

ISN 84609
PN-ABP-959

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DAC WID Study: Phase 2 Stage 3

CASE STUDY
OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF
THE DAC WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT GUIDING PRINCIPLES
BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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for

Management Systems International

Revised 8/15/93 ?
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UNITED STATES CASE STUDY

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Executive Summary

In preparation for the United Nations International Women's Conference to be held in 1995, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is conducting a three part assessment of the effectiveness of DAC member countries' policies, strategies and programs aimed at the incorporation of gender concerns into development activities. As part of theme two of this assessment the United States and Switzerland are compiling five case studies of DAC member countries.

The United States case study was conducted in July 1993. It should be noted that, given the twenty year history of women in development in the United States and the size of the development assistance program, the scope of this case study was limited. It focuses on issues and areas of concern that are most relevant to understanding how the DAC/WID guidelines have been incorporated into the Agency for International Development, the progress that has been made, and the constraints that exist.

In 1973, the Congress enacted the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act which required that U.S. bilateral assistance be administered to give particular attention to programs, projects, and activities that contribute to integrating women into the national economies of developing countries. A.I.D. established the Office of Women in Development in 1974 in order to provide leadership and support for A.I.D.'s efforts in addressing gender issues. The A.I.D. Policy Paper on Women in Development, first issued in October 1982, is still the foundation of A.I.D.'s women in development activities. The Policy Paper was bolstered further by the issuance of WID Action Items by then Administrator Alan Woods in 1988. This document reiterated the commitment of A.I.D.'s top leadership to the integration of women in development into development assistance activities.

In order to assess the progress that A.I.D. has made toward the integration of women in development and determine the constraints that exist, it is necessary to examine A.I.D. itself. A.I.D. administers foreign aid through a highly decentralized organizational structure. Over the past ten years, A.I.D. has become more decentralized with few management controls. The lack of management controls has been cited by numerous evaluations as a major reason for the diffusion of responsibility for the implementation of specific mandates. In addition, over the same time period, the scope of A.I.D.'s involvement, both geographically and sectorally, has expanded significantly. The result has been a complicated set of objectives with no clear priorities.

This atmosphere has been particularly difficult for moving the integration of women in development concerns forward. Implementing the WID policy, following the resultant guidelines, integrating gender issues into project design, and implementing projects that mainstream gender are all largely voluntary acts. Ultimately, no one is

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held accountable if guidelines and procedures are not followed. It is unclear if the Agency could or would be willing to institute incentives to ensure that the WID Policy be implemented at the project level.

In specific reference to the Office of Women In Development, the diffusion of decision making and the growing power of individual overseas missions have made it increasingly difficult for a small office to influence the adoption of its agenda. Compounding this problem is the fact that the women in development mandate must be applied to all regions and sectors in which A.I.D. is active. Therefore, the Office of Women in Development must respond to the addition of new program initiatives and geographic regions despite the limited size of available financial and personnel resources.

Despite these constraints, the Office of Women in Development has made strides toward the integration of women in development over the last twenty years. There is general agreement that there is a heightened awareness among A.I.D. staff of the importance of including gender issues in project design and implementation and in spreading the responsibility for implementing the WID policy beyond the WID Office. Many individuals interviewed for this case study noted that there appears to be much less resistance and a greater understanding of the link between gender and successful projects. This was attributed to several factors including training programs conducted by the WID Office, increasing examples of gender being a critical element in the success or failure of a project, the addition of full time WID advisors in most regional bureaus and the creation of WID Committees in all the bureaus. Furthermore, the WID Office has made effective use of matching funds. Through this mechanism, the WID Office has been able to target critical areas and has been able to increase its ability to impact on specific sectors.

A.I.D. is poised to make considerable changes in how it operates and in its guiding principles. Indications are that there will be a greater emphasis placed on participatory development and forging partnerships with other donor countries, agencies, and with developing countries in an effort to improve the design and delivery of development assistance. The Office of Women in Development has a wealth of experience in the areas of developing partnerships and engaging in participatory development and should be well positioned to take advantage of a changing environment within A.I.D. in order to further the institutionalization of gender and development. Much of the success of the WID Office over the next several years will depend on the stand that the A.I.D. leadership takes vis-a-vis women in development and the appointment of strong, technically competent leadership within the WID Office itself.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In preparation for the United Nations International Women's Conference to be held in 1995 the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is conducting an assessment of the effectiveness of DAC member countries' policies, strategies, and programs aimed at the incorporation of gender concerns into development activities. This assessment coincides with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the DAC Guiding Principles to Aid Agencies for Supporting the Role of Women in Development.

The DAC study will focus on three themes. The first theme will examine the integration of gender concerns in the work of the DAC. The second will explore the women in development efforts of the DAC member donor organizations. The last theme will focus on women in development as a cross-cutting issue in development aid as determined through evaluations.

Theme two, of which this case study is part, is divided into three stages. The first stage will consist of an analysis of the responses to a questionnaire sent to all DAC members. The second will consist of five brief case studies of DAC members. The final stage will be a synthesis of all the data from the first two stages.

II. Methodology

This case study was conducted during July 1993. Approximately one week was spent reviewing documents related to women in development in the United States and information pertinent to this case study. Given the volume of materials available, an attempt was made to focus on major strategy documents and evaluations of A.I.D.'s gender activities in key programs and specific projects and sectors.

A second week was spent conducting interviews with individuals currently working with the Agency for International Development, previous employees, and individuals in the development assistance community. Interviews were conducted both in person in Washington, D.C. and by telephone. A complete list of interviews can be found in Appendix A.

The materials gathered and the information from the interviews were synthesized, and the final report was completed during the third week. It should be noted that, given the twenty year history of women in development in the United States and the size of the development assistance program, the scope of this case study is limited. In the short time allotted to the study, it was not possible to cover every aspect of development assistance. Therefore, this case study focuses on issues and areas of concern that are most relevant to understanding how the DAC/WID guidelines have been incorporated into the Agency for International Development, the progress that has been made, and the constraints that exist.

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III. History of Women in Development

The 1970s witnessed growing international attention being paid to the integration of women into the development process. The International Year of the Women (1974) and the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) focused attention on women worldwide. The United States was no exception. In 1973, the Congress enacted the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act. The Percy Amendment required that U.S. bilateral assistance be administered to give particular attention to programs, projects, and activities that contribute to integrating women into the national economies of developing countries. In 1977, this section was restated to recognize women's role in "economic production, family support, and the overall development process."

In 1974, the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) established the Office of Women in Development in order to provide leadership and support for A.I.D.'s efforts in addressing gender issues. Over the past twenty years, the Office of Women in Development has provided A.I.D. Missions and Bureaus with a wide range of services including research, training, technical assistance, and information dissemination. The main purpose of the Office was to facilitate the integration of gender concerns into all A.I.D. Missions and Bureaus.

The A.I.D. Policy Paper on Women in Development was issued in October 1982. This critical paper, one of the first such policy statements issued by a DAC member, is still the foundation of A.I.D.'s women in development activities. The policy paper stated that gender roles were a key variable in the socioeconomic conditions of any country. The recognition of these roles could be decisive in the success or failure of a development effort. Gender was presented as a critical category of analysis in A.I.D.'s work that must be given sufficient attention.

The Policy Paper clearly stated that the overall responsibility for implementation of the women in development policy rested with each of A.I.D.'s offices and bureaus, in all A.I.D. programs and projects. Several strategies were recommended to assist in the integration of gender into A.I.D.'s activities. These included disaggregating data by sex; requiring country strategy, planning, and project documents to describe explicit strategies to involve women; and evaluating and assessing the impact of A.I.D.'s programs and projects according to gender differentials. The policy paper failed, however, to include incentives for compliance with these recommendations.

In 1988, A.I.D.'s then Administrator, Alan Woods, issued specific WID Action Items aimed at the further integration of women into program objectives. Administrator Woods directed A.I.D. Bureaus to develop individual actions plans with benchmarks that would monitor the progress of integrating women into development planning. Bureaus and Missions were also directed to gather sex-disaggregated data,

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to articulate strategies for involving women, to develop training programs for personnel, and to increase the number of women in participant training programs. The areas identified in this directive did not differ significantly from those articulated in the Percy Amendment or the 1982 Policy Statement. Still, the issuance of this document was significant in that it reiterated the commitment of A.I.D.'s top leadership to the issue of women in development. Once again, there was no element of enforcement included. No provisions were made within this directive for measuring compliance with these objectives.

IV. INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

A. The Agency for International Development

The United States' foreign assistance program is delivered by at least six different agencies. These include, but are not limited to, the Departments of Agriculture, Health and Human Services, Treasury, and the Commerce Department. However, the primary agency responsible for delivering foreign economic assistance is the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.). Several of the agencies listed above do administer programs and projects that include a gender focus and, in many cases, A.I.D.'s Office of Women in Development has collaborated with these agencies. However, for the purpose of this case study, only the Agency for International Development will be examined to determine the degree to which women in development guidelines have been integrated into policies and procedures.

A.I.D. administers foreign aid through a highly decentralized organizational structure. The headquarters are in Washington, D.C., and there are USAID Missions located in the one hundred and nine countries where A.I.D. is operating. A.I.D. does plan to reduce the number of overseas Missions in the near future. The Congressional mandate to integrate women in development into foreign assistance programs applies to A.I.D. As stated above, the Office of Women in Development is located in the Bureau for Research and Development in A.I.D. Given that the women in development mandate applies to all sectors, changes and trends within A.I.D. directly affect the Office of Women in Development and efforts to promote gender concerns.

The Agency for International Development is at a critical juncture in its thirty year history. Since the passage of the Foreign Assistance Act in 1961 the Act has been amended numerous times. Currently there are at least thirty separate objectives which have been further augmented by congressional directives and by programs introduced by various A.I.D. administrators over the years. The result has been a complicated set of objectives with no clear priorities. A.I.D. has been pressed to add new sectors and geographic regions rapidly over the past ten years. Most recently, A.I.D. has begun initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States (the republics of the former Soviet Union). Sectorally, A.I.D. is grappling with

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worldwide problems such as the spread of AIDS, international debt, and environmental degradation.

As mentioned above, A.I.D. is a highly decentralized organization. This approach was chosen given the widely varying development and assistance needs of the numerous countries in which it operates. However, over the past ten years, A.I.D. has become more decentralized with few management controls. In this environment, the overseas missions have gained more and more authority. The lack of management controls has been cited by numerous evaluations as a major reason for the diffusion of responsibility for the implementation of specific mandates.

This atmosphere has been particularly difficult for moving the integration of gender concerns forward. Apart from the issuance of the Action Items in 1988 by then Administrator Woods, there has been no clear guidance from A.I.D.'s Administrator. The diffusion of decision making and the growing power of individual overseas missions have made it increasingly difficult for a small office to influence the adoption of its agenda. Compounding this problem is the fact that the women in development mandate must be applied to all regions and sectors in which A.I.D. is active. Therefore, the Office of Women in Development must also respond to the addition of new program initiatives and geographic regions. Just as the Agency is stretched too thin, the same can be said of the Office of Women in Development.

Another issue of importance to the area of women in development has been the shifts in the Agency's priorities over the last decade. In 1981, the executive branch expanded A.I.D.'s program to include the "Four Pillars" initiatives which were based on the idea that AID should encourage recipient countries to follow appropriate macroeconomic policies. The "Four Pillars" were: fostering sound economic policies through policy dialogue; transferring technology in areas such as agriculture, biomedical research, and family planning; increasing the use of the private sector in development assistance; and developing host country institutions by encouraging decentralizing organizations and discouraging reliance on the public sector. Congress modified the Foreign Assistance Act in 1985 to allow AID to implement projects based on the "Four Pillars" as well as to continue to provide projects that focus economic assistance on addressing the "basic human needs" of the poor.

As a cross-cutting issue that targets women as the agents and beneficiaries of development, women in development fit neatly into the AID objective of addressing basic human needs. The shift in focus to macroeconomic policy concerns did not present as comfortable a niche for women in development. Current research is demonstrating clearly that secondary negative impacts of structural adjustment programs and other macroeconomic interventions are disproportionately felt by women in developing countries. The Office of Women in Development is coordinating several efforts to continue work in the area of linking gender to policy level concerns.

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The next several years will be crucial ones for the Agency for International Development and, by extension, for the Office of Women in Development. The Clinton Administration is conducting a review of U.S. foreign affairs programs and implementing institutions which may result in a reorganization of the administration of foreign assistance and the re-writing of foreign aid legislation. Also, the current A.I.D. Administrator has just released a plan for reorganizing the Agency. Strategies are being developed in four major areas of focus. These are: democratization and governance; environment and natural resources management; population and health; and economic growth. While the focus on macroeconomic policy will continue, the World Bank and the IMF will take the lead on the large global issues such as structural adjustment. A.I.D. efforts in this area will be more sectorally focused. Overall, there will be greater emphasis on "people-oriented" and participatory development. If these shifts are accompanied by increased leadership on the issue of women in development, the atmosphere should be much more conducive to moving the WID mandate forward.

B. The Office of Women in Development

While the responsibility for the implementation of A.I.D.'s Women in Development Policy rests with all of A.I.D.'s offices, the Office of Women in Development provides guidance and leadership on the integration of women into the development process. In October 1991, the Office for Women in Development was moved to be part of the Bureau of Research and Development. Prior to this time, it was located in the Office of Policy and Program Coordination. The WID Office is headed by a Director, who is a political appointee, and a Deputy Director, who is a direct hire employee of A.I.D. There are a total of 14 staff members. Of this number, three are direct hire employees permanently assigned to the Office, one is a direct hire on temporary assignment and ten are contractors. The WID Office is structured to mirror the Agency's structure. In practical terms this means that each staff member cover all geographic regions and sectors. In practical terms, this means that one staff member may cover one region and one sector or several sectors as part of his or her assignment.

As mentioned above, the Office of Women in Development has suffered from many of the same problems that have beset the Agency as a whole. Since 1992, the WID Office has lacked any cohesive leadership. Directors have only been in that office for a short term or have been A.I.D. direct hires who were placed in the office as caretakers until a political appointment was made. This lack of leadership would be detrimental at any time, but during a time when so many changes have been taking place throughout A.I.D., the WID Office has been left with no clear guidance for responding and reacting to these changes. This intermittent leadership has also coincided with the movement of the WID Office from the Bureau of Program and Policy Coordination (PPC) to the Bureau of Research and Development (R&D). Offices in the Policy Bureau have no budget. Therefore, the WID Office had to be moved

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because it has its own operational budget. Whatever the reason for this change, it is clear that it removed the WID Office from a strategic position and reduced the Office's access to policy and program initiatives and decisions. As part of the reorganization, the WID Office will be moved to a newly created bureau, called Global and Technical Support. It will be important that the Policy Bureau have a strong, technically informed voice on women in development. This is one area where a WID Office Director could exert some influence. Several interviewees suggested converting the Directorship to a direct hire instead of a political appointee. The Deputy Director's position was similarly converted in 1988. This change has afforded the WID Office with a degree of continuity of leadership.

Since the inception of the WID Office in 1974, the number of employees has risen steadily. There are currently fourteen staff members in the WID Office and the four regional advisors in Washington, D.C. that spend 100% of their time on women in development issues. Of these eighteen staff members, only three are direct hires. The remaining thirteen are contractors funded through a variety of mechanisms. Interviewees cited both the positive and negative implications of having a staff so heavily dependent on contractors. On the positive side, it does give the WID Office the opportunity to recruit individuals who are technically competent in given sectors and well versed in the area of women in development. Given the fact that women in development has never presented A.I.D. employees with a good career path, there are limited numbers of direct hire employees who are technically competent in the area of women in development. On the negative side, several interviewees indicated that in general contract employees are not as well versed in bureaucratic procedures and practices. This may make it more difficult for these employees to shepherd initiatives through the bureaucratic process. Some of the contractors stated that as contractors they are sometimes excluded from attending policy and key decision-making meetings. No clear criteria seem to be in use to decide what meetings contractors can or cannot attend. Decisions seem to be made on an ad hoc basis. This often leaves contract employees scrambling to find a direct hire employee to attend important meetings. The use of contract employees in A.I.D. is very common, but the fact that there are only three direct hire employees working on women in development in the entire Agency, makes the WID Office particularly vulnerable especially in times of fiscal uncertainty.

C. Regional Structure

In response to the rising demand for gender expertise within A.I.D., the WID Office began co-funding advisors on women in development in four out of five of the regional bureaus and in the Bureau of Private Enterprise. The African Women in Development (AFWID) Project is the source of funding for the fourth regional advisor in the Africa Bureau. Most of these positions were funded in 1991. These advisors work from within each bureau to assist in strengthening specific development strategies through the integration of gender considerations. The WID advisors work

closely with their corresponding regional and sectoral liaison officers in the WID Office. In addition, these advisors provide support to the efforts of the regional bureaux WID Working Groups which are operational in all AID bureaux. These groups are made up of representatives from within each bureau to oversee the integration of gender across bureau activities.

At the field level, all A.I.D. missions now have part-time WID officers. In most missions, these officers have several other areas of responsibility. Many of these women in development officers are foreign nationals. Some missions require that the staff member with signatory responsibility for women in development initiatives be a U.S. direct hire. In this case, there is often a foreign national who serves as a women in development coordinator. The WID officers in the field serve as the contact point for the WID Office and the regional advisors. In the Africa region, the African Women in Development (AFWID) Project has placed three regional WID advisors in regional field offices to work directly with A.I.D. missions.

From a structural point of view, the addition of WID Working Groups and regional advisors represents a very significant advancement toward the goal of institutionalizing women in development into A.I.D. While the WID Office is still the central focal point for WID activities, there are other individuals throughout the Agency who are specifically charged with initiating, advancing, and monitoring WID activities in a particular region or sector. It appears that this structure should afford A.I.D. bureaux and offices with much better access to gender services and expertise. This structure has not been in place long enough to evaluate accurately the impact it has had on institutionalizing gender into bureau activities. As mentioned above, all of the regional advisors with the exception of one are funded wholly or in part by a WID Office contract. These positions will be subject to renewal and their continuation will be based on the availability of funds.

Only limited information was available on the WID Officers in the missions. It appears that the effectiveness of these officers varies widely. This is probably directly related to the amount of support the officers receive from the mission leadership. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many of these officers feel isolated and uninformed. Some have suggested that they would benefit from more contact with other mission WID officers in their own region in order to share strategies, successes and failures. The regional advisors in the bureaux do offer another point of contact for the mission WID officers. This should help increase the amount of information that flows between A.I.D./Washington and the various field missions.

D. Incentive System

There is currently no incentive system that rewards A.I.D. employees for successfully addressing gender issues within the scope of their jobs. Many indicators for success are used in performance reviews and there has been discussion over the

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years of including a gender indicator. The difficulty of devising a system that would include a fair measure of attention to the integration of gender may well prevent its development. It is true however, that unless there is some type of reward system, it is impossible to require that all employees address women in development issues. As is currently the case, it will always remain true that progress in women in development will be the result of individuals who have the motivation, interest, skill, and respect to advance this issue. One interviewee recommended that a course be developed that all employees would have to take and successfully pass before a promotion to the next level could be awarded. This course could conceivably cover several areas including gender.

Just as a note, several women indicated that they felt there were actually disincentives at play around involvement with women in development. These women noted that a decade ago, many women who were looking to advance through the A.I.D. structure actively avoided associating themselves with women in development. First, they felt that just by virtue of their own gender, male colleagues would attempt to turn over responsibility for anything related to women in development. Second, many women felt that working closely with women in development relegated them to a female ghetto that had no advancement opportunities. It is unclear whether this attitude is still prevalent within the Agency. It could account for the relatively few number of direct hire employees that have expertise in the area of gender and development.

E. Advocacy Groups

There is a large constituency of organizations and individuals in the United States who are concerned with the issue of gender and development. These advocacy groups have played a very important role in the evolution of women in development policy. These groups have applied pressure to Congress and have been instrumental in the passage of important legislation including the Percy Amendment. Recently, a group of individuals and organizations has formed the WID Coalition. This group has already hosted a reception for the Administrator of A.I.D. and has presented him with a white paper on women in development which outlines specific recommendations for advancing the women in development mandate within A.I.D. Given the current lack of leadership within A.I.D. in the area of women in development, this WID Coalition could fulfill the important function of moving the WID agenda forward during this interim period.

Members of advocacy groups expressed some concern over the current direction of the WID Office within A.I.D. They feel out of touch with the activities of the WID Office and given a lack of information, assume that very little is being accomplished in the area of gender and development. The strong ties that existed in the 1970s and early 1980s have weakened considerably. This seems to be the function of several phenomena. First, in the early years of the WID Office, a major

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emphasis was placed on data collection. Very little information on the role of gender in various sectors or the status of women in different countries was available within A.I.D. In order to collect as much information as possible, the WID Office commissioned many reports and supported data collection. The Office relied in large part on outside contractors to conduct this research and collect and analyze the data. The women in development constituency was involved in a large part of the WID Office's activities. Also, the WID Office was young and lacked a clear base of support within A.I.D. It was very outwardly focused as it drew on its natural constituency to consolidate its own position within the Agency. Over the past ten years, the WID Office has become much more inwardly focused. The emphasis has shifted to promoting the integration of gender concerns into the policies, programs, and procedures of the Agency. The constituency outside of A.I.D. has been less involved in the activities of the WID Office. As the WID Office has tried to respond to a growing number of A.I.D. initiatives less time has been spent on public relations and development communications.

V. IMPLEMENTATION

A. Funding

To put the activities of the Office of Women in Development in perspective, it is useful to briefly outline the size and scope of A.I.D. activities. In 1991, A.I.D. obligated a total of \$7.3 billion and administered an additional \$1.1 billion in food aid. These funds were divided in four major categories. The Economic Support Fund, which provides commodity import program grants or loans, cash transfers for economic purposes, access to overseas bases, balance of payments and sector assistance, was allocated \$4.1 billion. Assistance to Egypt and Israel is included in this area. The Development Assistance Programs received \$1.4 billion. These are the funds used to implement bilateral projects in areas such as agriculture and environmental management, population planning, health, child survival, education and human resource development, and rural development and nutrition. The Development Fund for Africa received \$811 million. Special Assistance Initiatives, which provides funding for extraordinary economic assistance in developing countries, were allotted \$449 million. In Fiscal Year (FY) 1991, there were approximately 1,700 projects in A.I.D.'s portfolio. Most of these projects were administered by overseas missions or offices. The remainder came under the responsibility of different offices within A.I.D./Washington.

Until 1989, the Office of Women in Development had an operating budget of approximately \$2 million. As a result of increased Congressional attention on the issue of women in development the 1989 legislation included an earmark of \$5 million. These funds were directed to "supplement and encourage additional spending for women and expansion of development activities...". Of these resources, \$3

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million were to be reserved as matching funds to support women in development efforts in the Bureaus and Missions. The 1993 legislation increased the funding for the Office of Women in Development to \$10 million. Again, \$6 million is to be used as matching funds. This appropriation was double the FY 1992 amount and represented a 500% increase over funding levels in the 1970s and most of the 1980s. It is unclear if in these tight budget times this high level of funding will be continued.

The steady increase in the appropriated funds indicates Congressional interest in the issues of gender and development. However, even this growing budget is small when viewed against just the \$1.4 billion appropriated to A.I.D.'s Development Assistance Program. The strategy of the WID Office is to use these funds to leverage activities in bureaus and missions. It has been reported by the WID Office that overall spending on WID activities throughout A.I.D. was \$327 million in 1993. This figure comes from data obtained from an Agency-wide tracking system into which all missions are required to report the allocation of funds for WID activities.

B. Evolution of WID Strategy

In the early years following the passage of the Percy Amendment, the focus of the WID Office was on designing and implementing women-specific projects. The Office was also very active in collecting sector and geographic specific information on the status of women. As data was collected and analyzed, it became apparent that small, women-specific projects often lacked long term sustainability and tended to marginalize women from mainstream development efforts. The emphasis shifted to integrating women into the mainstream of development assistance. The argument for the inclusion of gender issues moved from being based in an equity argument to centering around efficiency and sustainability. The 1982, WID Policy Statement was based on the premise that the inclusion of gender considerations is a prerequisite for successful development projects. Correspondingly, the focus has broadened from a women in development approach to a gender and development approach. There is an emphasis on looking at the total socio-economic situation, not just on how women fit into that context.

Since the 1989 legislative appropriations, a portion of the funds appropriated for Women in Development activities has been reserved as matching funds to support women in development efforts in A.I.D. missions and bureaus. This strategy has served to increase the interest of missions in gender and development activities. In the current fiscal year, \$6 million or 60 per cent, have been reserved as matching funds. The WID Office can use these funds to target projects in critical sectors and is able to impact on a broader range of activities. This method also gives A.I.D. missions and bureaus easier access to the services of the WID Office. The bureaus and missions are required to contribute funding to all these activities. Since 1990, the proportion of each activity funded by the WID Office has decreased dramatically from

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75% to 50%. During the same time period, requests for technical assistance doubled. This reflects an increasing demand for gender expertise throughout the Agency and a heightened awareness of the correlation between addressing gender issues and project success. In 1992 alone, the WID Office completed over fifty field activities directly or through this matching mechanism.

The WID Office has used its matching funds to support projects in the areas of education, microenterprise, evaluation, agricultural marketing, and the environment. For example, in the education sector, the WID Office used co-funding in the Advancing Basic Education and Literacy (ABEL) Project to focus efforts on increasing girl's participation and continuation in basic education. In the Growth and Equity Through Microenterprise Investment and Institutions (GEMINI) Project, the WID Office co-funding ensures that attention is paid to the impact of microenterprise project assistance on women.

C. Training

The 1990 Congressional legislation mandated that the Agency develop and implement a Women in Development training program for all A.I.D. staff. The training effort is designed to reinforce activities to institutionalize gender issues. In the late 1980's, most training activities were designed to increase gender awareness among A.I.D. staff in Washington and in the missions. Since that time the scope of training provided by the WID Office has broadened.

Training is offered for A.I.D. direct hire technical and professional staff, foreign nationals employed by A.I.D., staff of non-governmental organizations and private voluntary organizations, counterparts from A.I.D.-assisted countries, and private sector contractors. The focus of training is on developing and enhancing technical skills. The WID Office's staff has developed gender-sensitive training materials that are sector specific. Training programs have been developed in agriculture, environment and natural resource management, private enterprise, education and democratization. Training is becoming more and more specific based on requests from bureaus and missions. For example, a training on women and AIDS was recently conducted in Uganda. The WID Office also conducts training in functional areas such as program and policy analysis, project design and implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. Between 1989 and 1990, the WID Office conducted sixteen training activities that included 640 individuals from A.I.D. and the larger development community. Prior to 1990, all training costs were covered by the WID Office. Now all requests for training from missions and bureaus include cost-sharing.

The Congressional legislation also mandated the need to increase the number of developing country women involved in participant training programs. Statistics show a steady increase in the percentage of women trained from 21.8% in 1982 to 38% in 1989. Figures for 1990 and 1991 show some leveling off. Of equal

importance are the areas of study. It appears that most of the women being trained are in traditional fields such as health, family planning, and education. Furthermore, the percentage of women studying for advanced degrees has increased very little.

A.I.D.'s regions and missions are initiating innovative programs to address the specific constraints women face regarding participant training. For example, the Caribbean and Latin America Scholarship Program (CLASP) emphasizes training women and marginalized groups of the population. Many CLASP participants enter two year Associate Degree programs. In 1992, the highest percentage of women trainees came from the Latin America/Caribbean region. USAID/Morocco has taken the approach of establishing and strictly enforcing a 30 per cent female quota. The mission uses a variety of techniques to achieve this goal.

D. Institutionalizing Women In Development

As mentioned above, A.I.D. policy and current legislation strongly support the integration of gender consideration into A.I.D.'s monitoring, evaluation, and strategic planning systems. The 1982 WID Policy Statement enumerates the steps A.I.D. must take in order to ensure that the WID policy is reflected throughout the Agency's portfolio. These steps include sex disaggregation of all data collected, use of this data to guide the project development process, development of specific guidelines and strategies to be included in all bureau and mission policy, planning and implementation documents, and evaluation of the impact of A.I.D.'s programs and projects according to gender differentials.

Over the past ten years, it can be said that real progress has been made in the implementation of some of the steps cited in the WID Policy Statement. The WID Office has worked very effectively with bureaus and missions to integrate gender concerns into policy and program documents. For instance, the WID Office was asked to collaborate with several other offices to revise four handbooks which govern the design of all A.I.D. projects and programs. The handbooks have gender considerations built into all the revised guidelines.

Currently most regional and central bureaus have developed or revised women in development action plans. WID Committees have also been established to review development activities in a particular region or bureau to assure the appropriate inclusion of gender concerns. These committees play an important role in ensuring central and uniform direction for WID activities throughout each region.

Over the last several years, the Agency has begun to emphasize monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness and impact of particular program and project strategies on women as well as men. Missions are developing documents that outline specific strategic objectives, program outputs, which will lead to achieving those objectives, and indicators to measure performance. The WID Office and regional WID

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Committees are working with bureaus and missions to integrate gender considerations into this process by improving guidance to missions, and providing direct technical assistance at both the program and project level.

It is evident that A.I.D. has made much progress in institutionalizing gender into strategic, program, and project documents. This activity is on-going. As the Agency adds new areas of sectoral and geographic concern, the WID Office serves as a catalyst to ensure that gender is addressed in resulting documentation. It is still too early to judge if activities in these areas are having an impact on the implementation of projects.

E. Evaluation

Since 1991, the WID Office has been involved in the Agency-wide Evaluation Initiative. The initiative is aimed at strengthening the role of evaluation throughout the Agency in order to provide a basis for better program and policy decisions. This initiative includes strengthening the evaluation and monitoring system to capture the full range of the Agency's women in development activities. These systems are still in the development stage. This could provide the incentives that heretofore have been lacking for ensuring the inclusion of gender in project design and implementation.

Studies conducted in 1991 and 1993 on the inclusion of gender issues in evaluations of A.I.D. projects noted low levels of reporting on this issue. The 1993 study examined 532 evaluations and of that number 45% contained no information on gender. It was noted that over a five year period the percentage of evaluations that contain gender disaggregated data and the number of evaluation scopes of work that incorporate gender concerns rose. Both these studies point out the necessity of targeting gender in the project design and in the evaluation scopes of work.

VI. PARTNERSHIPS

A. Collaboration with Other Donors

The United States has been a member of the Expert Group on Women in Development of the Development Action Committee of the OECD since its inception. It has played an active role in the development of the DAC's WID Guiding Principles and has maintained close ties with the other DAC members. Specifically, the United States is working closely with other DAC members to plan and coordinate activities for the 1995 International Women's Conference to be held in Beijing in 1995. The WID Office reports contact throughout the year with various donors requesting information on specific programs, projects, or activities.

The WID Office also collaborates with other donor agencies such as the Food and Agricultural Organization, the United Nations Development Fund, and the World

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Bank. For example, the WID Office joined with the World Bank to develop a roundtable on "Girls; Education: Problems and Potential Solutions" to be presented at the World Conference on Education for All held in Thailand in 1990. Through this joint effort, A.I.D. and the World Bank pressed for the identification of female education and literacy as a critical issue and goal for the year 2000. The WID Office is also collaborating with other donor organizations such as FAO and the World Bank to coordinate women and gender training programs.

B. Collaboration with A.I.D.-Assisted Countries

The WID Office has several mechanisms by which it interacts with organizations and individuals from A.I.D.-assisted countries. As mentioned above, the current generation of training programs on gender issues includes host country participants representing the government, the private sector, and non-governmental agencies. The WID Office enters into partnerships with women's groups in A.I.D.-assisted countries in order to target successfully the needs and concerns of local women. In some countries, A.I.D. missions have recruited host country professionals to coordinate WID activities. The WID Office is also collaborating with the US Bureau of the Census to integrate gender issues and statistics into the Bureau of Census's international training program. This program has been training host country statistical office staff for forty years. The aim of this program is to increase the availability of sex-disaggregated data in a user friendly form for host country planners and A.I.D. missions.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

The Women in Development Policy Paper states that the responsibility for implementing the WID Policy rests with all of A.I.D.'s offices and bureaus. The Office of Women in Development was established to serve as a focal point for disseminating information and providing technical support to missions and bureaus in their efforts to integrate gender issues into their programs. It was hoped that as the issues of gender and development became routinized into the activities of all of A.I.D.'s programs, there would no longer be a need for a WID Office. That point has not been reached. However, much progress has been made in heightening the awareness among AID staff of the importance of including gender issues in project design and implementation and in spreading the responsibility for implementing the WID policy beyond the WID Office.

Almost every person interviewed for this case study spoke about a change in attitude among AID staff toward women in development. Some noted that there appeared to be much less resistance and a greater understanding of the link between gender and successful projects. This was attributed to several factors including training programs conducted by the WID Office, increasing examples of gender being a critical element in the success or failure of a project, and a generational change with

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younger staff being more cognizant of gender issues.

The addition of full time WID advisors in most regional bureaus and the creation of WID Committees in all the bureaus does suggest that the responsibility for implementing WID policy no longer rests solely with the WID Office. It is not clear to what degree regional activities are coordinated so as to conform to an overall strategy. The success of spreading the responsibility for implementing women in development policy beyond the WID Office will depend in part on the assurance of continued funding for the WID advisors.

There is a need for the issue of staffing to be examined in some detail. Throughout the Agency there are only four direct hires, permanent or temporary, who are assigned full time women in development responsibilities. A large majority of staff both in the WID Office and the regional bureaus are contractors. Furthermore, even though the size of the staff working on gender and development has increased significantly over the past several years, the absolute numbers are still very small given the scope of the women in development mandate.

The WID Office has focused much of its attention on ensuring that specific language on the importance of gender is included in policy documents, guidance to the missions, and other strategy documents. Progress has been made on this front. In addition to having specific information in Agency handbooks, the WID Office and WID regional advisors are making progress working with bureaus and missions to include gender considerations in program documents, strategic objectives, and performance indicators. Less successful have been attempts to carry this attention to gender through to project implementation and documentation including project design and evaluation. Efforts are underway to improve performance in this area.

One very effective strategy employed by the WID Office has been the use of matching funds. Through this mechanism, the WID Office has been able to target critical areas and has been able to increase its ability to impact on specific sectors. A.I.D. has made significant strides in terms of addressing gender issues in sectors such as education and microenterprise. Much of this can be attributed to the use of co-funding.

Despite these advancements, it should be noted that there is still no enforcement mechanism. Implementing the WID policy, following the resultant guidelines, integrating gender issues into project design, and implementing projects that mainstream gender are all largely voluntary acts. Ultimately, no one is held accountable if guidelines and procedures are not followed. At the mission level, women in development is often seen as one of a large number of competing priorities. Even when the connection between inclusion of gender issues and project success is understood, gender often is neglected in the crush of work. Another problem often cited is the large volume of projects that are implemented by contractors who may or

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may not be sensitive to gender issues. It is unclear if the Agency could or would be willing to institute incentives to ensure that the WID policy be implemented at the project level.

The Office of Women in Development is at an important junction in its history. Overall, there is a growing awareness of the critical importance gender plays in the implementation of successful projects. Twenty years of relentlessly pressing for the inclusion of gender through a variety of strategies has resulted in a heightened understanding of gender issues among A.I.D. staff and a moderate degree of institutionalization of WID into A.I.D.'s policies and procedures.

The WID Office has made these advances despite less than ideal conditions within A.I.D. An increasingly decentralized management approach coupled with a lack of support for the WID agenda by top leadership in recent years has made it difficult to move the women in development policy forward. Since 1988, there has been no statement from the Administrator's office reiterating the need for the inclusion of gender in AID's activities. In addition, a growing focus on things such as crop yields and economic indicators as opposed to people has made it very difficult to accurately measure the impact development assistance has had on the lives of women in AID-assisted countries.

A.I.D. is poised to make considerable changes in how it operates and in its guiding principles. Foreign assistance must be restructured to reflect the realities of a post-cold war world. Indications are that there will be a greater emphasis placed on participatory development and forging partnerships with other donor countries, agencies, and with developing countries in an effort to improve the design and delivery of development assistance. The Office of Women in Development has a wealth of experience in the areas of developing partnerships and engaging in participatory development and should be well positioned to take advantage of a changing environment within A.I.D. in order to further the institutionalization of gender and development. Much of the success of the WID Office over the next several years will depend on the stand that the A.I.D. leadership takes vis-a-vis women in development and the appointment of strong, technically competent leadership within the WID Office itself.

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