lead government agency for women's equality and development to act as motivator and catalyst for the various government agencies.
- Improvement of the efficacy of the Ministry of Planning and the Planning Commission in their roles as chief actors in a mainstreaming strategy. A central recommendation here is that WID focal points are established in key sectoral divisions with a central Committee of all WID focal points sited in the Ministry of Planning/Planning Commission.
- Establishing a stronger footing for WID Focal Points within line ministries.
- Increasing the representation of women in local government bodies, as these are the level of government that is closest and most accessible to the population.
- Building the capacity of the network of government training institutes on WID/gender mainstreaming so that they are able to equip government officers with the necessary knowledge and skills.

This Institutional Review was generally seen as a landmark in the path towards gender mainstreaming in Bangladesh. It is expected that in the coming years attempts will be focused on implementing the above recommendations. UNDP (as noted above) is already funding one such project.

Key findings of the evaluation are that:

- Gender mainstreaming is taken very seriously at UNDP Dhaka which has emerged as the leader and catalyst in this field, both with regard to other donors and in relation to the government.
- Gender mainstreaming has been and continues to be systematised and institutionalised within UNDP Dhaka which has a well established gender focal point system and a Resident Representative who is committed to gender mainstreaming.
- The chief gender focal point have clear ToR and is highly qualified for her post.
- There is a strong core of gender-committed staff in the Dhaka office.
- Gender mainstreaming is central in the Country Co-operation Framework where UNDP leads the field of donors in gender analysis.
- The UNDP Resident Representative has chaired the donors' LCG Gender Subgroup for the last three years.
- The country office continues to implement internal gender balance policies and is a model in this regard, having steadily increased the number of senior female staff.
- In-house gender training has been held and evaluated.
- UNDP corporate policy on gender is not only implemented but is even surpassed by the country

office, which regularly communicates with UNDP New York on these issues and which prides itself on taking the lead among UNDP country offices.

- UNDP Dhaka provides powerful support to the government in the implementation of Bangladesh's post-Bei-jing National Plan of Action.

² The review changed its name during the course of its completion phase between 1992 and 1996 to Institutional Review of the Gender Mainstreaming Capabilities of the Government of Bangladesh in line with the changing paradigms.

7. The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO)

The FAO is the largest of the specialised UN agencies in existence since 1945 with 175 Member Nations (plus the EC member countries) and more than 1330 professional staff. It is dealing with agricultural production, fisheries, forestry and economic and social policy. It aims at improving the living conditions of rural people, and to eliminate hunger and poverty through the raising of levels of nutrition and the improvement of agricultural productivity. It is, however, not a funding agency but a specialised organisation, which provides technical advice to its member countries including everything "from rat killing to marine biology", as one staff member suggested, as well as on policy and planning. It also is involved in the collection, analyses and dissemination of information relevant to its mandate, and it acts as a forum for discussion of food and agriculture problems. Being a technical organisation means that its staff members are overwhelmingly natural scientists working in specialised disciplines. It is therefore not astonishing that the organisation has been male dominated, with very few women employees, particularly in the technical disciplines and in higher decision making capacity. Social issues are concentrated in a few cross-cutting programmes such as gender, population and food security.

Since FAO's work is normative the overall goal is to set standards and to test hypotheses. Because the FAO is not a funding agency field projects are not like in the other organisations integrated into country programmes but they are established to test certain presumptions in concrete situations. Over and above this the FAO is providing technical assistance in clearly specified technical fields. These interventions are demand driven and are subject to the availability of funding from donors. In addition the FAO also at times helps governments with FAO funds to get certain technical projects going and to access donor funds elsewhere. Field level results should feed back into the normative work at headquarters and serve as models for adoption by member countries.

Since 1993, when the new Director-General came into office, the organisation has decentralised some operations and devolved more power to the regional offices, which are now physically located in the regions rather than previously at headquarters in Rome. However, at country level FAO representations are one or two person operations, acting as a communication link between FAO and the respective government. The normative specialised nature of FAO also means that there is less rotation of staff from headquarters to the field and back, meaning that both levels appear somewhat isolated from each other. The decentralisation process has brought a more articulated division of work between headquarters and decentralised staff which implies that headquarters staff should use 50% or more of their time on normative work while decentralised staff uses an equal time share on providing technical services/backstopping and policy advice to member governments. Some commentators believed that the field-level staff did not really appreciate the normative work at headquarters and vice versa.

With the change of leadership the organisation has also tried to transform its image from being conservative and male-dominated to being at the cutting edge of current development trends. Part of this transformation is a greater public emphasis given to not only technical but also social issues, with gender, participation, sustainability, and poverty being some of the themes.

FAO funding comes from mainly three sources. Donor countries provide a large share of the funding directly through trust funds, another big share comes from UNDP sources. The smallest portion is contributed by the FAO's own Technical Co-operation Programme financed from its regular programme funds allocated by the FAO Conference. Like other UN organisations the FAO has in recent times seem a shrinking of its budgets, with cuts on staff and expenditure and a reduction of field projects. In the current biennium there is a zero nominal growth budget, with no increases over the previous years.

7.1 WID and Gender Equality Policies

Unlike the other two organisations the FAO effectively had a women's unit since 1949 and it has, moreover, been a large unit with regular core funding. This historical incidence has created a very different scenario from UNDP and the World Bank, and has had both positive and negative effects on the status of gender concerns in the organisation today.

Past WID policies: From Homemaker to Agricultural Producer

The FAO's support to women started with the establishment, four years after the inception of the organisation, of a Home Economics Service within the Nutrition Division. The service dealt like all women oriented aid at the time mainly with issues related to women's domestic and reproductive roles. Assistance was provided in establishing home economics programmes and training centres in member countries concentrating on subjects such as nutrition, childcare, health and sanitation, crafts and kitchen gardens. The approach was very clearly a "welfare approach" which supports women as homemakers. Policy and activities did not take cognisance of women as agricultural producers, but dealt with the "soft side stuff".

This gradually changed after 1972, five years after the General Assembly approved the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, when the Home Economics Service was transferred to the Human Resources Division changing its name to the Home Economics and Social Programme. The Service then started to widen its attention to also consider the role of women as food producers, since without upgrading women's economic resources, they would not be able to improve the well-being of their families. Different Conference resolutions in 1977 and 1979 reaffirmed this, but the real turn around came with the 1979 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) held at the FAO in Rome. It stated that women should contribute "on an equal basis with men in the social, economic and political processes of rural development" and that they should be granted equal access to productive resources, land, water and services. It further stated that the "recognition of the vital role of women in socio-economic life" is a pre-condition for successful rural development.

These resolutions also made their way into subsequent FAO Conference resolutions. From then on gender issues were regularly part of these resolutions and they called on member governments to ensure that women participated on an equitable basis in all stages of the project cycle. Consequently in 1983 the title of the Home Economics Service was changed to Women in Agricultural Production and Rural Development Service (ESHW), reflecting the new visibility of women farmers. Also in 1983 the important FAO Committee on Agriculture (COAG) called for an Expert Consultation on Women and Food Production, which was held in Rome the same year. The consultation's many recommendations were radical in that they addressed the economic roles of rural women, the linkages between agricultural policy and food security at household level, women's access to productive resources, marketing, credit and extension services, and the lack of statistics on women's productive contributions. The meeting, moreover, recommended WID training for FAO staff and policy makers in member countries, urged for a participatory approach and the monitoring of the inclusion of women in **all** FAO projects. In the same vein, the Assistant Director-General opening the meeting made a clear stand towards an integrated rather than a particularistic WID approach (FAO, 1984).

By then ESHW was headed by a Social Anthropologist, a discipline that had spearheaded early research and documentation of women's economic roles and the division of labour between men and women in agricultural societies and had pointed to the male bias in development planning. The new chief and the Social Anthropologist who followed her did according to a woman in senior management "a fantastic job" to conceptualise WID concerns within FAO. After the World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 FAO policy strongly supported a shift from women specific projects to putting women into the mainstream. FAO's contribution to the *United Nations World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* (1989) introduced the concept of gender, and addressed "concern to put women into the mainstream in all spheres from macro-level policy and planning to micro-level project activities. It pointed to the importance of national machinery to address mainstreaming, gender sensitive national agricultural policies, and checklists and guidelines (FAO 1990).

In the same year the first *Plan of Action for the Integration of Women in Development* was adopted by the FAO Conference. The Plan of Action did not yet make use of the gender concept, but in line with the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies sought to improve women's status in four spheres identified as civil status, economic, social and decision-making spheres. It again advocated mainstreaming of women's concerns and urged all FAO departments and member governments to find ways of integrating women into their mainstream projects. By 1990 FAO documents intermittently employed the concept of gender. Between 1990-1993 gender mainstreaming was supported by a large-scale compulsory gender-training programme mandated by the FAO Conference, which managed to introduce 80% of technical FAO staff to basic gender concepts.

Recent Policy Initiatives

1995 marked the move of ESHW into a newly created Sustainable Development Department, changing its name to Women in Development Service in the Women and Population Division (SDWW). The move was an initiative of the new DG intending to signal the greater prominence to be given to gender also in technical divisions. With it came a new *Plan of Action 1996-2001*, adopted by the FAO conference in 1995. The title of the popularised version of the plan *Gender – Key to Sustainability and Food Security* clearly subscribes to a Gender and Development approach and links this in with FAO's recently reaffirmed policy focus on sustainable development and food security. The Plan of Action represents a further step in FAO's commitment to gender mainstreaming. The plan itself is based on a participatory mainstreaming exercise, in which relevant divisions were requested to submit their own action plan, and it proposes far-reaching mainstreaming goals, including the devolution of responsibility for enacting and monitoring mainstreaming to the departments. It quotes as its strategic objectives :

- Gender based equity in access to, and control of, productive resources.
- Increased participation in decision making at all levels
- Reduction in workloads and enhanced opportunities for remunerated employment in income.

During the conference adopting the Plan of Action, the Finnish representative speaking for the Nordic group noted with regret that FAO used the term "equity" rather than "equality" thus advocating "something less than equal". She recommended that FAO should use the term "equality" as endorsed again by the Beijing Platform of Action.

The Plan of Action also stresses the narrowing of the gender gap within FAO as an important policy goal. In what is termed affirmative action the organisation commits itself to the UN 30% women in professional posts. Even though this policy has been advocated at least from 1983 onwards, and even though the lack of progress has been a moot point of the Nordic interventions to successive FAO Conferences, little progress had been made. In 1993 in a contribution to the 27th FAO Conference the Nordic statement suggested that FAO lags behind its commitment with only 20% of staff at headquarters and 4.6% at field level women. The statement also noted that women occupy only 8.5% of positions above the P4 level, suggesting that female career development should be improved.

Internal gender equality policies have been a major policy initiative of the Director-General and he has given the issue high visibility and priority, indicated recently by the appointment of a female Director of the Personnel Division. Her division indicated that senior qualified women, willing to move to Rome, and hailing from under-represented countries are hard to be found in the natural sciences. There is, however, a general feeling amongst staff that women who are already working in the organisation should be promoted and that hiring new women staff at the middle level would have a much broader and long-term effect, as well as being more realistic in terms of finding suitable candidates. There was an impression that women in high-level appointments would merely be window-dressers, coming to Rome to "shop for three years and then disappear", who would have little impact on the overall running of the organisation.

Another recent policy emphasis which has met with mixed responses, is the prominence given to the commemoration of World Food Day, Rural Women's Day and the like. These promotional efforts, also a special initiative of the Director-General, have high visibility and are meant to advocate the important role of women in food production. The emphasis of these campaigns is, however, mainly on women around idealised notions of women as carers who are feeding the nation. Such notions do, to some degree, run counter to the gender concept advocated in other approaches and initiatives, and they might *inter alia* hinder the over-arching policy initiative of gender mainstreaming.

The FAO has, at least since 1983, had a clear policy commitment towards mainstreaming of first WID and now GAD concerns, even though there are certain contradictions in policy still to be found. Given the long history of advocacy for women and gender concerns, the wide-spread gender-training in the early 1990's, and the participatory nature of the drawing up of the second Plan of Action, staff members are aware of such initiatives. However, acceptance and compliance with the policy goals is another matter, just as gender as a concept has as yet not made a substantial impression on staff thinking, which still largely centres around women as an "add-on" category.

However, a 1998 meeting of the Programme Committee expressed strong support for more explicit references to the importance of gender mainstreaming in policy documents. With the backing and reaffirmation of the governing bodies, the Women and Population Division will be in a good position to come forward with new initiatives and proposals to strengthen mainstreaming goals. There are opportunities to include these in both the FAO strategic framework (2000-2015) and the Medium Term Plan.

Key findings of the evaluations are that:

- FAO has had since 1979 (83), earlier than many other organisations, a clear policy commitment to work towards equality of women, which has been reflected in FAO conference resolutions, if not in actual practice.
- Mainstreaming has been discussed in the WID Service and its predecessor since 1983, and this aim has been reiterated as official FAO policy since then.
- Staff members are all aware that FAO has declared gender concerns mandatory, yet many do not yet feel personally responsible.

7.2 Organisational Forms for the Promotion of Gender Equality

Like other UN organisations FAO has established structures to support WID issues, including gender mainstreaming. Unlike in UNDP the FAO has had organisational forms to cater for women over a much longer period. Yet, there are still indications that structures that are in place are inadequate, and that gender concerns are largely carried by informal connections and personalised commitments.

Past Institutionalisation of WID

As already mentioned, the present WID unit started its institutional development as a Home Economics Service in the Nutrition Division in 1949, and moved from there to the Human Resources Division in 1972. By 1983 it had changed its name to reflect the new focus on women in agricultural production, until in 1995 it was moved as the Women and Development Service and coupled with the Population Service into its present place in the Sustainable Development Department. In the 1980s the service had 12-14 staff members shrunk now to 9, but it might well still be the largest such unit in the UN system. The down-sizing affected not only the WID Service but all other FAO units.

Already in 1989 the main purpose of what was then ESHW was defined as "to encourage all FAO departments and divisions to integrate women's concerns into their mainstream activities" (FAO 1990b). Other functions were listed as preparing FAO contributions on Women and Development issues, administering the women specific programmes of the service, co-ordinating of staff training in WID analysis, project development and monitoring, giving policy advice to member governments and research. But there were complaints that the service was too under-resourced to deal with its mandate. The chief of the service noted in 1990 that "the location and the mandate of ESHW puts it as one service carrying out a Plan of Action for the entire Organisation", suggesting that the Action Plans of technical departments were, by contrast, carried out by an entire department. Moreover, it was impossible for the service to screen all of FAO's 2.500 field projects (Spring 1990).

The Service thus called in 1990 for an increased Regular Programme Budget, the unfreezing of existing posts and the creation of new posts such as for WID training and WID project specialists.

The unit was supported by the Inter-Divisional Working Group on WID (IDWG) chaired by the Assistant Director General, of the Economic and Social Development Department, of which ESHW was a part. IDWG had been established in 1976 already and the group's mandate was to advise the Director-general on ways to integrate concerns for women into FAO's policies and programmes (FAO1985). Initially membership to this forum did not include management level personnel. This was changed in 1983/84 when nearly all IDWG/WID members were reported to be at the senior officer level or above (FAO1984-1985).

In addition a number of Services and Divisions/ Departments had organised WID Focal Points and WID Core Groups. These were voluntary working groups of interested staff, who did function for a period very well. In the Fisheries Department for example up to 8 people met monthly to discuss human considerations in fisheries, including women. Even though the group was never cancelled, it has long since ceased to exist, partly because the field programmes they monitored were so drastically reduced, and partly because gender issues have lost momentum in the organisation, and individuals got tired doing it all alone and unrecognised. There are indications that from 1990 onwards the Inter-Divisional WID Group and the Focal Point system seem to have declined, since there was talk of the need to revive these structures and ultimately of them having "disbanded".

The Present Structure

The Nordic Group lobbied through the years for a more prominent place to be given to the WID unit in FAO. The group's statement to the 27th FAO Conference in 1993, for example, states that the Nordic countries "would recommend that FAO [...] enhance the agency wide co-ordination in gender questions". It requested that the WID Service should be given a more prominent place in the organisation in order to give gender aspects a higher status. The statement also suggested that FAO would need a clear and visible policy on gender as well as full support at the highest level.

The Women in Development Service (SDWW)

Possibly in response to such request the WID Service was moved into the new Sustainable Development Department during the restructuring of the Organisation in 1995. The new department drew together the Research, Extension and Training Division, the Rural Development Division and Women and Population Division. Within this WID has remained a Service, coupled with the Population Programme Service which until then existed with larger funding under the direct control of the ADG. There are indications that the new division is a rather forced one, with little co-operation between its two elements, even though Population does normative work in the field of reproductive health. Some believe that either the Environment or the Participation Service in the same department would have made more congenial partners. The service is headed by a Chief, answerable to the Divisional Director, who in turns refers to the Assistant Director-General as the head of the department. Sustainable Development is one of eight departments under the Director-General.

The Women in Development Service has currently nine posts for officers, with three posts being vacant. These are the position of WID Training Officer, a Senior Officer, and a WID Project officer. In addition there are two Associated Professional Officers (APOs) and another staff member was on a short-term contract. The service also has a number of associated consultants, such as a training specialist and a number of consultants working with the Socio-economic and Gender Analyses Programme (SEAGA) within SDWW. With one exception all staff members of SDWW have a technical background relevant to FAO's operations, such as an irrigation officer, specialists in bio-diversity and an officer responsible for statistics. Even though the unit seems large, staff members complain that they have too many tasks and too little time to do them in.

The tasks of the WID Service have in fact increased with gender mainstreaming. Even though there are more own account gender activities in the technical departments, sometimes initiated without the help of SDWW, the service is in the perception of technical staff the unit dealing with women's issues. This means that there are more requests from technical departments and member governments as a result of gender mainstreaming. In addition the new task of preparing handbooks and guidelines came as an addition to the increased task in project backstopping. The workload associated with the role of focal point of FAO for the UN system-wide co-ordination of WID/gender activities has increased with the prominence they are given in the UN system. Over and above this the officers also spent time representing gender issues in official meetings, advising technical departments on gender, reading through reams of programme and project proposals. It is almost as if the gender mainstreaming activities, such as the design of sector specific gender analyses handbooks, are tasks over and above the officers' "normal" workload.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on Women and Development (COWID)

With the move to Sustainable Development a new inter-departmental WID mechanism was also put into place. The new group, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Women in Development (COWID) was to replace the old structure in an improved way. Based on the previous experiences the composition of the Committee was to be at management level for its decisions to carry enough weight. COWID is chaired by the Director of the Women and Development Division and has as its members eight Division Directors or Senior Officers representing the eight departments, as well as another representative selected by the head of each department. In addition COWID has representatives for the decentralised offices, of the Office of Programme, Budget and Evaluation, and the Special Programme for Food Security. The committee is to act at the highest level co-ordinating and advisory body on the WID Plan of Action. It is to provide policy guidance and to facilitate co-ordination and decision-making on substantive and organisational matters relating to WID issues. The Committee is clearly seen as an instrument of gender mainstreaming, mainly to follow up the implementation of the Plan of Action. It is to be supported by focal points and core groups in the 24 technical divisions that contributed to the Plan of Action.

There is a common feeling among staff and COWID members that the Committee is not functioning the way it was anticipated. The idea to improve the efficiency and standing of COWID by drawing its members from the managerial level has not had the desired impact. The membership of COWID was meant to create commitment in senior management for their divisions, but Divisional Directors have not made COWID a priority and instead send their alternates to the meetings, who are almost always women at lower levels.

Thus COWID has remained a group of what appears to be mainly women at lower levels who have little power to enforce the implementation of their decisions. Again, the converted are left to preach to the converted. There are obviously individuals in the technical departments who are interested in gender issues but unfortunately they are almost never persons that have much influence on policy making. Moreover, there is reputedly very little if any real feedback between COWID and senior management. Commentators who were not so sympathetic complained that senior management is not interested in COWID because the committee members just discuss the organisation of Rural Women's Day and internal affirmative action issues. Despite these critical faults COWID is considered an improvement over its predecessor and the WID management believe that COWID has had some noticeable influence on FAO policy formulation.

Gender Focal Points

In conjunction with the establishment of COWID Divisional Directors represented in the Plan of Action were to appoint one officer in their division as a COWID Focal Point. The terms of reference for the focal points are defined as

- monitoring the progress, results, impacts and constraints of the implementation of the Plan of Action
- reporting on WID initiatives in their field of competence
- ensuring the inclusion of WID activities in the divisional budget
- participating in gender training needs assessments, formulation and implementation

Gender focal points are thus effectively mandated to ensure that gender mainstreaming is happening in their respective divisions. This is not the case.

The appointment of gender focal points is according to commentators largely accidental, falling on those staff members who have shown an interest in gender issues in the past. If this is not the case, women staff members are appointed. There are, however, a few male gender focal points. One of them admitted that nobody else wanted the task so he took it over because he does not mind. A recent workshop with focal points mapping strategies for gender training revealed that they were as a rule not very pro-active, but rather saw their position as information channels. They did not see their role as monitoring the implementation of the Plan of Action.

Another more serious short-coming of the gender focal point system is that the position of focal point has the status of being voluntary work, in the sense that it is a function officers fulfil over and above their "normal" work. They are thus burdened with two sets of terms of reference with one not taking account of the other. The two positions have not been integrated, so that no official allowances are made for the time it takes focal points to comply with their ascribed tasks. More crucial probably, there is also no budgetary allowance made for substantial tasks such as monitoring the Plan of Action. This lack of incentives is also present in attitudes, in that for example the younger women staff members assigned as focal point feel that they are not able to be pro-active about gender issues lest they be left out for promotion. Others suggested that the extra work involved in pursuing a gender perspective in the technical departments would in fact bring no rewards beyond personal satisfaction. It is possibly for this reason that staff members suggested that enthusiasm with gender concerns has died down over the years with permanent staff members who might once have been very keen: "You have to be an APO to get excited about gender."

Co-operation between Departments, Divisions and Services

Part of the problems of organisational forms addressing gender to function are related to the general problems large institutions have with communications between departments and divisions. Within FAO communication problems might be exacerbated by the fact that so much specialised technical expertise is combined under one roof, making occasions for meaningful dialogue less obvious and more labour intensive. This obviously increases the problems of divisions or services dealing with cross-cutting issues. But population, food security, participation or environment, for example, seem less effected by this communication gap than is gender. Staff in technical departments often do not know what the position of SDWW is or what reaction they might get if they would attempt to consult. Pre-conceptions about SDWW staff might thus well hinder what could be a fruitful collaboration. One complaint was that SDWW would spend too much time urging for special women targeted interventions, even if established knowledge of the discipline would suggest that this is not advisable. Others suggested that going to SDWW would only make sense if you were aware of a particular person you know can be helpful.

Both remarks indicate a certain reluctance on the part of technical departments to "unleash the furies" of advocacy for women which might be perceived as not adding to the technical problem on hand. These

perceptions still linger from the 80s and early 90s, when much of the work of ESHW consisted of what was perceived to be aggressive advocacy and "enforced" gender training. Thus, the WID unit is by some likened to a "gender police" complaining if women are not integrated, but being not practical enough to suggest how they should be included. Even though this has changed over the years, and collaboration on substantive issues is underway between staff members of SDWW and technical departments, these prejudices still linger on.

Such perceptions might even exist at close quarters, such as between SDWW and its sister, the Population Service. Even though they are united in one Division and Population is dealing with gender specific topics, namely reproductive health, little collaboration actually takes place at present. Even though the fact that Population services a different FAO audience from SDWW might contribute to some of the problems, it does not quite explain them.

Institutionalisation of Gender beyond Headquarters

Since the FAO has no regular country programmes and rotation of staff between headquarters and the field is not common, the two seem quite isolated from each other. Country representations are small offices, which have more of a character of a "mailbox" operating as a communication link between local government and FAO headquarters, there is very little room for an institutionalisation of gender concerns. Each regional office has the post of a full time gender specialist. One regional gender posts is vacant, with an interim arrangement in place. Some regional gender officers are supported by an APO. The situation at sub-regional level looks even more grim with only the Pacific and Caribbean sub-regional offices having WID officers: the one is an APO, the other a senior officer who works on gender part-time. There have been proposals to establish gender focal points in all sub-regional offices, but this was not possible given the zero nominal growth budget in the current biennium. The matter is still on the agenda for the next budget, at least for one or two such added positions. In FAO national offices, a programme officer normally acts as gender focal point and participates in the Interagency Working Group on Gender Activities.

As it is, the regional WID officers are overworked. The vast Africa Region, for example, has one WID officer and an APO to assist her, located in Accra and covering the whole region. She has to be re-active rather than taking initiatives herself. Gender concerns in the regions and countries are thus largely dependent on the initiative of FAO representatives and on their willingness to co-operate with SDWW in Rome and the WID unit at the regional level. No wonder that a gender post in the Harare sub-regional office is considered a priority.

COWID, moreover, is at present a co-ordinating mechanism for headquarters only. However, regional gender officers are informed about COWID meetings and are briefed about new developments and activities. Divisional COWID members are also actively encouraged to keep their out-posted staff informed. These institutional mechanisms will be reviewed as part of the overall progress report on the implementation of the Plan of Action, due in 1999 and for the Beijing+5 review process in 2000. This review should address the mandate of COWID in light of the decentralisation process. There is for example a felt need of regional gender officers to establish similar interdivisional groups to COWID in the Regions.

Moreover, since the larger part of FAO field activities are funded by UNDP and are executed for UNDP, project design should follow UN policy guidelines which are binding for both FAO and UNDP. Projects funded by FAO's own technical co-operation department are initiated and prioritised by the member countries themselves, and tend to have more conventional women's project components. Staff on FAO field projects are mostly recruited locally and have thus not necessarily been exposed to gender training.

Key finding from the evaluation are:

- The FAO has had co-ordinating mechanisms which linked the WID unit with technical departments since 1976.
- Attempts to upgrade the existing mainstreaming structures to a more senior level have not had the desired effect yet.
- Gender mainstreaming is still seen as the task of the WID unit and other committed individuals.
- Despite the existence of formal communication links throughout the organisation communication runs via the informal channels of the "initiated" but often powerless.
- WID structures only exist at the regional level. There are no structures at sub-regional or country-

level.

- The institutional position of the WID Service as one of many Services does not empower it sufficiently to effect changes in other Services, Divisions and Departments.

7.3 Approaches to Gender Concerns

FAO has, at least from the 1980s onward, used two main approaches which have shifted in importance but are still employed side by side. They are women specific projects and programmes under the direct auspices of the gender unit and mainstreaming. Additionally, advocacy for gender concerns should be mentioned as a third approach.

Advocacy

In the early to mid 1980s the WID unit put much effort into advocacy work. A staff member recalls that the women would come to meetings and they would immediately complain about women being absent in the meeting and on the agenda. They shouted women but they had no ready solutions for the technical staff. As such, the conclusion drawn by that particular member of staff is that the WID unit women were very bad communicators, because they did not try to create a common ground: "Too much advocacy and not enough nitty-gritty."

At the time, other commentators suggest, advocacy and some aggressiveness was the only way to get technical staff to even listen. The majority of staff was then very opposed to any social-cultural aspects. "Technical departments used to talk about farmers and their wives then," remembers another member of staff: "There was no recognition of women being productive and being farmers. Technical people would actually laugh at the thought of women being own account farmers. They thought the idea was funny."

It was not an easy time, all conclude, because there was so much resistance. And yes, maybe all the advocacy alienated staff members, but then, they were alienated anyway. Nonetheless, many believe, with hindsight, that the earlier advocacy work has in fact had a great impact in getting WID issues discussed in the technical departments.

Advocacy is now dealt with on a more modest scale and in a more channelled way, such as the public relations work for World Food and Rural Women's Day. Of course, advocacy is also part of the other two mentioned approaches, if and where it is deemed necessary and useful.

Women Targeted Projects and Programmes

This approach was very popular within FAO during the 1980s when, according to one involved commentator, such projects "were seen as the secret of power because they attracted extra-budgetary funding". The 1989 Plan of Action for Women in Agricultural Development talks of a two-pronged approach to women's projects and programmes, namely women-only projects and mainstreaming. But women-only projects were acceptable only when

- they could serve as demonstrations to encourage national governments to include women into the mainstream
- cultural factors prevented women from working alongside of men
- rural women had been "generally neglected"

The plan also pointed to the danger of marginalisation inherent in women-only projects and generally subscribed to mainstreaming as the more desirable option.

There was, of course, at the time a much larger emphasis on field projects within the FAO, and even by 1994 the WID unit spent 60-70% of its efforts on administering and backstopping field projects. Today, women specific projects are no longer much in evidence. The new Plan of Action no longer subscribes to a two-pronged approach, even though it often singles out rural women as the target of the plan's purpose. The activities of SDWW are directed more towards policy advice to member countries, capacity building via training in gender analyses, bio-diversity, environmental issues, and food security as well as other approaches that support mainstreaming.

Gender Mainstreaming

The mainstreaming of WID/gender concerns has been discussed within FAO since 1983, and recommendations to mainstream gender concerns have found their way into FAO conference resolutions at least since 1987. Then the FAO conference stated that the "FAO will have to integrate WID concerns into its general development concepts" and that "the principle of integration will apply on the macro-level, that is to the programme as a whole, and on the micro-level, i.e. programmes and projects that will endeavour to integrate WID concerns into their activities". Two years later the FAO Conference noted the "advantages of integrating women in development concerns into mainstream programmes and projects" and recommended "full integration of women in development concerns into the work of the Organisation as well as in national activities". Furthermore the conference stated that special treatment of women in development concerns could result in their marginalization and agreed therefore that they should be systematically integrated in the on-going work of the organisation.

Apart from the ECOSOC definition of gender mainstreaming, which of course is binding also for the FAO, no specific interpretation of the goal of gender mainstreaming has been issued.

Initiatives towards gender mainstreaming

Prior to 1985 little specific initiatives were taken to support mainstreaming. Initially mainstreaming found its expression in mandatory gender analysis training of FAO staff between 1990 and 1993. From 1993 onwards gender training was supported by the formulation of a Socioeconomic and Gender Analysis Programme (SEAGA) under the auspices of the WID Service. The programme is still under-way. Both activities will be dealt with in the next section.

Thus far the most important initiative expressing the commitment of FAO to gender mainstreaming has been the 1995 *Plan of Action for Women in Development*. It was conceptualised as a conscious departure from the previous plan, which has been written by a consultant with little or no ownership in the technical departments, which was obviously due to reluctance in the technical departments to address gender issues. An evaluation of selected activities of that plan in 1994 had criticised its lack of monitoring, evaluation and budgeting devices which made any measurement of mainstreaming impossible. The evaluation recommended that the WID unit reduce its role in projects to a minimum "acting as lead technician only where there is a clear justification", and increase its capacity to monitor WID relevant projects and keep abreast of initiatives of other technical departments.

The recommendation endorsing greater efforts to be directed towards mainstreaming led to the participatory approach for the new plan which delegated responsibility for mainstreaming to 24 technical and administrative divisions representing 65 services. It mandated these divisions to define "achievable targets and identify strategies, instruments for implementation, and monitoring indicators". The plan thus ambitiously claims to have an organisation-wide scope, "encompassing operational and normative aspects of FAO's regular and field programmes as well as the administrative sphere". As such, it represents, according to the Director-General "FAO [...] moving from words to deeds" through creating "a greater sense of responsibility and ownership of the plan's implementation" (FAO 1996). The plan effectively makes each Division responsible for implementing, monitoring, evaluating and reporting upon its respective Programme of Action, with COWID assigned the role of co-ordinator.

The plan also stipulated that the WID activities described in the Divisional Programmes of Action should be financed through regular and field programme resources via the biennial Programme of Work and Budget. These should be aimed at being supplemented by extra-budgetary funding via donor governments.

Support for gender mainstreaming

Even though divisions have been mandated to write their contribution to the Plan of Action, not every division represented in the plan has adopted mainstreaming ideals. It seems that divisions that have always been active in integrating gender concerns have been encouraged by the Plan of Action and the process of drawing up the activities has been a participatory process. For other divisions, writing the Plan of Action contribution has been a necessary evil, with which nobody identified and which some staff member had to comply with for form's sake. Others hired outside consultants to write the divisions' contribution. Obviously in such cases there is no ownership or commitment. Thus, a member of one divisions included in the Plan of Action and operative in a field where gender issues are of considerable importance, plainly rejected the thought that the operations of his service had any bearing on gender whatsoever.

Moreover, even in divisions where there are committed individuals, if management is not supportive of gender issues, there are no funds allocated, and gender concerns only come in when extra-budgetary, earmarked funds can be secured. In fact, given that regular programme funds are cut, gender activities are

the first to go, particularly if management is not committed. But according to all concerned there were also divisions willing to take on gender, but unable to deal with this task practically.

Barriers to gender mainstreaming

Finding the support for mainstreaming socio-economic aspects in technical departments is obviously not an easy matter. Natural scientists might resist complicating their fairly clear-cut technical solutions to technical problems with social and cultural factors. Yet these factors might represent major obstacles to the success of their technological solutions. Moreover, gender as a cross-cutting issue seems to create more resistance to adoption than other cross-cutting issues. The reasons for this lie mainly on two levels, on a conceptual and an attitudinal level. Both have dire consequences.

On the conceptual level a big constraint to mainstreaming in FAO is the confusion around the concepts of WID and gender. It would seem that gender as a concept is a pre-condition for mainstreaming. The older concept of WID takes a particularistic approach and targets women only, a framework that is antithetical to mainstreaming. Yet, within FAO WID and gender are used as two interchangeable terms. In fact the service that advocates the concept of gender is still called a Women in Development Service and publications thus slip at times from the one to the other concept. The same service also supports large public relations efforts which focus on women alone. Most of the activities of the unit are, however, based on the concept of gender and are geared towards mainstreaming. According to members of SDWW the dual use of the concept is due to the fact that the WID concept is more appealing to top management and member government. Clearly SDWW, possibly without fault of its own, thus fails to present a unified gender mainstreaming strategy. Many commentators from within and outside the service remarked on these inconsistencies and the lack of a clear strategy. Staff of the technical departments were unsure about the aims of SDWW beyond being the ones concerned about women.

Staff in the technical departments very often conflate the gender concept to mean women only. Thus, they defined their task as adding a women component to their projects. The integration of women in a division or service or programme might as a result consist of a series of information leaflets listing one on gender, amongst irrigation, crop production, and animal husbandry. There was a perception that gender (speak: women) had to be added on to any activity in order to comply with the rules, making it a useless and unrewarding exercise in being politically correct. With few exceptions technical staff had thus not understood or emulated either the concept of gender or of mainstreaming.

However, this does not mean that divisions did not emulate gender in their work where it was deemed important to the outcome. Such "natural" or "immediate" and "unsolicited" mainstreaming might well stay under-reported. In fact, recently a needs assessment on gender analyses training suggested that many activities related to gender are in fact undertaken, but that these have not been sufficiently co-ordinated and advertised by SDWW, who might not even be aware of them.

Ultimately many men think that gender or women are simply not important issues relevant to their work. This attitude is exacerbated when gender is presented as a variation of the "women are victims of men" line. Gender appeared to many as a much more neutral concept, and it is likely to be more successful if statistical proof can be produced that the inclusion of gender consideration can in fact improve technical performance and the development effort.

Opportunities for gender mainstreaming

Commentators frequently pointed out that within FAO existing opportunities for gender mainstreaming were not sufficiently taken up. One such opportunity mentioned by several technical staff members was the Special Programme for Food Security, a programme which came into existence in 1994 as an initiative of the Director General. It aims at increasing food security in low-income food deficit countries. It aims at offering the country the expertise to help improve national food security by rapid increases in food production. To that purpose the FAO helps qualifying governments to identify and resolve technical, institutional and policy constraints. Based on concepts of national ownership and embedded in participatory approaches, FAO helps formulate pilot activities which can be funded by the Technical Co-operation Department for a maximum of 3 years. Ultimately the aim of the process involving the FAO is a catalytic one, helping the country in question to access funds via funding agencies.

The programme is one of FAO's high prestige cross-cutting programmes, involving not only a broad spectrum of FAO divisions and departments but also national governments. This set-up would make gender mainstreaming efforts not only more efficient but also would have a very broad impact, both within FAO and in the member countries. Thus far gender mainstreaming in the SPFS is very sporadic, nor do there exist any guidelines for any of the involved parties to the constraints analysis and programme development to

include gender considerations. "We do not interfere. This is a matter up to the countries themselves", was what we were told. This is a disappointing point of view for a programme that aims at increasing food production.

An exception and model for the future is the involvement of the SDWW irrigation offices in the formulation of a pilot programme to support small-holders with irrigation and flood control techniques in Cambodia in 1998. SDWW and the relevant technical division co-operate to identify suitable strategies and methods to integrate gender issues in irrigation activities. It is maybe not accidental that these divisions have already a history of co-operation, which goes back to the 1980s and has more recently resulted in the SEAGA sector guide on Gender and Irrigation.

Gender mainstreaming in the Regions

Although regional offices are not part of COWID, they have set up interdivisional groups with the regional WID Officer acting as promoter and secretary to the working group. The Director of SDW visited all five regions to launch the implementation of the FAO Plan of Action and she initiated a number of activities at regional level, including briefing sessions on gender issues and SEAGA training. Regular co-ordination meetings for gender mainstreaming in regional and national programmes are also conducted. The new Director of SDW plans a similar tour of the regional offices in 1998/99. The main item on her agenda will be discussion of how the links between Headquarters and the field offices can be improved and which structures, communication procedures and division of work would enhance the implementation of the Plan of Action.

FAO representatives are in their briefing and debriefing informed about the WID Service and their goals and activities. The mandatory report to headquarters contains a section on gender. Before the restructuring and the financial crisis gender was also on the agenda of the representatives' annual meetings. Regional WID officers also make an input into the Programme of Work and Budget (PWB) of the Division.

Monitoring mainstreaming

Even though the new Plan of Action committed itself to the improvement of the monitoring of the implementation of its activities, no substantial improvement seems to have been effected. The overall impression still was that nobody followed up on the implementation of the Plan of Action. As already mentioned the gender focal points who should be doing the monitoring have neither the skills, tools nor the time and money to comply with this task. Since, as pointed out, there is no ownership of the plan in senior management this situation is not going to change until incentives are built into the structures. This might also mean that the gender mainstreaming activities that are happening, might remain unnoticed, unrecorded and unmonitored

It appears that the monitoring of the implementation of the Plan of Action at the field level is an even more elusive goal, since there is even less control and there are very few gender focal points to cover a very large area. The existing project evaluation format which now includes a section of gender and is fed into a organisation wide Project Coding System is in its infancy and as yet too new a device to ascertain gender mainstreaming.

Key finding from the evaluation are:

- The FAO has had co-ordinating mechanisms which linked the WID unit with technical departments since 1976.
- Attempts to upgrade the existing mainstreaming structures to a more senior level have not had the desired effect yet.
- Gender mainstreaming is still seen as the task of the WID unit and other committed individuals.
- Despite the existence of formal communication links throughout the organisation communication runs via the informal channels of the "initiated" but often powerless.
- WID structures only exist at the regional level. There are no structures at sub-regional or country-level.
- The institutional position of the WID Service as one of many Services does not empower it sufficiently to effect changes in other Services, Divisions and Departments. o The follow-up of

mainstreaming at field level is not structured at all.

7.4 Activities towards WID and Gender Concerns

The activities towards the strengthening of WID/gender concerns have in FAO been rather broad, reaching from gender analyses training over policy advice to member countries to guidelines for gender sensitive planning. Some of these activities are already mainstreamed others are meant to facilitate mainstreaming.

Gender Analysis Training

A major gender analyses training programme for FAO professional staff was organised between 1990 and 1993, training over 1000 staff members.^{37/} The training was endorsed by the FAO Conference in 1989. During 1989 a needs assessment and pilot workshops testing three different approaches were conducted. On the basis of these FAO chose the Harvard Model approach "Gender Analyses Framework", which seemed to work best with FAO staff and the materials could be adapted best to FAO case studies. Originally the courses were supposed to last only one day, but this was considered too short and thus 2 day courses were designed with FAO case material. The training used a then innovative system of participant evaluation at the end of each course and organised a follow-up evaluation six months after the course was finished, to assess the effect of the training.

In the evaluation of the training results after six months half the respondents suggested that they did have a knowledge a gender, but they felt constraints to use the gender analysis concept in their daily work due to its technical nature. Many participants felt that they would need guidelines or manuals to help them. An evaluation of activities under the *Plan of Action for the Integration of Women in Development* concluded that the training had "sensitised" participants to gender issues, but had failed to "transmit the tools required by participants to change the way they carry out their development activities". The evaluation suggests that the assumption that staff would have a background in the social sciences to enable them to apply concepts might not be the case with FAO's natural scientists. Longer, more in depth training might therefore be called for (FAO 1994b).

At the time of this current evaluation in 1998 staff expressed similar feelings about the previous training programme. The course was felt to have been too short for those who had no prior knowledge of gender and too superficial and "boring" for those who had some knowledge. Neither group felt that they got any answers to the HOW question, finding this very frustrating. Most former participants were evidently upset about being told about the importance of integrating gender concerns into their work and then being denied an answer as to how to integrate it. This compounded the resistance against the "enforced" nature of the training, making it for many a useless exercise in political correctness, which did not endear them to the gender idea.

There is then a felt need for training that is voluntary and that takes into account the technical problems of the participants. In that respect maybe departmentally specific training programmes which address gender in the specific departmental context would be more appropriate and useful at this stage. Staff felt that if the training is tailored to the needs of the prospective participants training would by no means have to be enforced. People believed that if the training would be relevant it would also be popular enough to be voluntary. A recent training needs assessment for gender analysis also suggests that services/divisions/departments should be responsible in suggesting officers for training as well as consulting with them over the possible content of the course.

At regional level many Resident Representatives were trained in the main gender training effort between 1991-1992, but this training has not been repeated. Gender is, however, included in the short training given to National Project Directors at headquarters and Programme Officers in local FAO offices.

Socioeconomic and Gender Analysis Programme (SEAGA)

The SEAGA initiative was started in 1993 as a follow-up to the gender analyses training. It was to provide professional staff with the tools to integrate gender concerns into their work. Now in its 6th year the SEAGA programme has had mixed results. Initially the programme was a collaborative effort between the World Bank, UNDP, ILO and FAO. They have now parted ways, apparently because of differences of approach and strategy to gender training, so that SEAGA is now associated with FAO. Nonetheless, SEAGA has kept contact with the ILO and World Bank on a consultative basis which should be commended.

The approach of SEAGA has been to integrate gender concerns into a much broader social framework thus trying to make gender more palatable and more approachable for FAO's non-social-scientists. It also aims at offering interlocking guidelines for the field level, the intermediate level and the macro level, trying thus to

capture all aspects of the policy making process. SEAGA seeks to "operationalise gender analysis in an integrated and practical manner with socioeconomic analyses" and it takes a participatory approach. There does, however seem to be some confusion about SEAGA – it is clearly an analytical and diagnostic tool which should enable practitioners and policy makers to integrate gender into their work, yet it is also presented as a gender training tool. The confusion arises from the fact that SEAGA handbooks and methods are to "teach" development personnel how to include gender considerations in a participatory manner into their work and indeed, some tools require training in using them.

There was agreement among those with inside knowledge that the SEAGA concept is a very useful one for the FAO – it conveniently couches gender in more acceptable social variables, thus using mainstreaming as its own strategy; it aims to look at all levels of the development process, thus being potentially useful for FAO staff at headquarters and in the field as well as being useful for staff at various levels of decision making in member countries. It is, moreover, in more than one respect adaptable to different levels, countries and disciplines. The SEAGA documents have been available as draft publications since 1997 and they have been tested within and outside the FAO. However, beyond the testing, many technical staff members within FAO had no or only scant information on SEAGA.

The reasons for this reluctance towards SEAGA has been explained in a number of ways, all pointing to two aspects: the lack of consultation that marked the inception of SEAGA and the inadequacy of the intermediate and macro-level handbook. On the level of personal opinions a complaint frequently voiced was that SEAGA had been developed in isolation from both the technical departments and the field level as well as other FAO training efforts, such as, for example, the Agricultural Policy Support Service. As a result SEAGA had failed to incorporate the requirements and demands of technical departments and the field, and was not very widely known or used within FAO. There were also criticisms of the quality of the Intermediate, and more so the Macro-Level handbooks, which according to all respondents familiar with the handbooks were found to be inadequate. It was commonly assumed that both handbooks should have been written by an economist with an insight into feminist economics and a professional trainer with more constructive ideas on how to best present the given material to the economic mindset of planners. Some went so far as to suggest that the Macro-Level handbook should be rewritten in order to better reach its intended audience. Nonetheless, there have been examples where the handbooks in question have been successfully used in "training" officials in member countries, including in Norway itself. Information as to how the handbooks have fared as diagnostic and planning tools in everyday work situations were not available.

Despite all this criticism almost all respondents knowledgeable about SEAGA were enthusiastic about the field-level handbook which has been written by a professional trainer. This guide is obviously more frequently used. The initiative to write technically specific handbooks was welcome, particularly since the already finished sector guide for irrigation is generally approved of. Other such specific sector guides are planned and in the making, such as one on plant genetic resource management written by a staff member of SDWW in collaboration with the Environment and Natural Resources Service and the Seed and Plant Genetic Resources Service. This and other sector guides hopefully to follow might help to improve the image of SEAGA and spread its usage in-house.

The programme claims to have introduced the SEAGA programmes in at least 30 countries, and there are plans to make the programme available on the internet.

Guidelines and other Tools

A number of divisions have created their own gender mainstreaming tools, even though the SEAGA initiative should take care of this. These tools have been initiated in the departments/divisions and often been developed in conjunction with SDWW. Gender sensitive guidelines were developed by the Department of Fisheries in the latter part of the last decade when the gender core group was still active. Now, gender initiatives have been restricted to individuals who try to secure extra-budgetary funds for gender sensitive projects. The Food and Nutrition Division has also been gender pro-active, and has in 1993 published *Guidelines for Participatory Nutrition Projects* which include the gender variable. The Statistics Division has for many years been very pro-active and produced *Guidelines for the Improvement of Statistics on Women*, and they have had a number of important seminars and workshops over the years. EHSW itself has before 1995 published a number of guides and "best practice" case studies on extension services for women, rural development projects including women, small life-stock projects for women etc.

The best example of sector guidelines, however, is – apart from the SEAGA Sector Guide on Irrigation discussed above, the guidelines of the Forests, Trees and People Programme in the Forestry Department. *The Gender Analysis and Forestry Training Package* is a most attractive and well designed tool which offers separate guides for the management and field levels, guides on the design and implementation of participatory workshops and training programmes, as well as rapid rural appraisal techniques and case

studies. The introduction to the training package usefully mentions that the initiative for the guide came from a FAO field-level forester in Asia who requested such a guide after participating in a gender training workshop. The same Forest, Trees and People Programme has also managed to publish posters that leave no doubt about the gender message, in that they depict and name both men and women in relationship to trees and forests and the community. This is very refreshing given that FAO posters with a WID message tend, indeed, to concentrate on women only.

Advising Member Governments

One of the activities of SDWW which is very much part of the mainstreaming effort is the advice the unit has been giving to member governments with regards to gender policy development. Initially this task was very much tied to the establishment of national machinery or WID units in the governments of member countries. Today advice on policy mainly comes in the form of gender training or training in the use of gender methodologies and guidelines, as well as projects, such as the Norway funded project on gender sensitive agricultural planning in a number of countries including Namibia, Tanzania and Nepal. The project was an attempt to improve the information channels between farmers, particularly women, extension officers, and policy makers. It used participatory research and planning exercises and consultative processes. Thus the aim was to train planners and extension workers in how to work with rural people in a participatory manner, listening to their "voices" as it were. This approach was particularly effective in Namibia where gender training of government officials and extension workers, went hand in hand with participatory methods for collecting information on women in agriculture also by grassroots women's organisations. This information was then channelled into the formulation of the agricultural policy of the Namibian Government.

Other activities and advice are under way with regard to environmental management and natural resource management. The Programme on Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems tries to address gender aware notions of bio-diversity management at the village level in selected Southern African and Latin American countries, trying to feed information into national and international policy making.

"Harvesting Best Practices"

In December 1997 SDWW organised a workshop entitled "From Farmer to Planner and Back: Harvesting Best Practices". Financed also by Norway it was meant as a follow-up to the inter-regional project on "Improving Information on Women's Contribution to Agricultural Production for Gender-Sensitive Planning" mentioned above. It was to bring together the experiences of the three pilot projects in this programme, but then integrated other FAO projects which also try to grapple with gender, participation and planning. Eleven FAO pilot projects send their national based field staff with diverse backgrounds and attached to ministries and universities as well as FAO field projects in their own countries to the meeting with FAO personnel at headquarters.

The workshop participants shared their experiences with testing and implementing approaches and methods to make agricultural planning more participatory and responsive to the needs of both male and female farmers. At the end of the workshop the participants were to come up with a "Framework for Participatory Gender-responsive Agricultural Development Planning". Using the different levels of farmers and their representatives, district/provincial planners and field staff as well as national level planners, participants worked in groups divided into these three categories and working and arguing from their point of view. The participants came up with definitions of what "institutionalisation of gender" and "enabling environment" should and should not mean to national participants and to FAO staff. As a follow-up to the workshop the case studies of the countries involved were published. Furthermore, there are plans to publish training materials, the framework for participatory processes for gender responsive agriculture and a video.

The workshop had been the first attempt to create a link between the field and headquarters and to listen to field staff on issues related to gender sensitive planning, a link that is generally missing within the FAO. Staff generally believed that the workshop was a great success showing the way forward to a process where synergies between the more practical field level and the normative work at headquarters can be utilised both for the benefit of the field and of headquarters.

Key finding of the evaluation are that:

- FAO had instituted gender analyses training in the early 90s which was based on a needs assessment, used FAO case studies relevant to the trained professionals and had a evaluation of the training component.
- Gender training was resented because participation was obligatory and failed to address

practical questions of how to integrate the concepts into daily work.

- SEAGA has only partly been successful, but there is hope that sectoral field guides will remedy some of the resentment.
- Some FAO divisions have been very active in publishing excellent gender analysis guidelines independent of SEAGA.
- Policy advice to member governments on issues of importance to gender mainstreaming has been a major part of the work of the WID recently.
- Synergies between the field level and headquarters are often lacking but have been successfully addressed by a "best practice workshop" organised by SDWW.

7.5 Norwegian Contribution

Unlike in UNDP and The World Bank, Norway has had a less prominent role in shaping FAO gender policy. This might be so, because FAO unlike the other two organisations had an established unit dealing with the interests of women with staff and budget long before WID units received some support from Norway from 1987 onwards. By the time WID advisers were installed at UNDP and the World Bank respectively, the FAO women's unit had under the leadership of a Social Anthropologist shifted from home economics to WID concerns and had discussed WID mainstreaming. 1985 (or rather 1987) represented thus for FAO not much of a watershed. In fact in 1983, during the Expert Consultation on Women in Food Production, FAO thinking seemed to be ahead of NORAD policy. The representative of NORAD at that meeting still advocated women only projects as the organisations policy approach when FAO professionals advocated mainstreaming as a more important goal (FAO 1984). However, Norway's contribution to FAO policy development lies very strongly in their advocacy role within the UN system and on FAO conferences particularly after 1985. Norway and Finland have been steady contributors to extra-budgetary funds to the WID Service in FAO. By far the largest share of such funds does, however, come from the Netherlands, who are the largest contributors to the FAO as a whole, reaching 12 times the amount Norway puts up and 4 times that of any other donor.

Advocacy

Norway and the Nordic group are known to FAO as those who can be relied on to raise gender issues in the Council and Conference. Norwegian contributions to the FAO Conferences have indeed stressed the women/ gender. In a contribution to the 27th FAO conference Ms Oyangen, the Norwegian Minister of Agriculture, clearly reminded the delegates that more has to be done to remove discrimination against women; and she ventured to explain that this is not only important "from an equality point of view, but also from an economic perspective", particularly in agriculture. Then and on other occasions she and other Nordic speakers recommend the upgrading of the WID Service to give it more importance within FAO.

On the same conference the joint Nordic statement chides FAO for having only trained 10% of field staff in gender analysis, particularly in view of Nordic stress on national capacity building. The statement also stresses the importance of involving women in decision making, increasing the number of women professionals within FAO, and of helping remove legal obstacles to women's equal participation in member countries. The statement also very clearly points to the fact that gender mainstreaming, is it to succeed, must have full support at the highest level.

The Nordic statement to the 1995 FAO Conference equally stresses gender training, particularly at the field level and asks if gender analysis was actually used by field staff. It also strongly calls for monitoring and accountability mechanisms with regard the implementation of the Plan of Action, and points to the lack of "discussion of the roles and responsibilities of the management in general, of all FAO staff and consultants in relation to the implementation of the Plan".

Another important point raised on this occasion was on the budgeting arrangement: "mainstreaming of gender also means that the funds for it should come from the mainstream budget". It suggests that "extra-budgetary funds might be used of capacity building in member countries". Yet, "the idea that WID experts in mainstream project missions would also be financed from extra-budgetary funds seems contradictory to the basic principle" of mainstreaming. During the 1997 FAO Conference fewer specific gender issues were raised.

During the discussion of the 1998/99 budget on the 1997 FAO Conference, the Danish delegate, speaking for the Nordic Group, almost scathingly raises the following:

We find it difficult to understand why gender issues are only mentioned in relation to contributions to sustainable development and in combination with population issues. In many societies, women are the main producers of food and the main providers of meals and nutritional information. Any strategy for the improvement in food security will, therefore, have to take women's needs as a point of departure.

Norwegian advocacy made sure that gender concerns were included in the proceedings and the Plan of Action of the World Food Summit in Rome, 1996.

Funding

Norway's funding of gender activities within the FAO has been on a more modest scale and with less dramatic impact than was the case in both UNDP and the World Bank. Funding went initially largely to gender focused agricultural projects in Sierra Leone and Nepal respectively. From 1995 onwards Norwegian funding was mainly for two project areas. "The improvement of Information on Women's Contribution to Agricultural Production and Gender-sensitive Planning in Tanzania, Namibia and Nepal", which also includes the follow-up workshop "From Farmer to Planner and Back: Harvesting Best Practices" were major investments that proved both successful and fully in line with the gender mainstreaming ideals of FAO policy. The other project area funded by Norway are bio-diversity issues in Southern Africa.

Norway has also committed itself in 1997 to the funding of 6 project components or activities under the umbrella of the "Integrated Support to Sustainable Development and Food Security" initiated by the Sustainable Development Department. The activities directly relevant to SDWW are support to "SEAGA Training", "Farm and Household Research Management", and "Gender Desegregated Statistical Data". Another of the 6 components, located in the Extension and Training Division, "Reforming the Agricultural Extension System in Support of Poverty Reduction, Gender and Sustainable Development" has a very strong gender focus. These funding priorities seem to indicate a desire to fund gender concerned activities in Services and Divisions other than SDWW in line with the goal of mainstreaming.

Given that FAO has devolved the responsibility for gender mainstreaming to the departments, Norway might consider to ensure that projects in technical departments funded by Norwegian trust funds do in fact also take cognisance of gender issues. An example is the Norwegian funded Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries which according to staff in the Department of Fisheries could have integrated gender concerns had there been the funds to do so. However, there are also examples of Norwegian funding to gender main-streamed activities, such as Norwegian funding to the Forestry Department's Forests, Trees and People Programme, which has so admirably emulated gender mainstreaming. Another example is the support to Genetic Resource Management, including funds for the Leipzig Conference on Plant Genetic Resources in 1996 where members of SDWW participated.

During the 1998 Donor Meeting Norway indicated that Norwegian trust funds should henceforth be concentrated in the following areas: Fisheries, Women in Development, and Forests, Trees, and People.

Key finding from the evaluation are:

- Norway has had a strong role in advocating gender concerns within the FAO which has had tangible results.
- Norwegian funding via Trust funds has been in line with the gender mainstreaming goals since 1992.
- Norway might have missed opportunities to strengthen mainstreaming in more trust fund projects in technical departments.

Factors relevant to the institutionalisation of a gender equality perspective in FAO

The evaluation found that within FAO various factors have over time helped to institutionalise gender concerns. Yet, at the same time, there are still great obstacles to the acceptance of gender as a concept necessary. These were identified as:

- A well established unit dealing with women with own budget and staff from 1949 onwards.
- A clear commitment to the importance of women in food production from the World Conference on Agrar-ian Reform and Rural Development in 1979.
- A WID Service that has since 1983 had very strong, progressive social scientists as heads.
- A clear mandate via UN policy and the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action of 1995 on mainstream-ing.
- A structure linking WID Service with departments at top middle management.
- A Plan of Action that commits all relevant divisions within FAO to implement and monitor their proposed activities towards gender mainstreaming.
- Norwegian advocacy and funding has supported the gender focused policy goals of FAO and has, possibly, helped to shape them.

There are, however, many factors that undermine these advances both on institutional and policy level. These are:

- The actual lack of commitment of the larger part of senior management to gender, thus rendering COWID a structure without any influence.
- A lack of incentives and resources for gender focal points for them to follow their terms of reference.
- No complete ownership of the Plan of Action for Women in Development in some divisions.
- No noticeable follow-up of the Plan of Action.
- A lack of regular programme funds for gender in divisions and departments.
- A lack of understanding of the gender concept which is conflated to mean 'women only' thus obstructing the process of mainstreaming.
- A lack of a clear mainstreaming strategy of the WID Service.
- A general resistance in the rather male dominated institution to accept gender beyond paying lip-service.
- A lack of sector specific tools and guidelines to facilitate the inclusion of gender for non -social science staff.
- With a few exceptions gender concerns are still considered the responsibility of committed individuals.

7.6 A View from the Country Level: FAO's Gender Concerns in Operation

The findings of the evaluation point to the fact that the relationship between FAO Headquarters and the field offices are, particularly since the decentralisation process has begun, very weak, not least because of the clear division of labour between Headquarters and the field offices. Moreover, the organisational forms concerned with WID/gender concerns are very weak in the Regions.

7.6.1 Uganda

The main function of the FAO office in Uganda has always been to link Uganda, as a member government, through the ministries relevant to FAO's specialist functions, to Rome.

Co-operation with FAO is important in a country with 89 percent of its population living in rural areas and dependent on land, lakes and forests for subsistence and cash income. National surveys have indicated that poverty is more widespread in rural than in urban areas and that household food security is of

increasing concern, particularly since economic liberalisation which includes promotion of traditional (coffee, cotton) and new export crops. As elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, Ugandan women farmers do a greater share of agricultural labour than men but without equal access to or control over factors of production. Their roles in artisanal fisheries/fish marketing and in use and management of forest resources are also important but infrequently recognised or supported.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) and the then Ministry of Natural Resources were among the first sectors to develop gender-oriented policies, in 1993/94. These policies have not yet been well implemented, however.

Despite the importance of gender relations and inequalities in rural production activities, these were not considered as relevant factors in FAO executed projects in the past, or in most projects currently being implemented. After the FAO office was opened in 1980, several women-targeted projects, such as support to women farming groups (credit), agricultural credit for women (training), population education and village mills (women in co-operatives) were implemented. There are few, if any, projects with a gender mainstreaming approach. According to this commentator, FAO-executed projects typically identify "a general target group" – farmers, fishermen, forest resource users and so on.

The main process for FAO/Uganda co-operation has consisted of the submission of a project or program idea by a government unit to the FAO office that appraises it in relation to national and sector priorities. Once given the green light at this stage, government prepares a draft project proposal that is sent to Headquarters for technical appraisal and assistance with funding. In addition, the FAO office does some backstopping of FAO field projects and assists missions or consultants from Rome who come to Uganda on specific assignments.

In line with the overall reduction of field level projects, at present FAO executes 17 projects in Uganda, ranging from two emergency input supply projects, 8 technical co-operation projects and 7 government co-operation projects (multi-lateral or bilateral donor funded). There are 9 TCP projects in the pipeline, including assistance to the Uganda National Special Program on Food Security.

There was no FAO Resident Representative in post for a year until recently, leaving only one professional staff member to service all activities. The intention of the new Resident Representative is to support FAO policy on up-stream developmental processes such as policy reform, national capacity building and so on. Up-stream work includes policy dialogue, and the new Resident Representative emphasised the need to take advantage of opportunities to discuss with government ways to ensure that gender differences are taken account of in future co-operation activities. Acknowledging Uganda's good reputation for explicit policies and affirmative action to promote gender equality, the Resident Representative noted that, "even if we forget to include something [in a particular discussion] about gender, Ugandans are likely to remind us".

The overall picture that emerged from discussions with FAO staff, technical advisors and national project managers and technical officers is that FAO has not been active in raising women in development, much less gender, issues, either in the past or recently. The few recent gender relevant initiatives have been isolated activities, often of considerable interest and importance, but not followed up subsequently by FAO. Ugandan commentators, as in the agricultural ministry, were frustrated by this lack of continuity. In the other hand, SDWW at FAO headquarters feels that it has invested considerable effort in provision of technical advice to Uganda. The problems, they say, arise from government's lack of follow-up in securing funding for proposed activities and the failure of the agricultural ministry to include the gender ministry in relevant steering committees.

The Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Services currently has regular contact with FAO only through its membership on the national organising committee for the 1998 World Food Day ("Women Feed the World"). This Ministry has not been invited by other government ministries to participate in any of the steering committees for relevant current or pipeline FAO executed projects such as a bio-diversity project which will have a community level component or the national Special Program on Food Security which will focus on irrigation development. The FAO office appears not to have questioned the government about the absence of gender ministry representation.

FAO's *Plan of Action, 1996-2001*, is present in the field office library but seems known to almost no one in Uganda. None of the interviewed technical advisors, national project managers and technical officers, Ministry of Gender staff or officials in other co-operating ministries such as agriculture and forestry were aware of the Plan's existence. There is, of course, general awareness that FAO, like other UN agencies, supports the advancement of women. However, the lack of operationalisation of either WID or gender perspectives supports the general perception that gender at FAO is a matter of political correctness, not a precondition for sustainable rural development and food security.

With respect to sector policy development however, there was an important initiative in 1995, when an FAO consultant and two government officers prepared a report on "Gender-Linked Considerations in Agricultural Policy in Uganda". This consisted of a good analysis of the existing policy situation and an Action Plan for further work on policy development linked to operational activities. According to commentators in the agriculture ministry, the consultant promised that FAO would send the official report back to Uganda. So far as anyone knows, this was never done and there was no follow-up subsequently by FAO. Concerned stakeholders in the agricultural ministry did try to follow-up on the basis of the draft report; but since it was not "official" in the view of the ministry's management, there was no subsequent action.

MAAIF has a good understanding of the relevance of a gender perspective in these sectors and has identified gender analysis training for staff and an adequate sex disaggregated data base as two important needs. In 1997 at MAAIF's request, the FAO regional WID officer based in Ghana provided technical assistance on improving the production of sex disaggregated agricultural statistics. The current status of agricultural statistics was surveyed and discussed at a workshop, and a Task Force was created to follow up and implement the recommendations. Nothing further has happened in the year since. This is a pertinent example of the type of opportunity for policy dialogue leading to concrete actions that the FAO field office could usefully follow up.

There is no responsibility assignment or process at the field office to ensure that gender concerns are included in relevant FAO projects and programs in Uganda. The field office has never had a gender focal point although in the past a JPO attended donor meetings on WID and gender issues. Given that the office has had limited staff, this is not surprising. The regional WID officer has visited Uganda only once, for the statistics initiative mentioned above; and the field office does not send government project requests to her for gender screening. It is assumed, said one commentator, that if gender is a relevant issue in a request for FAO support by government, then government will have included it; or if they haven't, the relevant technical department in Rome will refer the request for comment to SDWW. However, there is little evidence in current project documents that this screening system actually functions.

When SDWW officers and consultants have visited Uganda in the past, to attend a conference for example, they have used the occasion to inform about the FAO Plan of Action or to introduce SEAGA to FAO office staff, technical advisers, national project managers and ministry officials. In the absence of field office or Headquarters follow up however, these efforts are said to have had little lasting impact. Commentators could remember "that enthusiastic woman from SDWW" but not much in detail about her message or even where the documents that she had carried from Rome – such as copies of the Action Plan – had been distributed.

When asked about the approach taken on WID and gender concerns by FAO, some technical advisers and government officials currently working in FAO implemented projects had diverse perspectives. The larger number were of the view that "project X is very scientific and technical and it's irrelevant to talk about women". Representatives of one project explained that the design for a training initiative in local meat processing had not originally targeted women; but when they realised that women's roles include food processing and sales, they decided to include women's groups in the training. Only one government officer, who had done gender studies as part of his post-graduate course, saw the potential to use gender analysis in a new program that includes a rural employment generation objective. He also anticipated a need for gender analysis training for community based staff who will be attached to the project.

FAO is said to have executed one or two women-targeted projects in Uganda in the 1980s but specific project titles could not be remembered. From 1989-1991 the then Ministry of Women in Development hosted a technical advisor and one national technical officer in the Project on Women's Policies and Programs (UNFPA funded, FAO executed). The project followed a WID approach, including baseline surveys of women's situation and resource inventories such as women's NGOs, intended as an input into project planning and policy development. The output and impact of this project were not assessed.

The other approach, mainstreaming, is not yet reflected in the way in which FAO projects have been designed and executed. The one exception that could be identified from a sample survey of project documents is FARMESA, a regional project for "Farm-level Applied Research Methods in East and Southern Africa", in which Uganda participates. The project document stipulates that gender issues must be included in the farming systems methods that the project will support. FARMESA is gender sensitive because the donor, Sweden, has insisted. The project document also notes the Norwegian funded regional project on "Gender, Bio-diversity and Local Knowledge for Strengthening Agriculture and Rural Development" as an important parallel activity with an approach similar to that of FARMESA.

It is sometimes assumed in Rome or in field offices that "pushing women or gender" is difficult because of conservative attitudes or resistance in the member country. Examples to confirm this assumption come

readily to hand, as in the case of one Ugandan commentator who explained in all seriousness that his government department is willing to "support women's affairs because the ladies are always so careful and patient when carrying out manual tasks in a project". It is also assumed that targeting women or promoting gender mainstreaming becomes part of project design and implementation only because of a donor conditionally, as in the case of SIDA and FARMESA above.

However, officers working in forestry observed that they had no problem with such "donor conditionalities" when these are in line with government's own policy. This department has had limited experience with gender concerns in this sector, apart from community forestry. Nonetheless when Norway, as the main bilateral funder in the sector, stipulated that activities under the umbrella Forest Sector Program should be strongly gender focussed and, where necessary, affirmative action taken to benefit women, as in applications to the Forest College, the Department had no problem with this. As they put it, "this is in fact our own government's policy and we also support it". On the other hand, they said that they did not remember FAO mentioning anything about the relevance of gender in the forestry sector, except at FAO biennial Conferences that one person had attended in the past.

Uganda joined the Forest, Trees and People Project (FTPP) in 1992 and now has ca 250 individual and institutional (mostly NGO) members. The Gender Analysis and Forestry Training Package is known, used and appreciated, although members would like in future to modify the training materials and guides with local case studies and examples. In 1993 when FFTP was still new and members were being trained, gender issues were included in their PRA training.

Because of the continuing felt need for further training in gender analysis skills FFTP, with assistance from the FAO field office, organised a workshop on Gender Analysis and Natural Resource Planning and Management in early 1998. One workshop objective was to design an integrated approach for gender analysis by building on existing training materials, one of which was the Gender Analysis and Forestry Training package. Another was SEAGA, for which purpose a SEAGA consultant presented a summary of the diagnostic tools available. According to the workshop report and to one commentator who was present, participants felt that too much material had been presented in too short a time; that they needed more guidance to better appreciate what SEAGA is all about; and that it seemed "overwhelming, daunting and academic". SEAGA handbooks were supposed to be sent to workshop participants who requested them, but there is no subsequent information on whether they are being utilised.

The SEAGA manuals are present in the field office library as well, but none of the current project staff were aware of these diagnostic tools. Only a few FAO project staff have had any kind of gender sensitisation or gender analysis training, from other sources and not through FAO.

The gender co-ordinator in MAAIF was introduced to SEAGA at the same time as she was in process of preparing a proposal for gender analysis training for senior ministry staff. Informed that FAO/SEAGA had funds to support such training, the proposal was revised, approved by the Ministry and by the field office and sent to Headquarters. Although there are questions as to whether correct bureaucratic procedure was followed, there has been no further response from Rome.

The Women Studies Department, Makerere University, is familiar with SEAGA and occasionally uses portions of the manuals as source material for adaptation to specific training contexts. Staff feel that the manuals are academic in tone and cannot be directly applied in concrete situations, as when the Department is commissioned to train extension workers or members of an NGO for example. FAO/SEAGA requested Women Studies in early 1998 to collaborate on revising the Intermediate manual and developing Training-of-Trainers materials. However, the Terms of Reference sent from Rome were more ambitious than Women Studies was prepared to undertake. They proposed to work on a stand-alone manual on Project Management, but there has so far been no further reaction from Rome.

Key findings from the evaluations are:

- this country provides an enabling environment for co-operation with FAO in development of processes to promote mainstreaming for gender equality;
- in spite of the "mail box" character of the field office, with limited staff, there are many windows of opportunity for policy dialogue with government on gender mainstreaming to promote gender equality;
- FAO policy/Action Plan is not known in Uganda and the opportunity to link it with national and sector gen-der policies has not yet been taken;

- interesting and important initiatives that FAO has undertaken, often at the request of Uganda, have not been followed up; and
- the existing system to screen Ugandan project proposals for FAO support does not function adequately, on either FAO's or Uganda's part, to identify opportunities for gender mainstreaming

7.6.2 Malawi

The FAO representative had been in office for six months at the time of the interview. The FAO office in Malawi has only one professional staff member in addition to the representative. There is no gender focal point at the office and no mandate for such a position at FAO. The regional gender focal point based in Accra very seldom makes visits in the Region. She is organising her work in a re-active manner, coming to assist on a specific task upon the FAO representatives request.

Neither him nor other office staff had participated in any gender training. This kind of training is not initiated by headquarters but from the regional office. There was thus a wide perception that gender is equal to women only. The WID Plan of Action and other relevant documents which spell out FAO's gender approach were apparently distributed to all field offices and to country representatives, but did not seem to have been noticed, read or understood.

FAO field offices are only working as a communication link between the Government (Ministry of Agriculture) and FAO headquarters and the field office is thus not involved in project identification, planning or implementation. Most of these tasks are done by government, by nationals contracted for the purpose or by international experts and consultants.

It was noted that gender must be understood in a wider socio-cultural context and that there is no culture for integrating gender at present within FAO. COWID was regarded as a little, internal, hardworking group. This group is too small and in need of support. The view was that very few staff members were sensitised on gender mainstreaming at headquarters. The representative attended the Conference when the Director General's bulletin on gender mainstreaming was passed. But little has happened to follow-up mainstreaming activities.

In Malawi FAO has funded a nutrition programme which is addressing women.

SEAGA was noted as a good instrument. This tool had been used by the planners in the Nutrition Section in the Ministry of Agriculture to develop a tool kit for appraisal studies of the Sustainable Livelihood Project. This project has not yet started, but will have a field-level approach with the communities themselves to implement it.

The Special Programme on Food Security has also been developed by the Ministry of Agriculture. However, the Women's Programme Section has not been involved in the project proposal development for gender mainstreaming. The project proposal did, however, have a component addressing women. The Resident Representative had never seen the documents and guidelines produced at Headquarters for the The Special Program for Food Security.

The only project in Malawi one could think of integrating gender issues into is the "Handing-over of Irrigation Schemes to Farmers (1996-97)". The project was of 17 months duration (June 1996-October 1997) based on the objective of creating a dynamic/self-sustainable management system of existing irrigation schemes by the users. The intention was to reproduce the scheme in other areas via a general constitution and by-laws prepared by the project. It was also to provide a methodology to provide effective support to farmers in irrigated agriculture and to institute a training programme for farmers. The only directive in the work plan and reconnaissance of the project was the suggestion that an international farmer's organisations specialist should consider to "identify any gender issues in the context of farmers' organisations and self-management related to small-scale irrigation development".

To have a gender focal point positioned in the regional office in Harare was of great interest to the FAO representative in Malawi.

Key findings of the evaluation are:

- The FAO office in Malawi does not seem to be involved in gender mainstreaming at all, nor does there seem to be any information on such activities.

- Gender Training has not been conducted at the offices, nor has FAO been involved in organising such training for national stakeholders.
- The formulation of the constraint analysis and programme proposal of the Malawian Government for the Special Programme for Food Security has not involved the women's programme section of the Ministry of Agriculture.
- Only an irrigation project stipulates the inclusion of gender concerns.

7.6.3 Bangladesh

Bangladesh joined FAO as a member in 1973 and co-operates closely with the government in the fields of agriculture, food production, forestry, fisheries, livestock and environment. In its publications on its work in Bangladesh, FAO emphasises its role as advisor to the government on food and agricultural issues. It states that with its strong technical base and broad field experience it is particularly well-qualified to assist the government in the formulation and implementation of agricultural development plans in Bangladesh. Given this, the relative lack of gender mainstreaming in the country office is a matter of serious concern because it means that FAO is losing an opportunity to influence government policy to become more gender-sensitive.

Co-operation between the government and FAO in agriculture has focused on the formulation of the "National Strategies and Program Framework for Agricultural Development". A core component is the Accelerated Cereals Production Programme's "Thana Cereal Technology Transfer and Identification" project. The project is designed to increase productivity under irrigated conditions that allow diverse and intense rice-based cropping systems. Under this program, there is a major scheme for the training of agricultural extension workers and village women were being trained as extension workers as well.

However, it emerges that FAO does not appear to be engaged with gender mainstreaming to any significant degree. This appears to be due to the lack of staff at country office level. The participation of women in training projects, such as seed processing projects, tends to be the exception rather than the norm. Women do not have a high profile in most of FAO's projects. This is particularly surprising given the degree to which FAO is concerned with issues of food security and nutrition issues, areas that women in Bangladesh have a great deal to do with.

In the field of fisheries development women participate in and are trained in aqua culture. But their presence remains marginal. In the forestry sector as well there is little evidence of the participation of women in the "Multisectoral Integrated Management System for the Sundarbans Reserved Forest". This, again, is surprising, given the degree to which women are being involved in social forestry projects elsewhere.

The pervasive problem, with regard to gender mainstreaming, appears to be understaffing at country office level. FAO Dhaka currently does not have any formal staff position for a gender focal point. Instead responsibilities for WID/gender issues are "voluntarily" placed on a female staff member who actually is a Program Officer with many responsibilities for Horticulture and several other FAO projects. Because of her other formal duties she does not have any time to devote to gender issues. However, because of her own personal interest she has tried to make the time to attend some of the Local Consultative Group's gender sub-group meetings. Normally she is so busy with her non-gender-related work that this is not possible. Despite these serious constraints she has been asked to continue as gender focal point.

A number of factors make the work of the gender focal point difficult. There appears to be almost no communication between FAO headquarters and FAO Dhaka on gender issues. Corporate policy on gender is hardly known: the standard FAO gender directives and gender training materials are not in the office and therefore are not used or acted upon. There has been no SEAGA or other gender training at all over the last year. Only on "Rural Women's Day" (15 October) did the office receive gender-related documentation from HQ – the rest of 1998 very little communication on gender issues was sent from Rome. A policy paper received in September 1998 – describing FAO's guidelines on gender – was, however, noted as being helpful.

There is not much awareness of gender policies or what "gender" means, within the country office, with the usual confusion about WID and gender concepts. No formal discussion on gender issues have taken place in the Dhaka office for some time. Gender analysis only appears to become a concern for FAO Dhaka when international staff are involved in a project, that is, when FAO Dhaka develops a program from headquarters or on behalf of one of the UN agencies. "Then gender policies appear." But gender analysis was not the norm for FAO Dhaka's own projects.

As far as FAO Dhaka's institutional structures are concerned, there is no gender focal point in the office. The post is solely *ad hoc* and "voluntary". There are no specific ToR for a gender focal point. Instead the acting gender focal point is a program officer like others. While other UN systems have specific gender positions and a division of responsibility, there is no such division of responsibility in the FAO country office. "Just because I am female, WID issues come to me! But nothing is institutionalized. There is a lack of systematization. There should be a specific officer responsible for gender."

The lack of communication with headquarters is replicated in a lack of contact with the Regional gender focal point, who is located in Bangkok. Further, the regional gender focal point cannot be contacted directly by the acting focal point in Dhaka. Instead communications have to be channeled via the Resident Representative on either side. This lack of direct communication appears to slow down communication on gender issues even more.

When gender-related tasks and activities are given to the Dhaka office, they have to hire a consultant to deal with this task. For example in May 1997 FAO Dhaka had to draft a UNDP funded program – and at that point the Regional GFP was called to Dhaka for 3 weeks. A local consultant was also hired. These measures were taken because this was a UNDP funded project and UNDP had demanded that WID staff must be included.

In agricultural training FAO Dhaka "demands" from the government that 30% to 40% of all trainees in FAO training schemes must be women. However there often appears to be a shortage of competent women. FAO involves women in seed programs because it is well-known in Bangladesh that women do all the work connected with seeds, such as seed preparation and seed storage. After the recent floods (in September 1998) it was established that poor women were far worse hit than men (who could flee more easily, leaving their families behind). In response FAO has been distributing saplings and vegetable seeds to women in certain areas. This seems to indicate the rather *ad hoc* nature of FAO's women-focused work.

FAO Dhaka readily works together with NGOs in order to be better able to reach women, especially through NGO women's groups. But when agricultural inputs are given to the NGOs the beneficiaries are very largely male because of FAO's focus on farmers. However and unfortunately, even if men are farmers, low-income women who do a lot of agricultural work and all the tasks connected with food processing, are left out.

The Resident Representative felt that the Beijing Conference has had a great impact on gender awareness in Bangladesh. He felt that FAO Dhaka's interest in gender issues only happened after 1995 and admits that his staff still has a lot to learn about gender issues.

Key findings of the evaluation are that:

- There is no gender mainstreaming in the country office at FAO Dhaka.
- There is no full-time gender focal point within the office - a "voluntary" position has been placed on the Pro-gram Officer for Horticulture, Nutrition and Livestock.
- Corporate gender policy is hardly known and is not discussed.
- Communication of the local gender focal point with the central WID Service in Rome and the gender focal point in the regional office in Bangkok is minimal.
- Women are viewed as marginal to FAO's concerns which are defined as technical and male farmer oriented. This is despite the fact that FAO is also concerned with food security and nutrition, areas where women should be central.
- There has been no gender training in the last year or so, nor are any specific gender tools in use.
- FAO does not seem to pursue internal gender balance policies at the Dhaka country office.
- WID and gender concepts are confused and the assistance that headquarters could offer on these issues is not known about or not used.
- FAO Dhaka appears to be rather neglected by headquarters, as far as gender assistance is concerned - this is the feeling within the country office. The problem appears to be partly one of understaffing, and a lack of managerial support.

³ According to one document, pilot gender training of 200 FAO professional staff happened somewhere before 1987 with the assistance of SIDA, but this could not be confirmed.

8. The World Bank

The World Bank was established in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference. Macro-economists are the dominant group of employees of the Bank: only 2.3 percent of the Bank's employees are social scientists who as the minority have limited influence.

The World Bank Group consists of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (the IDA provides credit to poorer countries that cannot meet the IBRD's commercial terms), the International Finance Corporation (works with private investors and invests in commercial enterprises in developing countries), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (encourages direct foreign investment in developing countries by offering insurance against non commercial risk), and the International Centre for Settlements of Investment Disputes (provides facilities for settling disputes between foreign investors and their host countries).

Formally all decision-making authority in the Bank is vested in the Board of Governors that meets annually. This authority is delegated to the Board of Executive Directors. The IBRD is now owned by the governments of 180 countries. To join the IBRD, countries must first be members of the IMF and then subscribe to its capital stock. The number of shares reflects the country's relative voting rights at the Board of Governors and the Board of Executive Directors at the World Bank which has 24 members. USA has the largest voting power (17%) representing one of the G7 countries, the (8) Nordic and Baltic countries represent 5% of the votes.

In 1997 a major reorganisation of the Bank was initiated which has been named the "strategic compact", a structure inspired by the "New Public Management" (Pollitt 1993), a recent suggestion on improving bureaucracies to be more efficient. The rationale for the "strategic compact", or "matrix", is an effort to be more client oriented, to improve country assistance strategies and to formulate more flexible lending instruments with a stronger poverty focus. The "matrix" suggests a "flat hierarchy" dividing the organisation according to functions, more decentralised responsibilities, (run by semi-) market principles, with a strengthened focus on the client, and on quality. More efficiency is to be achieved by a system of incentives to the most efficient entrepreneurs, who also serve as examples for the other staff members to follow.

The Bank is now organised into four Networks and 14 Families. Each Network has staff and managers with specialised expertise and skills. It is subdivided into Sector Boards and is governed by a "network council" with senior representatives from the Bank and the Regions. These are Europe and Central Asia (ECA), Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), Middle East and North Africa (MNA), Africa, East Asia & Pacific (EAP), and South Asia (SAS).

The new decentralised structure of the World Bank intends Country Directors (CD), who were thus far located at the Bank to move as Resident Representatives into the field offices. This decentralisation is ongoing with almost half of the country directors now stationed in the field. Where the two positions are not yet combined the CD has a horizontal relationship to the field representations, which now have a larger impact on the management of the Bank's Country Assistance Strategies (CAS). Another important aspect of the restructuring has been the new practice within the Bank to apply market principles to buy and sell staff time as internal consultants. This is happening on the basis of need and backed by budget allocations for thematic areas of the Families from the Regions. Staff members thus have to make up time plans as to how they will be spending their time and whose budget will pay for what.

8.1 WID and Gender Concerns in the World Bank

The World Bank has been having a WID adviser since 1977, but only established a WID Division in 1987. Moreover, a policy statement on WID/gender only came in 1994 and has thus far not been followed up. Even though the Bank has committed itself to gender mainstreaming the policy has thus far not been sufficiently operationalised to allow for significant translation into actual practice.

Previous policy approaches

The World Bank has, through time, maintained a constant policy approach to growth and poverty reduction. In the view of the Bank development and thus poverty reduction can only be achieved through economic growth. For instance, the Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) which has been gaining momentum from the

early 80s is a policy based on privatisation, investment and growth to be pursued by the investment entrepreneurs. Rather than rely on the very early "trickle-down" assumption of development theory the World Bank has not relied on the market alone and has advocated public interventions in the development process with increasing urgency.

One of the earlier central concepts of the World Bank was the "Basic Needs" approach, which was the Bank's answer to the realisation that inequities in the distribution of income in developing countries were not alleviated by economic growth as expected. "Basic needs" projects were meant to solve the problems of absolute poverty of the poorest 40% of the populations of developing countries. In fact, the then President of the Bank suggested in 1979 that the earlier creation of the post of Adviser on Women in Development reflected the Bank's changing emphasis towards questions of distribution and poverty alleviation.

One of the first WID papers published by the Bank, ten years after the inception of the position of WID adviser, was the "Safe Motherhood Initiative", ostensibly an input to President Conable's speech at the Safe Motherhood Conference in Nairobi, 1987. The initiative, which addressed women mainly as mothers, was very successful in improving maternal health and has had a lasting effect on other earlier initiatives directed towards women.

The Bank's more recent initiatives on human development, primary education and health care, are based on the assumption that lack of primary education and illness hampers participation in the labour market thus hampering labour-intensive growth. To some degree these initiatives have been a response to the social effects of structural adjustment debate in the 1980s and beyond. Human development has led to the reallocation of public expenditure to investment in the social sectors (basic education, health and water supply services). Social Safety Net Programmes, which came in the wake of Structural Adjustment Programmes, and environmental projects are part of the Bank's cross-cutting human development initiatives.

The crux of the human development policy is that education and higher earning capacity are to ensure greater productivity for women - thus fostering sensible decisions about childbearing and health care. In 1989 the WID Division published a summary of the objectives of the Division, which makes recommendations for the future of the Bank's WID initiative. *Women and Economic Development: Objectives and Policy Measures* reviewed and integrated several lines of economic research that were supposed to contribute to the Bank's staff understanding of how women affect economic and social development - through their productivity in the market labour force, their home-based production, and their critical role in determining specific aspects of family welfare. Structures for investing in women outlined in this paper were:

- Private returns to investments to enhance women's market productivity are particularly high in primary and secondary education
- Education shifts women's time allocations toward market oriented production and away from home-based work
- Education benefits the health and nutrition of the woman's children and immediate family members mainly by having a positive effect on family planning and productivity.

The main justification of WID policies as proposed in this paper was the efficient integration of women into economic life, just as the justification for educating women was the social benefits of family welfare and birth control. Aspects of gender equality, or women's legal, social, cultural or political rights did not feature in this position paper.

The 1990 Progress Report on the World Bank's WID initiative *Women in Development* addressed the UN Decade for Women (1976-85) and the Bank's adoption of strategies to enhance the role of women. With some progress in health and schooling, the need for a stronger initiative on integrating women into the Bank's lending was underlined. The WID Division focused its activities on arguing for increasing women's economic productivity by investing in human capital and improving women's access to productive resources and the labour market. Future WID activities were identified again as: education, health and family planning, with the addition of extension services and credit.

Recent Policy Approaches

The first World Bank policy paper on WID/gender, *Enhancing Women's Participation in Economic Development*, was published in 1994, with substantial financial assistance from Norway. A commentator believes that there was a "reluctance to pursue a World Bank gender policy document due to the known resistance within the Bank". The paper draws on extensive analytical work done both within and outside the

Bank and is based on case studies from countries within all the Bank's Regions. It is supplemented by country-specific data provided by other UN organisations and NGOs. The Policy paper argues its case mainly in efficiency terms, but also addresses equity, stating that "investing in women is [...] an important part of development strategy as well as a matter of social justice. It is an integral part of the Bank's overall strategy of poverty reduction" (World Bank 1994:14). The work of the preparation of the policy also served as a basis for the Bank's contribution at the Beijing Conference. The paper maintains that improving women's productivity can contribute to growth, efficiency, and poverty reduction. Thus investing proportionally more in women than in men – such as in education, health, family planning, access to land, inputs, and extension – is seen as an important part of an overall development strategy. Following this, the main strategic sectors for the Bank's WID/gender activities were again identified as education, health, wage labour, agriculture and natural resource management, and financial services.

Equity issues are also addressed in the areas of education, health services, women's control over productive assets and resources (access to and ownership of land, inheritance rules, extension services, own income). Legal and regulatory frameworks are addressed with the need of modifying these in order to remove barriers to women's land ownership and access to the formal labour market. The paper also points to the need for the collection of gender disaggregated data and for assistance to governments to develop gender sensitive policies and programmes. Possibly more importantly the policy paper also commits the Bank to "mainstreaming gender concerns into its operations", also allowing for self-standing women and development projects where these are deemed to "pioneer efforts to promote women's participation" (*ibid.*: 66). It also signalled a clear change from the WID to the gender concept, which in turn opened for a discussion of narrowing gender gaps, and removing barriers women face relative to men.

Even though the policy paper represents a clear departure from the past, it remains weak with regard to operationalising the new policy approach. It advocates a three step integration of gender issues, moving from analysis of past experiences to integration into CAS and subsequently into the design and implementation of the lending programme, and it points to the importance of having "performance indicators to measure progress, as well as monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to follow up on implementation" (*ibid.*). But beyond promising that the Bank "would strengthen its current monitoring system to assess the progress in integrating gender into the Bank's operations" (*ibid.*: 69), no goals, measures, or indicators are in fact suggested.

In fact, a subsequent guidance note on *Gender Analyses in the CAS Process* in 1997 suggested that the policy on gender mainstreaming is but an option. It states that the note is "to provide guidance to World Bank operational staff **interested** in systematically integrating gender into CAS". It aims to "raise issues and pose questions relevant to integrating gender into CAS [...]" and should **not be viewed as a manual or operational directive**" (emphasis added by the authors).

Operational Directive 4.2 *Gender Dimension of Development* (1994) in the Operations Manual underpins the Bank's policy on gender but makes no direct reference to mainstreaming. It states the Bank's aim as "to reduce gender disparities and enhance women's participation in the economic development", reiterates the need for gender sensitive programmes and projects to "attain impacts that are equitably beneficial for both men and women", stresses the modification of legal frameworks, gender disaggregated data, and access to credit for women. The directive also suggests that the Bank's country gender analysis – gleaned from poverty assessments and other economic and sector documents and country dialogue - is "incorporated into the Country Assistance Strategy". As will be pointed out this is, however, often not the case.

Currently the Gender Board has initiated the preparation of a Policy Research Report (PRR) which is meant to provide intellectual underpinnings and serve as a guide for gender mainstreaming. The Report, which enjoys wide support in the bank, including that of the Chief Economist, is compared to a small World Development Report on gender which requires extensive background research to produce a well-argued, well documented concept paper, which might provide the topic for a later "big" World Development Report. The PRR on gender will focus on the links between gender, policy and development outcomes that can improve policy formulation and development effectiveness. The primary audiences for the report will be national policy makers and their staff, development specialists, and interested members of civil society. In brief, the PRR, will argue that

- economic development policies are not gender neutral, thus ignoring gender can hamper development
- state intervention is necessary to provide incentives to equalise access to productive resources, to promote open and competitive labour and capital markets, and to reform the legal framework.

There has thus in the Bank's policy approaches been a shift from an exclusive focus on motherhood via human development issues, such as education, to more substantive gender equality issues addressing

gender differentials in access and control over resources as well as women's unequal legal status. More substantive gender concerns have been addressed in World Bank documents recently. The draft of the 1998 Status Report on Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa which focuses on gender clearly states that "one of the factors concerning growth and poverty reduction in SAS is gender inequality in access to and control of economically productive assets", and it recognises that these inequalities might be particularly prevalent within households.

Documents such as the above do not, however, seem to have much impact on the main Bank operations. There have, for example, been no attempts to disaggregate gender at the household level, apparently because this would be too costly. Thus the Bank's policy on WID/ gender seems to remain unconnected to the research reports produced by the gender unit, time and again crystallising around issues of education, time, labour saving devices and the like. The gender approaches proposed in many World Bank documents seem to "evaporate in the patriarchal cooking pot" (Longwe 1997:148), as also recently contended by Lockwood and Whitehead (1998).

Despite these developments, and the fact that there is no lack of verbal commitment to gender issues at the Bank, gender is still largely paid lip-service only. There is no coherent gender policy and mainstreaming has remained an unexplored area, which is not mandatory in the Bank as it is at UNDP and FAO. According to Moser there is, moreover, no agreement on what the term gender means in Bank policy documents, suggesting a great diversity of approaches to gender and development, definitions of gender analyses and components of gender analyses (quoted in Lockwood and Whitehead 1998:17). Thus promoting gender concerns outside the gender enclaves is in the World Bank still very much in the hands of committed and informed individuals. In addition, given the lack of operationalisation the gender policy has, according to involved commentators, little or no value for the Regions. The regions largely formulate their own gender "policies" or approaches, if they so wish or, as the country-level studies suggest, do not seriously respond to the gender policy at all.

It is hoped that the gender policy development at the World Bank will follow in the tracks of the pronouncements of its President in his speech to the Beijing Conference in 1995. Under the title *Women and the Transformation of the 21st Century* Wolfensohn declared that "all the evidence tells us that not to empower women is a tragically missed opportunity –not only to create a more just, but also a more prosperous society. This empowerment", he affirms later, "will require not just the liberation of women, but also the liberation of men...". His annual speeches since then reaffirm the Bank's commitment to "promote equitable access to the benefits of development regardless of nationality, race, or gender" (1997) and to "recognising women" (1998) but they have lacked the radical zest displayed in Beijing in 1995.

Key findings of the evaluation are that:

- The World Bank has with initiatives like "Safe Motherhood" concentrated on women's reproductive roles.
- The World Bank formulated a policy document on gender in 1994 which commits the bank to gender main-streaming but fails to operationalise the concept sufficiently.
- WID/gender concerns find their expression in efficiency arguments, noting women's education and health as very efficient investments in human resources.
- Gender concerns have in the Bank's language always been tied up with economic growth.
- The president, and other members of senior management, have expressed the Bank's commitment to gender equity, but they have not indicated how they intend to put this commitment into practice.

8.2 Organisational Forms of WID/Gender Units in the World Bank

The WID/gender unit has over the years undergone a number of organisational changes which have, particularly with the move in 1997 to the "matrix system", helped to consolidate the group's organisational rank and potentially improved bargaining power. The development of regional WID structures have greatly varied and fluctuated between and within different Regions.

Early WID efforts

Starting with an "informal WID lunch group" set up by professional females in 1973 the institutionalisation of WID concerns in the World Bank started with the appointment of a WID adviser in 1977. The post was

located in the Projects Advisory Staff of Central Projects in the Research/Policy section of the Bank. It attracted few resources and had a broad mandate, namely to "make staff more conscious of the costs of not taking women into account". As Razavi and Miller point out the position of the WID adviser was a difficult one, since beside being sidelined, there was no "organisational fit" with the Bank's mandate and ideology. The adviser's attempts to form alliances and to bargain with management had little success and much time was instead spent on defending the Bank's WID work towards the outside world (Razavi and Miller 1995a:33 ff.).

In response to the World Conference on Women in 1985 the World Bank enlarged its WID section step by step. In 1987 two staff members were added and the unit was elevated to a WID Division in the Population and Human Resources Department. By 1990 the Division had a substantially expanded staff of 8 employees. Even though the location was not giving it a high status, its head at the time, believes that having been located in the social sector of the Bank had its benefits in that the Division at least was operating under a supportive management, which allowed it to network more freely.

During a restructuring process in 1993 the WID Division was remodelled into a Gender Analysis and Policy (GAP) group located in the Education and Social Policy Department, with now only 6 staff members, with a brief to integrate WID/gender in the Bank's operations. Even though the new group was relieved of its monitoring activities, the new "mainstreaming" task greatly reduced their ability to keep up their research activities of the earlier phase.

The integration of WID concerns in the Regions was also slow and uneven. In 1986 and as a result of the appointment of a senior Bank economist as the new WID adviser in 1985 each of the Bank's Regions appointed a WID focal point, often the Assistant Director of Projects. These regional focal points had to add the WID task onto their usual job. Moreover, they were acting in a capacity for which they were not trained and they received no budgetary allowances either. Commentators suggest that within the Bank's value system it was not considered an honour to be appointed a gender co-ordinator.

With the establishment of the WID Division WID capacity in the operational departments improved. Regions structured their gender/focal point systems autonomously. The only goal set centrally was to implement the Bank's overall policy, which did not say much about WID/gender. Regions thus had different priorities and goals and they have developed unevenly. Moreover, in the period between 1993 and 1997 the central gender unit mainly requested information from the regional gender co-ordinators. The GAP group needed information on how many gender/WID projects each Region had for their in-house advocacy work. The gender co-ordinators in the Regions at the time found the relationship with the central gender unit "stressful" and one-sided. It was as if GAP had not "assisted the Regions at any time; it was vice versa", remembers one commentator.

Thus not all Regions developed at the same pace: The Africa Region was particularly pro-active on WID/gender, building up a staff of 4 during 1990 and 1993. Norway financed one of the permanent positions at the time and supplied seed money to the WID section in the Africa Region, which was negotiated with Norway directly. Funds were released for conferences, country case studies on women's legal status, natural resource management and in 1992/93 the Country Operations Support Fund. However, staff was reduced to two after 1994 with gender focal points in a few country representations but no proper gender structure or regional network. A not very convincing argument put forward why the Africa region did not develop a gender focal point system has been that African governments did not encompass vocal gender stakeholders thus not pressuring Bank officials in the region to respond.

The Asia Region had an informal gender group which was after 1990 worked into a more professional structure of gender focal points. Initially only young women were appointed, but this changed with more senior appointments, including men, and technical staff followed. From 1990-1991 the South Asia Region received part of the Norwegian "seed money" to the regional co-ordinators. From 1994-1997 the GAP Team in South Asia received direct Norwegian funds for their activities. After Beijing the focal points were responsible for developing an Asia Region Gender Action Plan. Exceptionally, the plan was developed in a participatory manner by the sector teams in each country.

Unlike Africa and Asia the gender team in the Latin American and Caribbean Region (LAC) had no full-time posts. LAC had a gender co-ordinator allocated 1 week per year for the additional task. The WID co-ordinator and focal points kept very quiet doing their gender analysis paid for by the central WID Division using Norwegian trust funds. Former staff suggest that the LAC regional economists did not encourage any mention of women or gender issues, maintaining that "there is no problem". It is only since 1997 (effectively 1998), and with earmarked Norwegian funds, that the LAC Region has been able to expand substantially.

It was thus the Africa and Asia Regions which had something amounting to an integrated WID/gender structure and full-time WID/gender staff. The other regions were less successful in institutionalising WID/gender concerns, but as the example of the LAC Region shows good analytical gender work was still done.

The Gender Board and Gender Anchor today

The Gender Board was established with the reorganisation of the Bank according to the "matrix" in 1997. It is located in the Network for Poverty Reduction and Economic Management (PREM). Its fellow Families are: Economic Policy, Public Sector and Poverty Reduction. It has representatives from each Region and other Bank staff whose expertise encompasses the cross-cutting nature of the Gender Board. The current positioning of the Gender Family within PREM is regarded as positive, since it is placed in the core of the Bank's activities. Furthermore, the creation of the Gender Sector Board provides additional legitimacy to gender issues, raising it above being mere social issues.

The Board has had a temporary director in the office of the management directors since its inception. The appointment of the new director was in summer 1998 awaited with much anticipation. A common assumption at the World Bank was that much of the success or failure in implementing gender mainstreaming in the Bank will rest on the shoulders of the new director of the Gender Board. ^{47/}

The new director will have the difficult task of being a leader who will have to earn legitimate authority based on solid knowledge and experience on gender issues. The director will be in need of good collaboration with the Vice President of the Poverty Reduction and Economic Management (PREM) Network, so that issues on gender mainstreaming are addressed and backed up with solid documentation at the Board of Executive Director's meetings. (S)he will be in need of the support of "all the good gender forces" within the Bank and of external support. Initially the potential to succeed has improved because, after the reorganisation, the Gender Board and Gender Anchor are centrally located within the "heart core" of the Bank's activities.

The Gender Sector Board is supported by a Gender Anchor. Its mandate is to work as a secretariat for the Gender Sector Board. In 1998 the Gender Anchor had 9 fixed staff postings and 11 consultants. The Gender Anchor co-ordinates five thematic groups: development, economy, poverty, public services, and law. Each thematic group has a budget from each of the Regions to respond to concerns of the regional staff. The budget is for paying time for regional staff or consultants.

The general perception at the World Bank is, however, that despite the more strategic position of the gender unit in the "strategic compact", gender issues have been affected by the confusion and uncertainty created by the introduction of the "matrix". Commentators suggest that cross-cutting issues, including gender, have taken a back seat, and that the momentum on gender issues created in the "old" Bank has been lost, either in reality or because there is some confusion as to who is doing what and where. The reorganisation also caused a fair deal of anxiety, pushing not so immediately important issues, and gender is marginal to many employees, to the background. This suggestion might have been exacerbated by the fact that the Gender Sector Board remained without a Director for so long, creating the impression that gender was less important than other issues. These initial problems and uncertainties will most likely be solved once the Gender Sector Board is fully operational.

The reorganisation has also affected the WID/gender structures in the Bank's Regions. The Latin American and Caribbean Region, for example, are, thanks to generous Norwegian funds, in the process of recruiting staff to the LAC Gender Team. There will be 7 staff members working solely on gender issues at the LAC headquarters, led by the Gender Lead Specialist. When the team is in place, the recruitment of gender focal points at field level will start. The team will be the gender support network within the LAC Region, will assist the gender focal points at field level and be in dialogue with stakeholders and donors. In addition it will focus on PREM and the Bank's thematic areas.

Most recently the Africa region which previously had a fairly well established network of gender focal points, now is left with one gender co-ordinator, located in Washington, who works half time on the assignment. The country level set-ups are, however, uncertain. The Gender Anchor, in fact, needed to put out a questionnaire to try and find out what the situation in various countries with regard to gender really was. The uncertainty relates to the autonomy the CD and Resident Representative have to appoint gender focal points or not.

Gender Network

Until the reorganisation there was no Bank-wide, institutionalised gender network. The networks that emerged in the Regions are either regional initiatives, or the initiative of concerned individuals working in

the Region. Regional Gender Action Plans were developed in relative isolation, and, with the exception of the Asia and LAC Regions, by consultants or individuals without country or field level consultations. The central GAP group had no input in this process.

Much of the contact between headquarters and the Regions has been on the basis of personal contacts rather than institutionalised relationships. Since the regions were relatively autonomous and there was no organisational form acting as a central clearing house between the regions and the central unit. Typically, the centre needed to rely on their personal contacts with gender co-ordinators and focal points in the Regions to provide data requested by management, since they did not know what was actually happening in the regions. The fact that gender focal points were frequently not appreciated by their departments or divisions did further weaken the links the central WID Division might have wanted to create with the Regions. This has not changed much up to date.

This situation has potentially changed with the re-organisation. The Gender Sector Board is part of the PREM network and thus has members of all the Regions and all other networks within the organisation, thus operating as a network itself. Given the fact that the Regions are part of the Gender Sector Board, the lack of communication and consultation between central WID unit and Regions should be alleviated.

Key findings of the evaluation are:

- The central WID/gender unit moved consecutively into better organisational positions acquiring more staff.
- The situation of regional WID/gender units and gender focal points has been variable and erratic.
- The "strategic compact" has caused some uncertainty and confusion which might temporarily have impacted negatively on the acceptance and recognition of gender concerns.
- The new positioning of the Gender Sector Board in PREM means that it has members of the Regions and the other networks in the Bank, thus potentially opening up for a much more integrated operation as was possible in the past.

8.3 Approaches to Gender Concerns in the Bank

Unlike in both UNDP and FAO the development of WID/gender concerns in the World Bank are harder to pinpoint in catch phrases. Since a gender policy paper has been missing for so long, the institutionalisation of WID/gender concerns has been more fuzzy and, given the relative autonomy of the Regions, more uneven.

Advocacy – or Making Gender "Cool"

As is the case within FAO, WID advisers at the World Bank had to grapple with a largely male institution and dominated by economists who are not always integrating social issues into their work. Moreover economic models often stop short of the household, leaving the area of intra-household power and incentive differentials unexplored. Gender advocates by contrast tend to take a more anthropological/sociological approach in which gender differentials are largely located below the household level. The tension between the two approaches is clearly recognised by feminist economists Elson, 1991, Palmer, 1991. The early work of the WID adviser, moreover, was spent on doing public relations outside the Bank, rather than networking with other WID advocates inside. According to Kardam, many "staff members said that they perceived the position of adviser on women in development as a political, consciousness-raising position" leaving the WID adviser to do what "she could under the circumstances with minimum support from the management" (1990:122).

From 1987 onwards the WID division changed strategy trying to persuade the Bank that the adoption of a WID/gender focus would benefit their goal, and would, in fact, make economic sense. The more allies the small division could find in the larger context of the Bank the better would be their chances to effect policy (changes). While conventional WID/gender advocacy was done, the division also engaged in research to gain intellectual respectability with their colleagues and to give WID/gender a better name.

The advocacy work in the Bank also included what Razavi and Miller call "WID entrepreneurship". This is the "intellectual work" that had to be done to "argue gender in efficiency terms", to make it more palatable to macro-economists. It was, they argue, a demanding task, since data were scarce and not always supportive of the argument. In the event the WID Division concentrated on "investments in the private sector where the

evidence for high payoffs of investing in women's human capital was strongest and returns were highest" (1995a:40). The most successful issues in this context were the safe motherhood and girls' education initiative. Safe motherhood, which was raised first was based on the simple and persuasive theory that "when you are sick and undernourished you cannot do that much". It proved an easily acceptable concept. Girls' education followed a similar argument.

Women Targeted Interventions

The activities of the Bank have always included special women targeted interventions as parts of larger lending interventions. These activities include micro-credit schemes, water and sanitation projects and income-generation and can be summarised as traditional WID projects. Much of the earlier research on Safe Motherhood was necessarily done with a traditional WID approach, as is the education for girls campaign. In fact, according to Wolfensohn, the Bank was in 1995 "lending an average of about \$5 billion a year for projects which include measures specifically to strengthen the role of women in development" (1995). There have more recently, however, also been many other, more gender focused interventions, even though those that are women targeted might still pre-dominate. Thus within the World Bank WID/gender appear as parts of larger projects only, "integrated" in the sense of not standing alone but being part of something else. It has been pointed out that the danger with this approach is that WID/gender is part of the project appraisal but not of the project implementation, getting "evaporated" in the process by lack of funds and commitment. This is even more unsettling in view of the fact that the funds needed to undertake "WID activities are not specified in a large number of project documents and, frequently no technical assistance is available to support implementation capacity "(Razavi and Miller, 1995a: 46).

Gender mainstreaming

As already mentioned the World Bank's policy on gender mainstreaming has come relatively late. The commitment has thus far remained largely at the policy statement level, which has not been translated sufficiently into goals, and concrete measures. There is thus no strong mandate for gender mainstreaming, which is still considered an optional extra. The knowledge base on and acceptance of the gender concept and gender mainstreaming varies widely within the World Bank.

Mainstreaming "the centre"

The 1994 policy paper suggests that certain strategies are to facilitate gender mainstreaming, including the strengthening of the data base for gender analysis and the development of gender sensitive policies and programmes. Moreover, there has been a policy decision making gender one of the 16 focal areas of the Bank, thus integrating gender into the line-up of 16 Boards at the Bank. There are also suggestions that the fact that gender has been placed within PREM – rather than social development – indicates a willingness to facilitate mainstreaming by placing it at the centre. Yet, prominent Bank personnel suggest that there is no mainstreaming in the Bank and that, in fact, "gender is completely off the radar screen".

Mainstreaming of gender concerns within the World Bank is largely situated within the context of ensuring equity of resource allocation in processes of economic growth. There is a need to improve the human capital resource base which in turn is dependent on tackling discrimination, including that against women, so that labour intensive growth becomes a reality. From this argument stems the Bank's key gender strategy to invest in women's education and the improvement of their productive capabilities. There is thus a danger that gender mainstreaming will be understood mainly as an economic issue, a matter of efficiency, rather than anything to do with gender equity or equality. For the time being, suggest commentators "the stress is on pushing loans."

Yet, prior to the 1997 reorganisation there were indications that the inclusion of gender in projects had improved. The 1997 in-house review of *Mainstreaming Gender in World Bank Lending* (Murphy 1997:27) suggests that the number of approved projects in the 1994-1995 period which showed "no efforts to identify gender roles" was only 12 percent, as compared to 67% in completed earlier projects. The evaluation also maintains that the quality of gender inclusion had improved in the given period, particularly for Africa and Asia. Similar results were noted for participatory approaches with stakeholders. The review also established that almost half of the "projects with gender-related actions" were to be found in the Human Resources Sector (47 percent) followed by the Agricultural Sector (32%). The review tries to tackle the problem of quality, but the indicators used are neither qualitative measures nor performance oriented.

Poverty Assessments

Poverty reduction has been a top priority of the World Bank since the publication of the 1990 World Development report, and is presented as a three-pronged approach dealing with broad-based growth,

human development and safety nets. The 1991 *Operational Directive 4.15* mandated the Bank to undertake a poverty assessment in all countries involved in an active lending programme with the Bank. The assessments are to inform the policy dialogue between the Bank and the borrower, and to recommend interventions for reducing poverty (Tjønneland et al., 1998:25).

There are many problems to be tackled in poverty assessments to capture poverty and well-being. Even though the Bank uses predominantly money-metric measurements, there have been efforts to also capture other dimensions, such as access to assets, expansion of knowledge and empowerment. However, different sets of data have been collected over time, so that longitudinal assessments of poverty are difficult. This does not always allow for a more detailed picture of who the poor are over time and why they are poor or how some escape poverty while others do not. They are not always very sensitive to gender variables either. Following Lockwood and Whitehead (1998) the qualities of gender inclusion in poverty assessments are uneven but have main basic characteristics. These are identified as a conceptual moving between "women", "gender" and "female headed households", with the latter category appearing most frequently and a description of gender as a fixed status with few relational implications. If links between gender and poverty are drawn, they consist of identifying women's specific poverty characteristics. Thus, "by the time the policy chapter is reached poor women and their specific characteristics have often almost disappeared".

In addition, none of the poverty assessments studied by Lockwood and Whitehead referred to households as having "anything other than a joint utility function", that is they do not acknowledge that most gender differentials appear below the household level, as even the World Bank's 1998 *Status Report on Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa* clearly admits. After years of feminist economists advocating gender disaggregated data collection below household level, the World Bank's economists in charge of poverty assessments still do not find this justified, ostensibly because it is too time-consuming and costly. It is therefore not astonishing that female heads of household are popular with the World Bank, since married women remain invisible in statistical data.

Moreover, ultimately poverty assessments are not used extensively in Country Assistance Strategies often being reduced to a little box, or a short summary, a process in which gender might well have "evaporated" further.

Mainstreaming the Regions: Country Assistance Strategies

The most important instrument for gender mainstreaming regional operations would be through the Country Assistance Strategies, which lay down country specific policy approaches, but according to the 1997 review of gender mainstreaming, CAS have been doing poorly with regard to including gender concerns.

The CAS is the key lending and programming document, which bases itself on analytical work done separately, such as the poverty assessments discussed above. It is the major document outlining the World Bank group's assistance to a borrower country. The duration of the CAS is normally two years before they are re-negotiated. A great deal of authority now rests with the Country Directors (CDs) in determining the content of the CAS and the allocation of resources it outlines.

Each CD at the Bank is responsible for a grouping of about 2-3 countries each. He/she is in turn answerable to the regional Vice President, who influences the development planning for the whole Region in line with the Bank's overall goals on economic development. These encompass structural adjustment policies and post adjustment, cross-cutting themes such as education (construction of new schools) health (construction of health clinics), nutrition and family planning, special initiatives for the poorest of the poor like public work programmes, environmental issues and lastly gender mainstreaming. The CD is responsible for the dialogue with the recipient countries and he or she ultimately determines the magnitude of the funding or lending resources. The CD is assisted by country teams, made up of sector specialists. The CD interacts with the Resident Representative on dialogue issues and on the development of the CAS in each country. The CAS process includes several rounds of going to headquarters and back to field prior to being forwarded to the Board of Executive Directors for approval.

In the preparation of lending strategies and projects, the Resident Representative in a specific country will contact the CD at headquarters (where decentralisation has not taken place), who will establish the relevant task team for the project. For gender mainstreaming to happen the awareness of the CD of gender issues when putting the task team together is therefore of central importance. However, the task manager will not do gender analysis him/herself, but buy expertise. Apart from budgetary allowances, the task manager has to be committed to gender mainstreaming and have the support of the CD, for it to happen.

This is not always the case. Although gender issues are increasingly raised at high level meetings, the degree to which CDs see gender as relevant to their own work in managing country lending programmes

and as a legitimate part of CAS and other supporting documentation is very variable. No sanctions are applied if gender dimensions are missing, or are not given enough funding. Funding for poverty reduction is an issue with the Board, funding for gender has only during 1998 been more frequently raised. Effectively gender is thus not mainstreamed into the CAS, unless committed individual CDs see to it.

The 1997 review of gender mainstreaming certainly admits that mainstreaming has been particularly slow in the CAS process. The review in fact suggests that the mainstreaming has been more successful in countries where serious WID assessments were conducted earlier, and refers to the findings of an earlier evaluation which praises the systematic preparation of country-level WID assessments required by country offices in the late 1980's as having strengthened gender work considerably (Murphy 1997:38 ff.). Gender mainstreaming, the review admits, does not work too well at country level.

The failure to include gender considerations into CAS is explained by arguments that are not always very convincing. There are suggestions that "there are too many pressing issues, therefore gender mainstreaming cannot be given priority in the preparation of CAS", and that "recipient governments may not see the issue as one of priority". Other commentators raise the issue for the Africa Region that its "16 CDs have 16 different approaches to country assistance and none of them wants to complicate their task with gender disaggregated data". Bank employees are aware that most CDs are not interested in gender and are prepared to talk about it only, a lip-service that is not reflected in resource allocations.

Ultimately concerned Bank employees wonder if lending strategies can cope with gender equality, fiscal order and private investment all at the same time? There is, it is pointed out, a tension between adjustment policies and social assessments, particularly in view of the fact that there is a serious lack of a proper analytical framework and concept paper on gender issues, which are optional for CDs and task managers to follow. Even though Executive Directors have raised gender issues in three quarters of all discussions of CAS for the FY98, this does not mean that gender concerns in CAS are in fact integrated systematically in all sections of the CAS. However, there is the hope that continued discussion will result in a significant increase in attention to gender, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The Country Operations Support Facility (COSF)

After 1993 and with Norwegian funding COSF was made available to country departments to support their efforts to integrate gender issues into all programmes and projects – poverty assessments, Country Assistance Strategies and Economic and Sector Work (ESW) and the preparation of projects in all sectors. The main purpose of the fund is to improve the quality of gender sensitivity in Bank operations specifically with regard to the involvement of women stakeholders and those organisations in which they are well represented, and in the design and implementation of Bank assisted projects. It was conceived of as a matching fund meaning that if a CD wanted to hire a gender consultant (s)he could apply for half the needed money from COSF and claim the other half from the normal Bank budget. The fund started off with Norwegian funds in the Africa Region and was then extended to the South Asia Region. COSF is to be used for training of Bank and recipient government staff, for the dissemination of Best Practise Kits, to finance the position of a gender specialist at regional Offices, and to support seminars, publications, and field activities. COSF activities also include the production of Country Gender Studies to be used as models for mainstreaming gender concerns into Bank operations. It is stipulated that COSF also should be used to engage in country specific policy analyses with a view to advance knowledge on gender mainstreaming.

Future directions

The WID Division/Gender Anchor has over the years done excellent analytical work and amassed data showing the importance of gender for the development goals of the Bank. Yet these studies have remained isolated events which have had little bearing on both the policy level and in country operations. Commentators outside the Bank have suggested that gender analyses at the Bank are done independently from other social assessments and also separately from project preparation, thus effectively marginalising them. Bank employees outside the WID circle seemed to suggest that the activities of the WID/gender unit have been somewhat isolated from the mainstream. The positioning of the gender unit in the "strategic compact" potentially greatly enhances the possibilities of the communication was the larger institution. In fact it has placed gender into mainstream Bank operations in organisational terms. We now need to monitor how the actual positioning of the gender unit will develop.

The Gender Sector Board is addressing many of the issues raised here in a *Draft Initiating Gender Sector Strategy Note* (June 1998) which addresses basic issues of gender mainstreaming in the Bank. It is yet to be approved by the Gender Sector Board and the larger institution. The note reaffirms that support to gender concerns is an important aspect of improving the efficiency and sustainability of the Bank's operations in order to promote poverty reduction and growth. But beyond that radical suggestions are made

such as a reconsideration of the structure of the Gender Sector Board and Gender Anchor; to review their mandate, which it considers as not clearly defined; and to discuss if the implementation of gender strategies should remain optional or be made mandatory asking if this "is relevant to our positioning as a leading institution in the field"? The document clearly states that for gender mainstreaming to succeed gender must move beyond the "special interest level". It notes the CAS as a strategic entry point for gender mainstreaming.

There is much hope that the positioning of the Gender Sector Board in the "strategic compact" will greatly enhance the ability of the gender unit to facilitate gender mainstreaming through the PREM network. This clearly has helped integrate gender concerns, at least in organisational terms, into mainstream Bank operations. Moreover, the new matrix system, which allows individual Bank staff to plan and implement activities and command a budget, potentially increases the opportunity and incentive to include gender into CAS, and projects and programmes. The coming process will need to be carefully monitored, however, since the arrangements also mean that the inclusion of gender is at the discretion of task managers and CD's and that funds for gender activities are no longer pooled in one pot and thus much more difficult to monitor. The new matrix thus appears to have both the potential to move gender more centre stage and to inadvertently facilitate operational rather than organisational marginalisation.

Key findings of the evaluation are that:

- Advocacy work in the Bank has tried to make gender palatable to economist using efficiency arguments.
- The World Bank still has many women-targeted interventions with a traditional WID focus.
- Gender mainstreaming has not been widely understood or accepted within the Bank, even though the publicly voiced commitment of the President had helped raise the importance of gender concerns.
- An important entry point for gender mainstreaming are poverty assessments. These are, however, not always sufficiently strongly integrated into the CAS.
- The ability of WID/ gender unit to facilitate gender mainstreaming should be greatly enhanced by the positioning in the "strategic compact", which has placed it more firmly into mainstream Bank operations.
- Country Operations Support Facility, an initiative funded by Norway, aims at facilitating mainstreaming in the Region and into CAS.
- The Draft Initiating Gender Sector Strategy Note of June 1998 promises to raise important strategic issues of gender mainstreaming in the Bank.

8.4 Activities towards WID and Gender Concerns

Activities of the WID Division/Gender Anchor have changed little over time, mainly centring around conventional WID projects and activities related to making WID an acceptable subject for economists. In addition there have been efforts to influence the policy domain, such as to influence the CAS process and to establish gender accounting mechanisms. Unlike the other two multilateral organisations discussed here, the World Bank has not spent much effort on either gender analysis training or the production of gender analysis guidelines.

Earlier WID Activities in the World Bank

The early activities of the WID Division were centred around the need to argue and document economic reasons for paying attention to women. The aim was to prove that by helping women one could help a country's economic development.

The main themes, under which specific activities were initially structured, were girls' access to education, women's health, particularly the Safe Motherhood Initiative, infrastructure, which at the time made up 60% of Bank lending, and women's access to waged labour. The latter initiative fell back to a concentration on education, since the Bank could not tackle the legal constraints this issue raised.

The WID Division also made an effort in the field of micro-credit for women, which in the late 1980s met with so much scepticism at the Bank that it did not succeed initially. The WID Division then commissioned major studies of the Grameen and other similar micro credit schemes to look at the sustainability and worthiness of such schemes. Later, as an initiative of the South Asia GAP team micro-credit for women's groups became one of the success stories of World Bank WID interventions. As *Sustainable Banking With The Poor* (SBS), with Norwegian and Swiss funding, the project has in recent years developed into a state-of-the-art guide to Bank officers and their national counterparts contained in handbooks on micro-credit schemes. The core of SBS is a series of field-based case studies of institutions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America which have pioneered innovative approaches to reduce costs and risks of providing financial services to low-income clients. The case studies encompass a wide range of institutional arrangements, including government finance institutions, commercial banks, and non-governmental organisations. Micro credit schemes were adopted by all Regions and were reflected as a WID strategy in many CAS. The Gender and Poverty Team in the South Asia Region has developed an impressive expertise in the field and is providing guidance to the rest of the Bank. GAP's strategy in developing this activity has been to go for technical excellence, and to deal with gender within the more general context of poverty, in order to be taken more seriously within the Bank.

The success of getting mainstream Bank activities interested in micro-credit is comparable with the success the WID Division had with promoting girls' education, started as early as 1970 and finally established by the paper *Letting Girls Learn. Promising Approaches in primary and Secondary Education* (Herz et al, 1991). The paper brought evidence that economic and social returns to education are substantial, with economic returns on the whole larger for women than for men. The paper's winning formula has been to show that "by educating its women, a country can reduce poverty, improve productivity, ease population pressure, and offer its children a better future" (ibid.: iii). This economic argumentation did not fail to persuade the World Bank, as evidenced by the famous speech of Lawrence Summers one year later in Islamabad, Pakistan, where he estimated the substantial social benefits and dollar savings accruing from investing in only one additional year of schooling for women (Buvinic, Gwin, and Bates, 1996:38). In the aftermath many development agencies and donor governments adopted similar funding strategies.

Important too, was the fact that efforts to increase knowledge of women's roles and contributions to development were accelerated by 1989 under a mandate provided by the then President, which required each region to produce Women's Country Assessment Reports or Country Gender Profiles. These were done for many of the Bank's borrower countries. The Africa Region produced 14 such reports in 1991 and then until 1995 covered the whole region. The WID units in the Regions funded and directed local consultants in each of the countries. The profiles are largely descriptive, short pieces, addressing the five (four) priority issues as Strategic Sectors. The work has not been followed up at the Bank, even though there are suggestions that they be revised.

As a direct response to the Beijing conference and as an initiative of the Bank's President, Regions were required to write regional Gender Action Plans. They are of varying quality, being drawn up in some cases by internal Bank consultants, others involved consultation at country level. This was the case in the South Asia. The use of concepts, frameworks and methodology also differ between Regions. Thus, the Africa Region identifies gender in line with the mainstream Bank as an issue of economic efficiency. The South Asia Region proposes the changing of prevailing gender ideologies, and discusses gender based disparities in public and private life. The LAC Region considers gender differences and constraints and envisions gender responsive development to break down existing barriers. Perhaps the most radical in terms of gender, LAC keeps closest to the Beijing Platform of Action and has recently initiated a "Men in Development" approach.

Another broad area of activities highlighted "Best Practice Projects" and did WID policy analyses in specific countries and sectors, such as agriculture and health. In-depth major WID country studies were done for Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Kenya between 1989-1990. These were major research efforts meant to increase the intellectual standing of WID research and to supply data and models on how to integrate WID concerns in country strategies. They have, indeed, been quite successful in getting gender into CAS. Particularly successful was the study on Pakistan which led to the inclusion of gender into the Social Action Programme in that country in 1990. The gender analysis was also tabled and discussed at the 1990 Paris Club.

Also as a methodological example the WID Division evaluated national strategies on agriculture, infrastructure, and municipal management (water and waste) in six selected countries. The Division also hired a consultant who produced intra-household data in seven countries, an initiative that unfortunately did not seem to have been followed up, given that the Bank claims not to have the time and money to collect such data. These activities were all to prove the intellectual respectability of gender concerns, and were to

show Bank staff that "if you do not address women, this will affect development, women must be included if you wish development".

Current Activities

Many of the activities listed above carry into the present day. In addition the Gender Anchor engages in a number of new activities. These include the already mentioned Policy Research Report and a Gender Sector Strategy. The former is intended as an intellectual, analytical paper situating gender in a macro-economic, World Bank style, framework. It is anticipated that this will help give gender professional recognition in the Bank. The Gender and Development Sector Strategy Note will involve contributions from a cross-section of the Bank co-ordinated by the Gender Anchor. Ultimately the note will, in Bank language, "sell" the approach proposed in the Policy Research Report. This means the aim is to create a demand from CDs and others, and to ensure the supply of the product via operational unit funds and gender expertise in the Bank.

Other activities of the Gender Anchor include the setting up of thematic groups – which then attract funding from the Regions to respond to concerns of the regional staff. The thematic groups to be set up are centred around economy, poverty, public services, law and social development coupled, of course, with gender. The first of such thematic groups has been launched on Gender and Rural Development, expanding the gender and agriculture theme beyond the PREM network.

The Gender Anchor has also been involved in the setting up of a Knowledge Management System, also with Norwegian funding, which involves the internal and external web sites to link gender focal points, governments and NGOs designed to facilitate dialogue. Other activities include capacity building, and the integration of gender issues into CAS.

As part of the follow-up to the Beijing conference and in response to one demand of a radical feminist NGO consortium, "Women's Eyes on the Bank", which criticises Bank policies, the President created an External Gender Consultative Group (EGCG) is composed of 14 members representing national women's organisations non-governmental organisations, academics and political organisations from around the world. The group is to promote dialogue between the Bank and civil society aimed at improving its performance in addressing gender issues and women's concerns, particularly with regard to structural adjustment policies. The group communicates with the Bank during an annual meeting, when resolutions and demands are voiced. The EGCG appears to be less radical than "Women's Eyes on the Bank", but the existence of such initiative is clearly a sign of the commitment of the World Bank's leadership to integrating gender concerns.

In addition many other activities with a gender focus are going on in the Bank's Networks and Regions. One such initiative is the Special Programme of Assistance for Africa (SPA) with special contributions of 21 donors including Norway, which was established in 1987 to serve low-income debt-distressed countries in Sub-Saharan Africa launching and sustaining economic reform programmes. The programme pays "explicit attention to gender-differentiated constraints and opportunities in the design and implementation of economic adjustment programmes". The programme also sees itself as an "essential forum for 'mainstreaming' gender concerns in economic policy dialogue and analyses" and it contends that "perhaps the most critical challenge for gender mainstreaming is not technical or economic in nature, but one of effectively enabling women's voices to be heard in the reform process". The programme's 1988 Status Report on Poverty thus has a strong gender focus.

Gender Analysis Training

Even though the World Bank has had some experience with WID training in the early 1980s, training has been of low priority in the Bank's efforts to institutionalise gender concerns. This was partly due to the fact that until 1994 the Bank did not have an official gender policy and since then the gender mainstreaming has not been operationalised and therefore carried an only weak mandate. Limited training was conducted between the period of 1990-1994 with a special emphasis on staff in the lending sectors. Like FAO and UNDP the World Bank used the Harvard Model of gender analysis training. Gender has also been made part of courses on agriculture, nutrition and environment. There was evidently some resistance to the training since according to commentators "to undertake gender training was frustrating, due to such a big difference between World Bank staff and the outside world". The greatest resistance was apparently encountered with staff in the agricultural sector, followed by education. More interested and positive was staff in the infrastructure and legal sectors.

Gender training of staff was also done as a pilot exercise in the Africa Region between 1990 and 1992. It was to introduce staff to the relevance of gender analysis in specific work contexts and sectors. But the

courses were very short, lasting no longer than half a day. There was no post training impact assessment done, but impressionistic evidence suggests that there was a gradual increase in awareness about gender concerns. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that such consciousness raising was actually due to training or to other specific factors. In 1994/95 Norway funded the gender training of World Bank employees in the Middle East and Northern Africa, but no results are known (see Annex 2).

According to an internal World Bank evaluation of gender concerns in 1994 the gender analysis training was hampered by a lack of incentive structures. It suggested particularly the need for incentives to use the new gender analysis skills to be built into the organisation's incentive structure. This seems to not have been followed up, however, since the 1997 *Review of Gender Mainstreaming* does not even mention gender training. In fact, during an internal post-Beijing meeting in the Bank in 1995, staff raised the issues of training, suggesting that if the Bank had difficulties offering gender training to all its staff, maybe gender training should be targeted at senior management to enable them to pursue gender in country dialogue, met with what could be interpreted as little enthusiasm with the Bank's president.

The training and capacity building the Gender Anchor now pursues is more informal through "brown bags" seminars, and workshops, as well as more social film evenings. The range and number of workshops in FY98 have been impressive, covering education, reproductive health, agriculture and coaching sessions and clinics on integrating Gender into Poverty Assessments. Included, too, was a Gender and Development workshop, which brought together Bank management and staff as well as academics.

Closely related to the informal training activities is the dissemination of materials relevant to gender analysis, research studies and best practice examples on integrating gender in development programming on the gender web page. The web page publishes seminar proceedings and papers to make them available for a larger audience. It also tries to solicit discussion among the web users on certain pertinent issues, a strategy that does not seem to have produced noticeable results yet.

Tools

The WID Division made a step towards the establishment of tool kits via the *Best Practice Projects* in the late 1980s, which seem not have been used extensively, because even the selected projects did not reach women as they should have. More recently in 1996 the central GAP unit developed and published two tool kits with Norwegian funding. They are the *Toolkit on Gender in Agriculture* and the *Toolkit on Gender in Water and Sanitation*, which are No.1 and 2 in the *Gender Toolkit Series* with a new toolkit on *Gender and Transport* in preparation. The toolkits are "designed to help Bank staff incorporate gender concerns into their sector work and the project cycle". The toolkit comes complete with slide presentations for audiences including borrower country officials and project level staff. Though the conceptualisation of the toolkit is generally a good one, the actual layout of the toolkit appears complicated and labour-intensive, including many tables with small writing, for it to be accepted by anybody but the most willing. However, the kits have been in such demand that they are out of print. They have now been made available on the internet. A follow-up on the effectiveness of the tools would be useful.

After an initial collaborating effort of designing the Social and Economic Gender Analysis Programme (SEAGA) in 1992/93 with FAO and UNDP, which was terminated, the Bank developed in 1995/96 its own version of a gender analysis and planning tool, *Social and Gender Analysis (SAGA)*, developed by the Education Development Institute. It is built on a similar principle as its FAO sister SEAGA, addressing field to intermediate level community agents, and advocating gender sensitive, participatory approaches for diagnostic, planning, implementation and evaluation stages of agricultural projects. It is meant as a training programme for agricultural extension officers in the Sahel, conceived of as a response to a locally felt need. The easy to use manual has thus far been used to train 50 trainers from 5 countries. Unfortunately Manuals for other countries or Regions seem not to have followed the Sahel one.

Also mentioned as a tool should be the gender web site, which makes available a range of materials.

Monitoring and Evaluation

The World Bank conducted two internal evaluations/ reviews of their WID/gender efforts, one in 1994 and a follow-up in 1997, which indicated positive performance outcomes on gender concerns. However, without an organisation-wide gender action plan which would outline specific measures and goals, monitoring and evaluation must remain rather vague. Moreover, where action plans exist they seem not to have been followed up. The initiate of the regional gender action plans should have indicated goals and monitoring mechanisms to be used or to be created. It appears, however, that those regional plans have lost momentum in the current reorganisation.

The WID division introduced a review of Staff Appraisal Reports (SARs) for all new operations approved from 1988 onwards. It was an attempt to monitor all Bank projects to WID/gender criteria. The WID division tracked data by sector and according to one former member "took the task very seriously". It enabled the division to show a substantial increase in projects that showed some WID attention from 11 to 33% in a few years. The review categorised projects within a three tier system: projects giving little or no attention to WID, those with some discussion or general recommendation; and those recommending project specific WID actions. This systematic review and monitoring of gender issues has now been institutionalised at the Bank. The activity was originally funded by Norway with an additional trust fund in 1993 for Project Review of Economic Sector Work (ESW), but it is now supported by the Bank's own budget. The review has been broadened to include not only projects but also ESW, CAS and Poverty Assessments. Initially the WID Division did the monitoring, which in 1993 with the broadening scope was transferred to a "monitoring team" outside the WID Division.

In addition the Asia Region's GAP team initiated and later institutionalised a screening of projects in the initial stages of preparation to determine if they had implications for gender relations. Unlike the Project Review of ESW which evaluates projects after the fact, the Asian initiative aims at catching gender implications before it is too late. The screening has developed into a Social Screening Projects Sheet, which has been made obligatory for all projects in the Region. Interestingly the gender focus of the screening process is also integrated with other social issues.

The criteria used to measure WIG/gender attention is, however, very superficial and mechanistic and does not at all capture the fact that the quality of the gender references are highly varied. As pointed out in the *DAC Guidelines for gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation* monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, which require as a pre-requisite "the establishment of measurable goals (quantitative and qualitative) against which assessments can be made". But the World Bank, by not operationalising gender mainstreaming sufficiently, has not been specifying the results it is promising on gender equality, nor has there been an indication of the measures to be used by the Bank to assess progress towards achieving the goals. According to Jahan, speaking at a World Bank seminar in April 1998, the definition of results and the identification of indicators to assess achievements of results should be a priority task for the World Bank. Moreover, the establishment of qualitative processes and results on consultation, participation, and empowerment must be established (Jahan, 1998). Similar claims to include qualitative measures such as empowerment or human poverty (UNDP) have been made with regard to the World Bank poverty assessments.

This is particularly necessary to avoid counting gender mainstreaming in cases where gender concerns never made it beyond the project proposal stage, or where gender is mentioned in the CAS under "cross-cutting issues" without ever cutting across the other sections of the CAS reports (ibid.)

Key findings of the evaluation are:

- The WID Division was successful in the early years making a case for girls' education, safe motherhood and micro-credit for women, issues which were subsequently taken up and included in lending programs in particular countries.
- The in-depth Gender Country Studies were successful in facilitating the inclusion of gender into broader policy documents and in getting gender onto some national agendas.
- The World Bank has not relied on extensive gender training, and has only marginally been involved in the production of gender analysis tools to facilitate gender mainstreaming.
- The evaluation of gender aspects in project planning has been institutionalised but needs to be expanded to include more qualitative data; and monitoring of gender concerns at the project planning stage is institutionalised only in the South Asia Region.
- The gender unit has established a gender web page which makes tools and reports available to internal Bank and external net users.

8.5 Norwegian Contribution

Norway's support to the WID unit in the World Bank was a strategic choice emanating from Norway's aim to influence the UN system and development aid towards Norwegian policy goals, which also include a strong emphasis on gender equality. The World Bank, note Lexow and McNeill in their 1989 evaluation of the Norwegian Women's Grant contributions to the institution, "is important to influence not only for its own

sake, but also because of the impact this can have on development thinking and action among other agencies". Thus even a modest level of support to the WID unit could have a much wider impact on promoting WID internationally. Norway has always stressed that even though it supports Bank led economic reform programmes, these have to be designed in such a way as to reduce negative effects on the weaker population groups. Norway has thus advocated social distribution policies, and the development of social safety nets for the most vulnerable. The approach Norway has taken in the World Bank towards gender issues has been two-pronged, combining active participation in governing bodies with targeted ear-marked funds to the WID unit to steer policy into a more WID friendly direction.

Advocacy

Participation in the World Bank's governing bodies was, according to Report No.19 to the Storting, identified as the reason for the "success of Norway's efforts to strengthen the World Bank's focus on women" (Government of Norway 1996:37). This view is shared by Bank staff, such as a commentator who maintained that "the progress on gender orientation would never have happened within the Bank without the key role of Norway on the Board of Executive Directors". Another commentator described how "incredible achievements were done during just one Board meeting" when the Norwegian delegate managed to get approval of six organisational steps for the effective implementation of gender issues, among them the screening of policy documents, operational directives and regular evaluation.

With support from the Nordic Group, Canada, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, Norwegian interventions had enough weight to prove successful. Moreover, the relationship between the Norwegian government and the WID Division was initially exceptionally cordial and close, allowing for extensive individual consultation before Board meetings, which in turn helped increase the effectiveness of Nordic interventions. This is remarkable given that the voting power of the Nordic countries was in 1990 less than 4 percent (Pietilä and Eide, 1990: Annex 3:4). Eide and Pietilä also suggest that the Bank at the time perceived the Nordic countries as the most active promoters of WID. In fact, such was Norway's involvement in the promotion of WID at the Bank, that in 1989 Nordic women parliamentarians complained to the President of the Bank about the lack of policy and progress on WID (ibid.).

Funding

Norway's funds are considered to have been critical for the consolidation of WID at the World Bank. Small amounts of "seed money" were strategically used to overcome budget constraints of the WID Division increasing its bargaining power and leverage to access increasing amounts from core bank funds. The extra-budgetary funds were so important because "when it shifts it tends to go on shifting". Thus in 1987/88 Norway covered 50-60% of the WID Division's funds. Norway also seconded a staff member to the division, helping thus to build its strength. This Norwegian Staff member worked predominantly on the safe motherhood initiative. Other steadfast donors in the early years were Sweden, Canada and the Netherlands, all staunch supporters of gender equality.

The move to allocate the money for WID activities through the administrative budget, which was initially so small, proved to be a very effective strategy. Moreover, as Lexow and McNeill have pointed out, the allocations of the women's grant to the World Bank between 1987 and 1989 were very informal and thus very flexible. Thus only short outlines of activities were required to access the first Women's Grant funds in 1987, and even thereafter there was no "regulation, either from Norway or from the World Bank, to prevent funds being shifted between budgetary items". Informality also ruled the submission of reports in those early years (Lexow and McNeill, 1998:71). Suggestions are that "without this extra-budgetary funding it is unlikely that the Division for WID could have been effective". The extra-budgetary funds provided the much needed flexibility for its diverse activities all aimed at increasing its credibility within the Bank (Pietilä and Eide, 1990: Annex 3:4). To a former WID adviser "it was a total pleasure working with the [Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation] because they supported our own values and understood how we felt". Thus, Norwegian support is now regarded as having been critical to the shift in the Bank between 1987 and 1989 towards more human and women oriented lending.

At the time the WID Division, in collaboration with Operations, concentrated on developing WID strategies for four countries, namely Kenya, Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. In addition two conceptual framework papers, including the Safe Motherhood initiative) were commissioned with the intention for diagnosing the main issues concerning women and identifying promising pressure points for policy makers in the Bank. The WID unit at the time focused on primary and secondary education for women, family planning and maternal health services, agricultural extension and credit. The WID unit also started to do research in the areas of employment, forestry, water and household energy. The understanding was that improved family planning and access to education would influence population trends in the long run, and work in agriculture,

forestry and water and energy management would promote more effective use of natural resources, supporting the Bank's efforts to protect the environment and encourage sustainable development goals.

From 1989 onward, through the efforts of the WID unit and more explicit commitment from the President, WID activities were to a greater extent funded by the Bank itself. Thus In 1989 Norway's support to the WID division could be reduced to 25% of the total budget. It was in 1989 the President Conable initiated the preparation, with funding from Norway, the Netherlands and Canada, of 23 country WID strategies. In addition he also established four regional WID co-ordinator positions. Between 1990 and 1991 Norwegian trust funds to the WID units in the order of NOK 8 million were disbursed for

- policy development and other related analysis and research to improve opportunities for women, with linkages to poverty environment and sustainability;
- "seed money" to the operations complex of the Bank which meant that the new regional WID co-ordinators could develop specific regional approaches and country strategies, and provide operational support on WID issues;
- development and testing of operational approaches to improve women's opportunities, such as the preparation of "Best Practice Project" guidelines.
- establishment of a first WID monitoring and tracking system administered initially by the WID division and later centralised

In 1991 the WID Division requested and was granted additional funding of NOK 1.2 million from Norway for the preparation of a WID policy paper which finally was published as *Enhancing Women's Participation in Economic Development* in 1994. Separate projects to feed into the policy paper were also funded, such as the project on the Gender Design of Natural Resource Management. Another example of strategically placed funds was the support to the evaluation of projects, which later came to be institutionalised in the Bank as the Project Review of the ESW. In the Regions the funding of the Sustainable Banking with the Poor (SBP) was considered a great success.

Not all funding was a success story though: the "Best Practice Projects" led to a dead end, or rather the realisation that more work needed to be done by way of designing innovative WID approaches. Some of the work of this project, however, was fed into the toolkits on agriculture and water and sanitation respectively also financed by Norway. The rather promising *Social and Gender Analysis (SAGA)* guideline, co-financed by Norway and Japan, which was published for the Sahel in 1996, was apparently not followed up. No information was available on its distribution and usage. The Country Operations Support Funds (COSF) established in 1992/93 and funded by Norway appears to have been a success in Africa, but in the Asia Region the fund has not yet been accessed as avidly as anticipated.

In addition, Norway has strategically supported African Poverty Monitoring and Analysis since 1987. Without this support, the work would not have been as advanced as it is. The funds are used in a variety of strategic and innovative ways, such as to train nationals in time use research methodology, to do preparatory work for a national poverty study, to discuss poverty profiles with stakeholders such as happened in Zambia and so on. The support is intended for strategic backstopping of countries involved in poverty monitoring. Norway's support to the Special Programme of Assistance for Africa is another area of well placed funds, which has encouraged the mainstreaming of gender issues in this programme.

In addition Norwegian "seed money" to the regional WID/gender co-ordinators proved useful in starting WID/gender activities and organisation initiated in the Regions. Moreover, this was then followed up by earmarked funds to specific activities in first the Africa, followed by the South Asia and lastly the LAC Regions. Given the rather autonomous nature of the regions in matters of gender mainstreaming this funding has been invaluable in creating a regional momentum.

Norwegian funds have thus consistently been used to strengthen both the development of policy oriented work of the WID unit and to enhance the data base to argue for the policies that were developed. In addition funding also went to the development of tools and related activities, such as the gender web site, which are oriented towards raising information on and awareness of gender concerns at the Bank, while at the same time they under write the ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming.

There is the general opinion that Norwegian funds have been very instrumental in not only highlighting but entrenching social issues in World Bank operations, and for the WID unit it has been critical funding which ensured its existence. Maybe it is justified to compare Norway, as did one Bank employee, to a small but determined barge which successfully manages to move a huge oil tanker in a slightly different direction.

The key findings of the evaluation are:

- Norway has supported the World Bank gender effort in a two-pronged approach via advocacy in the governing bodies and trust funds to make the WID unit operational.
- Norwegian advocacy in the governing bodies of the World Bank have been instrumental in influencing the Bank towards a more poverty, gender oriented policy approach.
- Between 1987 and 1989 Norwegian funds made up 60% of the WID units budget, thus being crucial for the early impact of the unit on the Bank. This enabled the WID Division to gain intellectual respectability within the Bank and helped access regular budgetary Bank funds.
- Norwegian funding to the WID unit was used strategically to develop policy, increase the database to argue for the acceptance of this policy and to entrench it through tools and information.

Factors relevant to the institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming at the World Bank

Factors that facilitated the inclusion of gender were identified as:

- The WID/gender units in the World Bank have been unparalleled in analytical research on women and gender.
- Due to extra-budgetary funding, initially mainly from Norway, the WID unit could engage in a wide variety of activities all geared towards proving to the Bank that gender is an important aspect of development.
- The WID unit has been able to tap increasingly into Bank funds for its activities.
- During re-organisations the WID/gender unit has been placed into consecutively strategically better organisational positions.
- Despite resistance the WID/gender unit managed with Norwegian backing with funds and advocacy in the governing bodies to push for a policy on gender concerns.
- The new matrix system allows individual Bank staff to plan and implement activities and command a budget, increasing both the opportunity and incentive to include gender into CAS, projects and programmes.
- The "strategic compact" allows for a much easier networking of gender "entrepreneurs" within the Bank, facilitating the creation of a proper gender network that has thus far been missing.
- Gender has been integrated, even though not sufficiently, into important Bank initiatives, such as into Poverty Assessments and the Special Programme for Assistance to Africa.

Constraints were identified as follows:

- The World Bank has been very reluctant and late to have a policy paper on gender, leaving the WID/ gender unit without an organisation-wide mandate for too long.
- The World Bank's policy on gender is not specific enough, establishing neither specific goals nor specific measures, and it has not been backed up by appropriate tools and activities to facilitate it being understood and adopted by all Bank staff.
- Communication between the WID/unit and other units, including the WID units and focal points in the Regions, has in the past not been sufficiently institutionalised to be of benefit to any party. This problem will hopefully be alleviated via the "strategic compact".
- Gender issues have not been operationalised sufficiently to be of use for the regions, for CAS and for the sector work.

- There has been far too little effort in capacity building on issues around gender.
- The analytical work of the WID/gender unit has in the past remained isolated from the mainstream Bank, and from other social assessments, leaving many valuable initiatives abandoned on the shelves.
- The lack of incentives discourages gender focal points to be pro-active about gender issues in hostile work-ing environments.
- The lack of any incentives, and the absence of sanctions, to address gender concerns in everyday work of mainstream Bank activities signals that these concerns are perhaps considered to be of minor importance.

8.6 A View from the Country Level: World Bank's Gender Concerns in Operation

The World Bank Regions have a great degree of autonomy because the regions are part of central Bank operation. Country Directors and Resident Representatives make their own decision about if and how WID/gender concerns are to be integrated into country programs. WID/gender organisational forms are also at their discretion. There is therefore a lot of variation in how well established WID/gender concerns are in the field offices and which relevance is given to gender mainstreaming efforts.

8.6.1 Uganda

The Country Office at World Bank headquarters is responsible for Uganda and Tanzania, and the Bank's Uganda investment portfolio is still largely controlled by Washington rather than being "country driven." The Country Director shares responsibility with the Resident Representative in Uganda's field office; however, most economic and sector work is in charge of teams from headquarters. There are however several operations officers in Uganda who have substantial responsibilities, including – recently – for gender mainstreaming. To understand the current situation in Uganda therefore, it is necessary to refer to the synergies between headquarters, the field office and the country context.

The current Country Assessment Strategy (*Uganda Strategy*, August 1997) is the only Bank CAS which is not confidential but is in the public domain, having been widely distributed throughout the country. The current portfolio includes loans and credits in all major sectors: water supply, agriculture, livestock, environment, transport, health, nutrition and early childhood development, education, urban development, the private sector and regional reconstruction in the north. Although the CAS mentions gender issues in several places, there is no significant gender mainstreaming in the analysis.

However, economic and sector work in Uganda, notably poverty assessments, has acquired a reputation at the Bank for being gender sensitive. The 1993 poverty assessment (*Uganda; Growing out of Poverty*) contained a chapter on "the gender dimension", which analysed women's multiple roles and the constraints they face in production. Their heavy workloads, ill health, high fertility, insufficient education and limited legal rights, for example to land, were highlighted. In spite of this analysis, the poverty assessment failed to link the identified gender constraints to macro-economic policy, to important sectoral issues as in crop diversification for export and in general did not influence the choice of priorities for public investment. Subsequent poverty assessments have contained only minimal gender analysis.

The World Bank and UNDP were members of the Reference Group for preparation of Uganda's 1997 Poverty Eradication Plan (PEAP) which was largely prepared by consultants and had no gender relevant policy focus. The Bank now supports the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Program which it is hoped will provide qualitative and gender-sensitive data to better inform the implementation of PEAP.

In 1995 the Bank carried out a study on *Legal Constraints to the Economic Empowerment of Uganda Women* with the Ministry of Gender and Community Development. In 1997 Uganda participated in an important East African regional conference on Gender and Law, organised by the Bank and The Economic Commission for Africa. As follow-up to the conference recommendations, the Country Director encouraged the gender ministry to design an action-oriented project to provide legal literacy to newly elected women local councillors. The proposal has recently been funded through a Bank Institutional Development Grant.

This is a good example of constructive policy dialogue on specific gender equality issues which the Bank, in general, is not otherwise known for in Uganda. However, the Country Office appears to be exceptional by comparison with other Country Offices at headquarters in having recently taken two important initiatives towards gender mainstreaming. It has initiated preparation of Gender Action Plans and Strategies for the

next two years in both Uganda and Tanzania. The Action Plans propose gender relevant interventions in existing projects and will be supported by gender analysis training for field office staff and project managers and staff. A Gender Participation Monitoring Tool for project managers is also under preparation in Washington.

These mainstreaming initiatives are still centralised and are not known to most of the field office staff. In general, there is a considerable range of variation in attitudes to WID and gender issues in the Uganda office. In the education sector relevant gender concerns are widely known and to some degree addressed. In other sectors, however, officers perceive gender (read women) as being very low on a priority list. "The gender factor isn't on a par with Uganda's financial and institutional capacity, or other factors which are analysed in connection with program design." Economic and financial analyses are obligatory; social analysis, including gender analysis, is not. As a result therefore, gender concerns are not mainstreamed to any significant extent in most existing projects in the Uganda portfolio.

Some but not all field staff know about the Bank policy and Operational Directive 4.2 in the Operations Manual. If known, the policy is perceived as relevant to some sectors (e.g. social) but not to others (e.g. private enterprise development). This is not surprising, given the Bank's concentration on better access for women to education and health services. Until recently the operations officer responsible for these sectors in the field office also took care of the gender brief.

In 1998, however, the former NGO co-ordinator at the field office was given responsibility as country gender co-ordinator/focal point. One of her functions in written terms of reference is a mainstreaming function: to "provide support to mission staff in identifying potential gender issues in their lending and non-lending activities; and help include a gender perspective in sector work, project design and implementation". The gender co-ordinator is an operations officer and can therefore initiate a gender sensitive beneficiary assessment or a social analysis, in the context of implementation of an on-going program or a new program design. The decision to have a country gender co-ordinator was portrayed as one response to the Bank's Africa Regional Gender Action Plan, which otherwise does not seem to have influenced country operations.

In 1995 there was some type of gender sensitisation for field office staff. In general however, staff say that they have not received any training and have no guides or other tools to assist with understanding concepts and applying processes of mainstreaming. The two best practice kits developed at headquarters, on gender in water and sanitation and in agriculture were said to have been provided to relevant project staff, but this evaluation was unable to determine whether they had been used. Opportunities offered through the Country Operations Support Fund, to employ local gender expertise or to prepare a country gender study for example, appear not to have been utilised.

Ugandan officials' view of the Bank's position on advancing women's status and including a gender perspective in projects was summarised by one commentator: "The World Bank seems to have gender only in the very back of their mind. Usually the Bank doesn't give much weight to such a small issue as gender." Ugandan government officials who are in dialogue with the Bank or who are actively involved in specific projects characterise it as being re-active to gender advocacy, not pro-active.

The health sector, which includes Bank projects on district health planning and control of sexually transmitted infections, provides a good example. A 1996 consultant's report commissioned by Sweden as the funder of these Bank-implemented projects noted the complete absence of gender issues in their design and implementation and the male-dominated attitudes prevailing in the health ministry generally. Sweden followed up in 1997 by putting the issue on the annual tri-partite supervision mission (government, Bank and funder). As a result gender analysis training specific to these health issues is now underway, and gender issues are being mainstreamed into the draft National Health Policy.

The Project Co-ordination Office (PCO) in the health ministry gives credit for these positive developments to their own willingness to appreciate and take on the issue, to the gender ministry as technical advisers, and to the donor which initially pushed the issue and which has consistently been supportive. "SIDA has shown us the way; not the Bank." The Bank has, of course, provided financial and logistic support to these initiatives, but the process has clearly been a re-active one.

In the education sector, where the Bank believes that it has a comparative advantage in promoting gender sensitive investments, as in targeting girls' education and reducing gender gaps in enrolment, there are many key players in Uganda – UNICEF, bilateral donors and NGOs. The Bank's Primary Education Project was first funded in 1993 and it is only the current phase, including the Primary Education and Teacher Development Project, which has specific gender content. Gender awareness, such as use of non-sexist language and portrayal of women in diverse roles, is included in curriculum development. School administrators such as Head Teachers receive training in Gender Action Planning so that they, together

with families and communities, can address constraints to girls' continued schooling, such as sexual assault by teachers. Officials in the education ministry give credit for such positive developments not only to the Bank but to the numerous other key players and not least the enabling environment in Uganda itself.

Uganda is one of the Bank's success stories, having followed structural adjustment and economic reform measures to the letter and thus becoming the first country to qualify for debt relief under the Program for Debt Relief for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries. The Bank appreciates Uganda's openness to discussion of a wide range of issues, and the country is rated as progressive on affirmative action for women. By no means all Ugandans have positive attitudes about gender equality however. The Bank has an important role to play in discussing proposed support for the newly enacted Land Act, for example, which did not protect women's right to land ownership to the degree that the women's movement had actively advocated for. When government spokesmen state, for example, that "we don't go into isolated issues like gender" – in planning training at district level on the implementation of the Act, there is clearly a role for active and constructive Bank policy dialogue.

The key findings of the evaluation are that:

- Bank work in Uganda is still largely controlled from Washington and is dominated by macro-economic considerations.
- Although the Country Office has recently taken interesting gender mainstreaming initiatives, these are not yet widely known in the field office.
- There are serious gaps in understanding and appreciation of the role of gender mainstreaming in relation to improving project design and performance in the field office.
- A clear mainstreaming mandate for the recently appointed field office Gender Co-ordinator and more consistent constructive policy dialogue on gender issues in specific sections offer important opportunities.
- Ugandan officials currently do not perceive the Bank as a major international supporter of gender mainstreaming

8.6.2 Malawi

According to the Resident Representative who has been in office since September 1997 the Bank has not undertaken any gender analysis as assessments in Malawi. The office was relying on the data produced by the Government of Malawi in preparation for the Beijing Conference. It will rely on the Government's Gender Action Plan. Projects on micro-finance for women are foreseen to increase.

The position of gender co-ordinator in the World bank field office has been vacant for one year, and it was not clear when the position will be filled. In the meantime another staff member has agreed to act as gender co-ordinator on an interim, part-time basis. He is the World Bank's contact person for gender issues in Malawi, but he is not expected to undertake the full range of gender related activities. For example the areas of girl's education, women's credit and rural water supply will continue to be dealt with by the programme officers assigned to the respective sectors.

Moreover, the country office has no ToR for the position of Gender Co-ordinator, nor is there any directive from Headquarters indicating the need for the appointment of a gender focal point. There are no guidelines for gender mainstreaming programming and projects either. There is no directive from headquarters to have a gender co-ordinator.

The relationship to the Gender Anchor at headquarters has been minimal. Apart from a written requests from the Gender Anchor asking the name of the Gender Co-ordinator, no other communications have been received. The country office is thus without any advice on gender issues from Headquarters. The toolkits on Agriculture and Water and Sanitation had never been seen at the country office, nor was anybody aware of their existence. In fact, the country office personnel had never seen any input from any gender specialist in any of their projects or programmes in Malawi. Correspondingly the COSF facility was not known, but was considered a good idea. Staff could think of ways how such funds could be used to follow-up on some of the World Bank activities in Malawi.

Staff suggested that the lack of attention to gender issues is not just a feature of the Malawi office but has been generally noted in the whole Region. This development has been exacerbated since the re-

organisation. Given the dearth of information and interest gender has been understood to mean women only, and correspondingly some World Bank programmes have specific women targeted interventions. Gender mainstreaming has remained without meaning to the country staff.

The UN Gender Co-ordinating Group, which pursues a joint UN Country Gender Strategy, of which the World Bank is a member, has approached the World Bank field office on one occasion with a proposal to initiate gender analysis training for their staff. This proposal had been turned down by the Resident Representative on the ground that the specific training had no relevance for the staff members. According to the Resident Representative gender training would only be useful for staff entrusted with project planning and implementation. What would be more useful for the field office staff would be more basic training, such as information on the concepts of gender and gender mainstreaming.

The last CAS on Gender has also been very weak on the integration of gender concerns. These are practically absent. Instead the Bank runs a few classical WID project components in Malawi. These projects seem limited to the concept of "increasing women's access to resources", and fall short of addressing structural gender inequality. The previous CAS for Malawi (completion date March 19, 1996), for example, states that "community committees which are forced to implement the MASAF (Malawi Social Action Fund) projects are required to have representation from both genders".

The Population and Family Planning Project is a pilot project in three Districts. It is in the process of being expanded into other districts and will be modelled into a community based project. It aims at reducing women's fertility rate, which is posing a heavy burden on women's health. It also addresses the reduction of HIV/AIDS infection rates through the provision of drugs to reduce the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases, which have been linked to the incidence of HIV infections, and through improved procurement of condoms. The shift to a community based project was made after an institutionally based approach proved to be difficult. It appears that the education on family planning was not undertaken adequately by the health institutions, since the issue was met with either an indifferent or hostile attitude. The hostility related to the fact that young girls were taught about the use of contraceptives. Doing so, the opposition states, was to encourage under age girls to engage in sexual intercourse. In the new community based approach community members themselves will be entrusted with the distribution of contraceptives and with education. Health institutions will remain alternative trainers and distributors. It was expected that communities would take over after the completion of a pilot phase in 2001.

The Agricultural Extension components of the Agricultural Service Project is based on the knowledge that 70 percent of agricultural labour and food production is done by women and that over 60 percent of full-time farmers are women. World Bank funding policy in this project component requires that

- Farmers grouped for agricultural credit should have a minimum of 30 percent women members
- Extension groups organised for the transfer of technology should have a minimum of 30 percent women
- Instructors on nutrition in rural areas should include women

The Population, Health and Nutrition Project, which has been running from 1991 and is expected to terminate in 1999 also has a WID component. Women are trained in techniques to produce batiks, bamboo furniture and sisal bags. The project component organised women's groups which are provided with loans to undertake the above mentioned activities as a business operation, or to suggest other "projects". The Bank has noted that the loan repayment rates have been well over 90% for these loans and most women have used their income to purchase food and other essentials.

The project has thus far funded a school to train women in the logistics and technology of producing particular items. After training the women form groups and receive credit to start a business together. The project has had to deal with problems, mostly to do with marketing and with the supply of raw materials.

The Malawi Social Action Fund Project (MASAF) was started in 1996 and is still ongoing. It is a country-wide project for the construction of health clinics, the drilling of bore-holes, the construction of roads and bridges, the building postal offices, community multipurpose halls, and schools. The First Education Sector Credit of the project is now closed. It states that the project (gender) integrated all secondary schools in Malawi since there were more secondary schools for boys than for girls. By this measure the enrolment rate of girls increased and thus the education of girls increased.

The MASAF project strategy is that the community itself will define its needs, be it a school, a road or health clinic. The materials for the construction of e.g. the school are donated by the community, while the construction work and some special materials are paid from the Fund. The construction of roads (earthwork) is undertaken by people from the communities at a minimum wage. Most of the road projects

came to a standstill in 1997 due to poor technical supervision or to the fact that the project experienced poor labour turn out. At one construction point, people preferred agricultural labour in the tea estates instead (according to the MASAF Quarterly Report -June 1997). However, some of the construction projects are finalised and regarded as very successful, since construction cost are reduced up to 40% compared with commercial enterprises. The implementation rate in this project has also been faster than general due to the communities' ownership of the project.

Regarding future activities, there was a genuine concern at the World Bank field office about the increasing incidence of domestic violence and rape in Malawi. The Bank staff had collected statistics that showed the increase of rape in small girls. This is often related to either the fear of rapists to be infected with HIV or to the myth that sexual intercourse with a virgin will cure HIV infections. A recent case of a two year old girl dying of the consequences of rape had led to the personal commitment of one staff officer at the World bank office. He proposed to establish a framework for social security and a legal system protect women and girls from violence. It was, however not clear how the World Bank is going to intervene. The initiative was welcomed by the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community.

Key findings of the evaluation are:

- The World Bank field office in Malawi has no functioning WID/gender structure.
- Field Office staff have next to no contact to the Gender Anchor in Washington, and they are not aware of whatever tools or guidelines are made available there.
- Field office staff had a very rudimentary understanding of gender and gender mainstreaming, and they appar-ently did not consider gender analysis training a useful exercise.
- UNGAD has not been able to influence the World Bank field office towards a more coherent approach to gender.
- Even though the Malawian Government has been very pro-active with regard to gender issues the World Bank has not been making use of the gender friendly environment at all.
- The World Bank in engaged mostly in traditional WID activities, with the exception of increasing the girl's secondary school enrolment.

8.6.3 Bangladesh

The World Bank Dhaka prepares regular Gender Action Plans (GAPs) and the 1997 Bangladesh GAP states that the status of women in Bangladesh has been ranked among the lowest world-wide. The twin obstacles of poverty and socio-cultural restrictions continue to inhibit the activities of Bangladeshi women and girls. In this context the Bank has decided to fund a major program to encourage the participation of girls in secondary school. Girls will be given stipends to encourage their families to keep them in school. This program, which is in an initial stage, received a lot of attention both from the Bank staff and from Government of Bangladesh officials who universally emphasized the importance of this initiative. A pilot project along these lines, funded by Norway, has already proven a great success.

The World Bank's Gender Action Plan 1997 concentrates on mainstreaming gender analysis and planning into the Bank's core operations – this is clearly a crucial and essential endeavour. In order to do this, the 1997 GAP proposes a strategy over 3 years (FY97-99) during which the Bank will build a multi-pronged approach to gender equity as follows:

- *The highest priority will be given to promote female education.* This is being implemented in the Female Secondary School Assistance Project. This will offer free tuition and stipends to girls, in order to increase their numbers. A Teacher Enhancement Program will help recruit more female teachers at the secondary level. Recent trends show a marked increase in female attendance and enrollment issues.
- *Health programs will be prioritized, especially improving the inadequate maternal health care service.* The ongoing Fourth Population and Health Project seeks to reduce fertility, lower morbidity and mortality of under-fives, improve maternal care, improve nutritional status of mothers and children and improve the effectiveness of family planning and health services. The maternal mortality rate is still very high. Increased participation of village women in the planning of future projects is sought.

- *Women's access to productive resources, such as credit, land, information, technology and wage employment and incomes would be improved. Labour intensive industrialization "which increases female employment" is to be promoted.* Through the upcoming Bank-funded Poverty Alleviation Project around one million women will be provided with micro credit facilities. This program will build on existing micro credit programs run by Grameen Bank, BRAC and the government. Group formation and logistic support will be an important part of this program. (The Bank's emphasis here on "labour intensive" employment and the assumption that it is wholly positive needs to be questioned.)

- *Violence against women is to be addressed through the reform of laws and their actual enforcement and adoption.* Here the Bank recommends that the government immediately form a Law Reform Commission on the Status of Women to review laws that discriminate against women and to propose reform measures. The already constituted National Council for Women's Development, headed by the Prime Minister needs to be activated.

- *The living conditions and working environment of women is to be improved.* Until now IDA assisted projects, mostly targeting large utilities, have not placed due emphasis on social issues. However, this is changing. The Regional Water Supply and Sanitation Project of South Asia, Hand Pump Training and Management Project offers operation and maintenance training to beneficiaries. Half the trainees are women.

Based on the above strategy the Bank proposes to:

- Develop a WID Forum with representatives from professional groups to assess and guide the implementation of the GAP.
- Update the Bank's WID publication entitled *Bangladesh: Strategies for Enhancing the Role of Women in Development* (1990) in order to incorporate current WID issues.
- Organize regional level meetings on gender and poverty to be attended by concerned persons.
- Provide short duration training on gender and development to all professional staff in a phased manner.
- Invite representatives of government, donors and Bangladeshi NGOs to participate in GAP strategy formulation. Also, to form partnerships both locally in Bangladesh and internationally to create a network of gender resources for Bangladesh.

Due to lack of staff capacity, however, these proposals have only been partly implemented. The Bank is slowly improving its gender staff capability, indicated by the appointment of a gender focal point in 1998. However, the Bank still has a long way to go to mainstream gender in its policies and projects. Given the enormous size of the Bank's operations in Bangladesh it is particularly important that a strong gender team is built up in the Dhaka office. But it is also important that gender is institutionalized in the daily work practices of the Bank – and for this to happen the top leadership in the Dhaka office need to take gender issues more seriously. Further, given that, unlike UNDP, the Bank is still a highly centralized institution, with most decisions still being taken in Washington, this also means that the top leadership in Washington need to take gender mainstreaming far more seriously.

The Bank is represented on the WID/Gender subgroup of the donors' Local Consultative Group (LCG) which assists the government and its gender national machinery on WID related matters. But the Bank's presence at these meetings is said to have been irregular, indicating that gender is not considered a priority. The LCG WID sub-group was closely involved in the Institutional Review of the capacity for gender mainstreaming within government that was completed in December 1996. As noted in the section on UNDP Dhaka, this review has resulted in initial capacity-building projects funded by UNDP and bilateral donors. Significantly the Bank's involvement in this exercise has been minimal throughout – it has neither participated in funding the initiative nor in funding any follow-ups.

The Bank's central strategy in South Asia, according to its South Asia Gender Action Plan (January 1997) is the strengthening of women's productive roles, while simultaneously improving women's health and education. Thus the main focus is on women in low-income households and on identifying what works to increase their access to economic opportunities. The Bank emphasizes that it recognizes that in South Asia women's productive role can only be strengthened if there is continued attention to the social sectors. For this purpose it seeks (like UNDP) to assist South Asian countries to improve their collection of gender disaggregated data. The Bank states that it will, in the future, increasingly work directly and operationally with NGOs on gender issues. This will be especially significant in Bangladesh, given the high profile of NGOs there. The Bank also acknowledges, in its published Gender Action Plan (1997) that it needs to strengthen its capacity for gender analysis and gender supervision.

This last concern of the Regional Gender Action Plan is a very real need in the World Bank, Dhaka. The Country Director and the two gender specialists all emphasized that there was not enough gender specialist capacity at country office level. This is partly because the recent appointment of a gender focal point puts two additional duties on this specialist – in addition to gender issues, she is also in charge of Participation and NGOs. Given the enormous responsibilities of the Bank in Bangladesh, due to the huge scope of its projects, it would be far better if the new gender focal point is solely given gender as her responsibility. There is, however, a serious attempt being made by the Bank to improve the current situation. This is also shown by the fact that the new gender focal point has a strong research background on gender issues with links to women's groups and women's NGOs.

There are a number of regional action programmes that are of relevance to the Bank in Dhaka. One of these initiatives is an attempt to integrate gender analysis into the CAS. Research inputs for all CASs and Poverty Assessments should include gender analysis as and where it is appropriate. However gender analysis will not be mandatory – instead its use will be left to the task manager responsible. This is not sufficient to change the current situation where gender and the other social dimensions of gender have not been integrated into the *analytical framework* of the CAS. Commentators, both within the World Bank Dhaka and outside it, confirmed that the Bank still has a long way to go here, though in some sectors – such as the education and health sectors - gender-awareness exists.

Another such initiative aims at integrating gender into Social Assessments, which are due to become a regular part of project preparation in Bangladesh, just as they currently are in India. Gender analysis is intended to be a central part of these assessments. Other initiatives aim at increasing the Bank's knowledge base. Part of this endeavour will be the up-dating of the in-depth country WID study *Bangladesh: Strategies for Enhancing the Role of Women in Development*, first published in 1990. World Bank Dhaka has a long history of consulting with various concerned groups on gender issues, particularly with government and NGOs. Contacts with women's NGOs should improve, given the existing close ties that the new gender focal point has with them.

The Norwegian supported Country Operational Support Facility (COSF) of \$600,000 has not yet been used. It is intended that it will be used to fund meetings within South Asia of Bank gender staff, to initiate a gender research program and to support gender work in the region. Thus this COSF is likely to benefit Bangladesh in the near future.

One of the most important initiatives concerns the monitoring of gender mainstreaming. Gender co-ordinators have recently been given the responsibility of reviewing economic and social sector work in order to determine whether or not gender and other social issues are relevant and whether they have been adequately incorporated into the project design. But this screening process apparently continues to be largely informal and thus does not carry a formal "clearance" function. Informed observers both outside and within the Bank suggest that if gender mainstreaming is to be taken seriously within the Bank then gender screening needs to be mandated in the same way that screening for Resettlement and Land Acquisition (Operational Directive 4.30) and for Indigenous Peoples (Operational Directive 4.20) are. Until this happens gender mainstreaming will remain essentially *ad hoc* and of secondary importance in the monitoring of projects. There is also need for significant incentives, within the career structure and promotion structure within the Bank that ensure that managers at all levels are evaluated on the basis of their competence in relation to gender mainstreaming, just as their performance is regularly evaluated on the bases of other criteria. Until this happens task managers will continue to marginalise or ignore gender issues and gender mainstreaming is unlikely to happen. These recommendations are well considered and deserve to be taken very seriously. They are important for the future of successful gender mainstreaming within the Bank at country office level in Dhaka.

Key findings of the evaluation are that:

- While some of the social sector projects of the World Bank in Bangladesh are focused on improving the situation of women, there is as yet relatively little importance given to gender mainstreaming.
- There has been no evaluation of the usefulness of the gender training that was offered to professional staff last year. This lack of follow-up suggests a lack of interest on the part of the leadership in the country office.
- Given that the Bank operations are still very centralised, few significant decisions are taken at country office level. The inclusion of gender concerns thus must be supported not only at field office level but also by the CD in Washington.

- The country office is still seriously under-staffed with regard to gender capacity, given the volume of Bank projects in Bangladesh.
- Gender focal points need to be given authority and must have the strong support of senior leadership. The performance of senior management with regard to gender mainstreaming should be made part of their evaluation for promotion purposes.
- There was no evidence that internal gender balance policy are pursued within the country office.

⁴ Since then the new Director of the Gender Sector Board was appointed in the second half of 1998.