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**ASSESSMENT OF DAC MEMBERS'
WID POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES**

Overall Report

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PREFACE

As a contribution to the Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing in 1995, the Expert Group on Aid Evaluation of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in collaboration with the DAC Expert Group on Women and Development, undertook a review and assessment of DAC Members' policies and strategies related to women and development.

This study was launched at the end of 1991 and was conducted by a small group of lead agencies meeting in the capacity of the Working Evaluation Group (WEG). This group was chaired by the United Kingdom while the studies were conducted with the collaboration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, the United States Agency for International Development, the Swiss Development Cooperation and the Canadian International Development Agency.

This evaluation is the result of many months of hard work and intense discussion on the part of many dedicated individuals. I wish to express our appreciation to the consultants involved in this study and recognize their commitment to the goals of this complex evaluation. I would like to particularly thank Johnny Morris of ODA for his effective leadership coordinating the study during the past two years and the active members of the WEG who worked beyond the call of duty for the success of the endeavour. The professional contribution of Françoise Mailhot of CIDA and Hans Lundgren of the DAC Secretariat should also be mentioned.

This study is meant to foster discussion and reflection that will lead to the improvement of members' gender policies and procedures and is not simply an attempt at assessing programmes and past performance. It is hoped that *The Assessment of DAC Members' WID Policies and Programmes* will serve the interest of recipient countries, donors and all other organizations involved in gender or WID strategies.

Finally, this study would not have been possible without the valuable contribution of all DAC Members and we would like to express our appreciation for their constructive efforts.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the twenty years since women's position in society became an issue for development cooperation, the members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) have pursued a range of initiatives to promote greater attention to women's participation in development-cooperation activities and to increase the benefits derived by women from these activities. For both the DAC and its individual members, this has entailed innovations such as the development of conceptual approaches, the revision of project planning and management procedures, and the adaptation of institutional structures. This process was given impetus by the World Conferences on Women held during the United Nations Decade for Women in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), and Nairobi (1985). The process has also been stimulated by the rapid expansion of theoretical and empirical research on the position of women and by the views expressed by women of third world countries about the development process and their needs and interests in relation to it.

The Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing in 1995 will bring together governments and activists to review the results of efforts made over two decades to improve the position of women and to define strategies to accelerate progress toward equity objectives. The challenge for DAC members in their preparations for the Conference is to review their women in development strategies in light of the experience gained through past efforts as well as changes in the global environment and new issues that have emerged. The experimental efforts made as development-cooperation agencies began to focus on the needs and situation of women have yielded results and information that provide a much stronger foundation for the formulation of strategies than existed two decades ago. There has also been considerable evolution in concepts and strategies since efforts were first undertaken, as well as changes in the environment in which they were pursued: both the ball and the playing field have changed shape. The Conference thus provides a timely opportunity to take stock and to renew strategies to address the major disparities between women and men that remain fundamental constraints on social and economic development.

As a contribution to the 1995 World Conference, the DAC Expert Group on Aid Evaluation, in collaboration with the DAC Expert Group on Women and Development, undertook a review and assessment of the experience within the DAC and its member countries with women in development policies and strategies. The review and assessment was pursued through studies on three themes: (1) the integration of gender concerns in the work of the DAC, (2) the policies and organisational measures on women in development adopted by DAC member countries, and (3) women in development as a cross-cutting issue in aid evaluation. These studies are further described below. This paper is the Overall Report on the review and assessment.

The results of the review and assessment will provide DAC members with perspectives on several critical questions that should guide the review and renewal of donor strategies on women in development: What is needed to achieve real change for women in third world countries? How can development cooperation contribute to this? What can development-assistance agencies do better to ensure that women and men are participating more equitably in the development of their societies?

1.1 The DAC and Women in Development Concerns

The DAC was constituted in 1961 as a consultative body concerned with increasing the quality and quantity of development assistance provided by its members to less-developed countries. Women's roles in society and their participation in the development projects of member countries were first given explicit consideration by the DAC at a meeting held in 1975 to discuss follow-up to the first World Conference on Women held earlier that year. DAC members concluded that "their assistance programmes, in responding to the priorities of recipient countries, and taking into consideration local customs and mores, should consciously reflect, to the extent possible, their concern for the active participation of women in the social and economic development process, whether as beneficiaries or decision-makers." Members also agreed that "in cooperation with recipient countries, all efforts should be made to ensure that their concern for involving women in the development process is taken into account in the planning, appraisal, implementation and evaluation of development activities." The practical implications of these statements were subsequently elaborated in the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development*. These were first adopted by the DAC in 1983 and then revised in 1989 to take account of experience gained by member countries and the *Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women* adopted at the conference marking the end of the United Nations Decade for Women in 1985.

The *Guiding Principles* reflect the consensus reached among DAC members on means to improve the quality of aid by taking account of the social and economic roles of women in development-cooperation activities. They recommend action by member countries in three major areas: the development of mandates, policy guidelines and plans of action on women in development; the adoption of administrative measures to provide a management system for the systematic implementation of policies; and the implementation of policies at all stages of the project cycle. The *Guiding Principles* also make recommendations concerning coordination and consultation on women in development and on monitoring the application of the *Guiding Principles* by member countries.

The Expert Group on Women in Development is a major catalyst for attention to women's issues in the work of the DAC. The Group has been active since 1977, first as an informal group of experts, then as a Correspondents Group, and since 1984 as an official DAC Expert Group. Its current mandate extends to 1995. The Expert Group focuses on the exchange of experience among members, on the development of instruments that stimulate WID efforts of DAC members (such as the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* and the Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities), and on furthering attention to WID issues in ongoing DAC work and programmes. The work of the Expert Group has been facilitated by the WID Fund established in 1991, which allows for the use of consultants to prepare studies as contributions to DAC work. Both permanent delegates to the DAC and members of the Expert Group refer to the important contribution made by the work of the Group in shaping and promoting the WID policies and programmes of DAC members.

The collective work of the DAC and its expert groups provides a stimulus for action by member countries, but implementation lies with individual members. The Monitoring Reports on

the implementation of the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* (issued in 1985, 1987 and 1992) and the information gathered for this assessment demonstrate that DAC members have taken substantial steps to develop an institutional base for implementing WID policies. This has included the adoption of policy mandates; the formulation of country- and sector-specific strategies; the establishment of institutional structures such as WID units; the development of tools, guidelines and checklists for project development, implementation and evaluation; and the delivery of training programmes to agency staff. There are indications that these policies and measures have had a positive effect on operations. Agency staff are more aware of the social and economic activities of women and have increased their competence in taking account of gender differences in project planning. The number of WID-specific and WID-integrated projects has increased. Much experience has also been gained at the project level in identifying WID issues and in increasing women's participation, even in sectors in which the relevance of these concerns was initially not clear.

Some DAC members instituted efforts earlier than others and a few have only recently begun to pursue policies on women's participation in development. The general pattern among members has been to begin with the adoption of a formal mandate or policy that outlines principles and objectives and then to support their implementation through the development of administrative guidelines and other operational tools. Most donor agencies are now in the second stage, although some have proceeded considerably further than others. There are also differences among DAC members in the emphases and mechanisms adopted, reflecting differences in development-cooperation models followed as well as differing economic and political influences on their aid programme. However, the steps taken demonstrate that WID issues are now considered legitimate, if not pressing, concerns by all DAC members.

1.2 Methodology of the Assessment Studies

The assessment was pursued through studies on three themes identified jointly by the DAC Expert Groups on Aid Evaluation and Women in Development. The studies provide three different perspectives on the implementation of WID policies by member countries of the DAC. The focus and sources for each of these studies are summarised below.

- *Theme I, The Integration of Gender Concerns in the Work of the DAC*, is concerned with the extent to which women in development concerns have been integrated into the collective efforts of the DAC and the guidance provided through such means to member countries. The study is based on an extensive analysis of DAC documents produced in the period 1985-1992, including policy statements and principles, annual reviews, aid reviews, statistical reporting, and work on sectoral issues; this was supplemented by interviews with members of the Development Cooperation Directorate of the OECD and representatives to the DAC.
- *Theme II, Policies and Organisational Measures on Women in Development Adopted by DAC Member Countries*, is concerned with the extent to which the DAC *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* have been implemented within member organisations and the

influence of WID strategies and measures on their operational strategies. Information for Theme II was collected through a desk study of existing reports, a questionnaire subsequently circulated to DAC members early in 1993 (to which twenty DAC members responded), and follow-up case studies of five DAC members. The Theme II report is based on these inputs as well as information from two donors that have undertaken agency-level assessments of their policies on women in development.

- *Theme III, WID as a Cross-cutting Issue in Development Aid Evaluation*, is concerned with the implementation of WID strategies in projects as revealed through evaluation reports. Evaluation is one aspect of the project cycle that should itself be influenced by WID policy. Evaluation reports also provide a source of information on WID policy implementation at earlier stages of the cycle and on project effects or outcomes. Sixteen donors participated in the study, which encompassed 1315 evaluations. The evaluation reports were reviewed in two phases, with Phase I covering 1989-92 and Phase II the period 1992-93. For each phase, participating countries provided quantitative data about specific elements of the evaluation reports and projects in their sample, plus a narrative report that provided extensive analyses of the evaluation reports and findings. The report on the Theme III study consists of a separate synthesis of each phase and an overview of both.

The reports on each of the Theme Studies provide a wealth of information and specific recommendations for the consideration of the DAC and DAC members. However, a number of limitations of the studies should be noted. The assessment was a donor study; restrictions of time and resources did not allow for consultations with women in aid-recipient countries, which would have provided valuable perspectives on the objectives, efforts emphasized and achievements of DAC members. The Theme II questionnaire resulted in information about the adoption of WID policies and measures, but information on actual implementation and the impact of the measures was limited; assessments of effectiveness were based primarily on donor agency's own perceptions. Differences in criteria used in reporting also led to difficulties in undertaking a comparative analysis and reaching conclusions about differences in approaches and strategies. The major source of information on implementation by donor agencies is the Theme III study. The sample of project evaluations on which the Theme III study is based focuses on project aid and on project evaluations that considered direct or indirect effects on target groups. The sample includes contributions from sixteen donors, but four donors are responsible for 75% of the sample. The sample may also over-emphasise the agricultural sector and the African region.

The assessment studies were motivated by the broad questions of whether women were benefitting from development assistance and how approaches could be modified to ensure positive outcomes for women. Neither the individual studies nor this Overall Report can claim to provide complete answers to these questions. They aim at the more modest objective of providing insights into past experience as a contribution to the development of strategies for the future.

DAC members devoted considerable time and effort to making contributions to the assessment studies, particularly in responding to the Theme II questionnaire and preparing data and narrative reports for Theme III. The Table on page 6 of this report lists the participants in various aspects

of the studies. Five countries also agreed to be the subjects of case studies that provided valuable information, but they are not named here to preserve the confidentiality agreed to as a condition for submitting to close scrutiny. Members of the Working Evaluation Group (WEG) of the DAC Expert Group on Aid Evaluation and the Bureau of the Expert Group on Women in Development made extensive comments on drafts of each Theme study. The United Kingdom chaired the WEG Group and provided useful comments on the studies. Acknowledgements are also due to several DAC members who took responsibility for supervising and financing the studies: The Netherlands was responsible for the preparation of Theme I, the United States and Switzerland were jointly responsible for Theme II, and Canada for Theme III. Canada also undertook the task of coordinating the study as a whole and of supervising the preparation of this Overall Report.

1.3 Methodology and Organisation of the Overall Report

This Overall Report is intended to complement the three Theme Studies, each of which is being published separately. The Overall Report integrates the information provided by the Theme Studies on three different aspects of WID policy implementation, provides an overview of the current status of DAC member efforts on women in development and highlights strategic considerations for the future.

The approach taken in the preparation of this Overall Report was to review the three theme studies in light of the general direction provided by the *Guiding Principles on Women in Development*. Chapter 2, *Impact of WID Efforts on Development-assistance Policies and Projects*, provides an overview of the extent to which women in development concerns are now reflected in development policy and practice. It considers the evidence provided by the three studies in relation to four types of impact that WID policies might be expected to have: on development policy discussion, on agency practices throughout the project cycle, on ways in which projects address women, and on the benefits derived by women from development cooperation. The analysis in this chapter results in the conclusion that, although DAC members have made substantial efforts to specify and implement WID policies, a major gap remains between expressed intentions and actual impact on development assistance policy and practice.

Chapters 3 and 4 are concerned with understanding and addressing this finding. Chapter 3, *Strategic Issues for Senior Management*, reviews two aspects of the institutional context of WID policy implementation that may be relevant to closing the gap between expressed intentions and actual implementation. It considers the extent to which references to WID as a development priority are reflected in agency priorities and programme planning and in agency investments in WID. Chapter 4, *Strengthening DAC Guidance on WID*, considers how the guidance provided by the DAC through instruments such as the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development*, the Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities, and mechanisms for monitoring the implementation of WID commitments, might be modified in response to gaps in implementation identified in earlier chapters.

Chapter 5, *Summary and Conclusions*, recapitulates the main points raised in previous chapters and sets out recommendations.

This Overall Report draws directly on the information and conclusions of the three Theme Studies. As the aim was to provide a general picture, individual countries are not identified with specific initiatives or observations.

A comment should also be made on terminology. Within certain agencies and in the literature on these issues, the terms "women in development" and "gender and development" are understood to imply different conceptual approaches and strategies. However, the information gathered for this assessment demonstrates considerable variation in the ways in which these terms are understood by DAC members. Since most agencies and the DAC continue to use the term "women in development" to refer to efforts to increase the benefits women gain from development, this report refers to "WID efforts," "WID policies," or "WID directives" as convenient summary terms for these categories of activities.

ASSESSMENT OF DAC MEMBERS' WID POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE OECD DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE (DAC), THE WID EXPERT GROUP, AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

Country	DAC Membership	Member of WID Expert Group, 1994 ¹	Participant in Theme II Questionnaire	Participant in Theme III Study
Australia	July 1962	X	X	X
Austria	March 1965	X	X	X
Belgium	1960/61	X	X	X
Canada	1960/61	X	X	X
Denmark	January 1963	X	X	X
EEC	1960/61	X	X	X
Finland	January 1975	X	X	X
France	1960/61	X	X ²	
Germany	1960/61	X	X	X
Ireland	November 1985	X	X	X
Italy	1960/61	X	X	
Japan	1960/61	X	X	X
Luxembourg	January 1992			
Netherlands	1960/61	X	X	X
New Zealand	November 1973	X	X	
Norway	July 1962	X	X	X
Portugal	1960/61-1974 December 1991	X	X	
Sweden	July 1965	X	X	X
Spain	December 1992	X	X	
Switzerland	June 1968	X	X	X
United Kingdom	1960/61	X	X	X
United States	1960/61	X	X	X

¹ Also participating in the DAC WID Expert Group as observers are: the World Bank, the IMF, and the OECD Development Centre.

² France did not fill out a questionnaire for Theme II, but provided several pages of response that were collated with data from other countries.

2.0 IMPACT OF WID EFFORTS ON DEVELOPMENT-ASSISTANCE POLICY AND PROJECTS

The *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* and the policies of most DAC members emphasise that women and development concerns are relevant to all aspects of development cooperation. This approach is based on the recognition that all development interventions are relevant to both women and men. Thus all development activities from the macro (policy) to the micro (project) levels should take account of differences in social and economic positions of women and men and the specific needs and interests of women.

How development cooperation now reflects women in development concerns forms the substance of this chapter, which considers the evidence provided by the assessment studies on four ways in which WID policies might have been expected to have an impact. The first section of this chapter explores whether WID policy objectives are reflected in discussions of development policies and approaches. The second section considers the extent to which WID policy is reflected in steps taken at various stages of the project cycle. The third section deals more specifically with changes in projects and programmes to take account of women's multiple roles. The fourth section considers the evidence provided by the studies on the impact of development assistance on women in aid-recipient countries.

2.1 Impact on the Development Policy Discussions and Decision-making

Since women's participation in the development of their societies was first raised as an issue for the attention of development-cooperation agencies, the continuing process of re-evaluation of development assistance and changes in the world economic situation have resulted in a number of shifts in concerns and priorities. The emphasis placed in the 1970s on basic needs and poverty alleviation was overshadowed in the 1980s by the higher priority placed on economic restructuring, policy reform and private sector development. These latter concerns have been associated with a shift toward the provision of aid through programme assistance³ and an emphasis on policy dialogue, institution-strengthening, and national capacity-building. Priorities that have emerged since the late 1980s include environmental sustainability, human rights, democratisation, good governance, and participatory development. The question addressed here is whether, as priorities have shifted,

³ Programme assistance is defined by the DAC as follows: "Programme assistance consists of all contributions made available to a recipient country for general development purposes, i.e. balance-of-payments support, general budget support and commodity assistance, not linked to specific project activities. Broader approaches to programme assistance encompass, in addition, the use of all other instruments of assistance which contribute to the support of well-defined policy objectives and programmes at the macroeconomic and / or sector levels of a developing country." *Development Assistance Manual: DAC Principles for Effective Aid*, OECD, 1992.

concerns about women's participation in development and the benefits they receive from development assistance have remained visible.

The assessment studies did not review agency policy statements to determine the extent to which they reflected policy commitments and objectives on women in development, but did include an extensive review of DAC documentation for the period 1985-1992. The documentation of discussions within the DAC provides a useful perspective on the question posed. DAC meetings are generally attended by senior representatives of member countries and the relative weight they give to various issues presumably reflects agency views and priorities. DAC documentation thus provides some insight into the extent to which issues of women's position are introduced and substantively addressed by country representatives during discussions of key issues in aid policy and management. Four types of documentation and DAC activity were reviewed, with the results outlined below.

- *DAC Policy Statements.* There was frequent mention of women in policy and discussion documents and almost all statements from the annual High-Level Meetings of Ministers and Heads of Agencies included references to women. However, these were generally a reiteration of the importance of the role of women or a further specification of an area in need of attention, such as "improvement of agricultural extension systems, including more attention to the role of women in agriculture" (1987), and "giving greater attention to the demographic impacts ... with special emphasis on strengthening the educational and social status of women" (1990).
- *Joint Work by Member Countries on the Functional Aspects of Development Cooperation.* This included meetings on seventeen different topics in the period reviewed. The documentation for these meetings shows that issues relating to women were identified or discussed at most of them. A distinct input on gender concerns usually led to references in later documents. Such inputs were generally prepared under the auspices of the DAC Expert Group on Women in Development and took various forms, such as the report of a task force, the conclusions of a seminar, or the preparation of a background paper specifically for the meeting. However, a comparison between the WID inputs and the conclusions of the meeting was frequently disappointing. In some cases even an extensive contribution yielded little more than a standard phrase about the importance of women's contributions: somewhere in the process of the meeting the specificity and characteristics of women's problems in the sector were lost. This was the case in meetings on key subjects such as aid to agriculture (1985), structural adjustment (1988), and participatory development (1990). More positive outcomes were achieved in meetings on micro-enterprise and the informal sector (1991), basic education (1992) and urban development (1992), all of which were supplied with a background paper written by an expert contracted by the Secretariat (in consultation with the Expert Group on Women in Development) and financed through the WID Fund.
- *Principles and Good Practices.* The recently published *Development Assistance Manual: DAC Principles for Effective Aid*, which is described as bringing together "the results of work done under DAC auspices on essential aspects of the aid planning process," provides translations in more specific terms of policies on which DAC members have achieved

consensus. The Manual includes the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development*. Most of the other sets of principles also encourage DAC members to consider women's participation in various stages of the project cycle or in different types of development-cooperation activities. This includes the *Principles for Programme Assistance*, which concern a type of assistance that is of increasing importance in development cooperation but has posed particular challenges for WID policy implementation due to the absence of an identifiable target group. A notable exception in the Manual is the omission of any references to women's participation in the *Principles for the Evaluation of Development Assistance*, which set out the most important requirements of the evaluation process based on current policies and practices as well as agency experiences.

- *DAC Aid Review Process*. DAC directives for the Aid Review, in which the aid programme of each DAC member is periodically scrutinised by other members, have included a WID section since 1986/87. All but one of the Country Memoranda recently submitted by DAC members provided information on WID policies or initiatives. Most of the country reports for the Aid Review process prepared by the DAC Secretariat also referred to WID efforts. The actual review is based on questions on four or five topics identified jointly by the Secretariat and the examining country. Women's participation in development was referred to in the questions addressed to over half the countries examined. This was mostly in combination with other topics, such as participatory development, good governance, private sector or population. In two cases it was also the subject of an extensive discussion where the examiners considered the efforts of the member to be significantly below the level of their capacities.

The frequent references to the importance of women's participation in development in policy and discussion documents and in the *DAC Principles for Effective Aid*, as well as the increasing attention to WID policy commitments in the Aid Review process, suggest that these concerns have been moving closer to the mainstream of development decision-making. However, the discussion above also suggests that it is still possible to overlook WID policy commitments in key discussions. Policy and discussion documents tend to include rather perfunctory references to the importance of women's contributions to development and the importance of their full participation in development and in development-assistance projects. Any substantive attention to these issues requires a special stimulus, which in most cases is provided through the Expert Group on Women in Development, and has been most effective when the Expert Group has been able to finance the preparation of a specific paper on the topic.

2.2 Impact on Agency Practices Throughout the Project Cycle

The *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* are concerned with systematic implementation of WID policies through the full range of agency programmes and projects. They emphasise the identification of barriers and opportunities concerning women's participation, consultations with women and men in the target group, and the specification of appropriate steps to reduce constraints and maximise opportunities. The DAC Statistical Reporting System for Women-

Oriented Aid Activities provides another statement of the criteria adopted by the DAC for identifying projects that are satisfactory from a WID perspective; the criteria specified are: consultation of women in project design, active participation by women in implementation, identification of barriers to women's participation and the development of steps to overcome those barriers, and the use of WID expertise throughout the project cycle to ensure the full participation of women. Regarding project evaluation, the *Guiding Principles* specify that "all evaluations concerned with effects on target groups should describe and analyze possible gender differences."

The question considered in this section is the extent to which these WID concerns are reflected in the various stages of the project cycle. The assessment study's review of a large sample of project evaluations provides some direct evidence about the extent to which WID concerns are addressed in evaluations themselves -- as one stage of the project cycle -- as well as some indications about the project planning and implementation stages. Following the logic of the project cycle, the comments below begin with a consideration of project planning and implementation stages and then turn to evaluation itself; a separate comment is added on the use of gender-disaggregated data.

Project Planning and Implementation

What does the evaluation sample reveal about the extent to which WID policy concerns are addressed in other stages of the project cycle? Evaluation reports are not ideal means of identifying the steps that have been taken in project design and implementation as evaluators do not consistently address this issue. However, the review of evaluations does provide some food for thought about the extent to which women's position has become a factor in project planning and design. The paragraphs below outline what can be gleaned from the sample on several related issues: whether project planning had been informed by analyses of women's situation, the extent to which project targeting took account of women, and the use of WID strategies to promote women's participation.

The information provided in project evaluation reports suggests that gender analyses were not often done, or done seriously, at the stage of project design and appraisal. It seems that a design assumption frequently made was that women would benefit simply because of their strong presence in the region or sector. Project documents frequently included statements such as "women will be treated equally" or "women will not be discriminated against." There was little evidence of participation or consultation with women in project planning and appraisal.

Descriptions of project targets were often general (farmers, villagers) or male (fishermen). One donor participating in the review consulted the original project planning documents in conjunction with the evaluation reports and remarked that few sectors had frequently targeted women, and that women had not been targeted in many cases where it was important and feasible to do so. Particular concern was expressed by donors about the agriculture sector. Women were only infrequently identified as a target group in the agriculture projects in the sample and were seldom involved in project planning, even in geographic areas where they were known to be an important group of farmers.

It was also rare to find in the sample a project with a clear gender strategy that was consistently applied. The analysis of the sample suggests that general statements of intentions to include women without strategies to follow through were not producing results, and that generally women did not participate in projects unless specifically targeted in planning.

Finally, while the information provided by the evaluation reports does not allow any conclusions about the proportion of projects that made use of WID expertise, several donors reflecting on their samples commented on the important role of specialists in project implementation. One donor was quite emphatic, stating that: "Overall, the only projects to have adequately addressed reaching women, as decision-makers, as beneficiaries, were those that included in the project team [WID] specialists."

Evaluation

What does the evaluation sample reveal about the application of WID policy commitments in the evaluation process? If WID policies were systematically implemented, it could be expected that the terms of reference for evaluations would give some direction on gender issues to evaluators, and that evaluation studies or reports would give some consideration to women's participation in the project. The review of evaluation reports used a number of quantitative indicators, such as the inclusion of WID concerns in evaluation terms of reference, the inclusion of WID specialists on evaluation teams, and the extent to which the report discussed gender issues. Donors participating in the review also made extensive comments about evaluations done by their agencies.

The data show a marked increase in the frequency with which evaluation terms of reference mentioned women or gender: this occurred in 40% of the sample in 1989 and rose to 70% in 1993. However, it must be noted that one of the criteria for selecting evaluation reports for the sample was that they included a consideration of direct or indirect effects on the target group: from this perspective, it is disappointing that in only 70% of cases was it considered relevant to identify such effects by gender. The proportion of evaluation reports that included no reference to women dropped from a rather high figure of 48% in 1989 to 25% in 1993, which is again a significant improvement; but only 40% of the evaluations in the latter period could be assessed as including a "full discussion" of gender issues. Nearly one-half of the evaluations in the education and training sector and one-quarter of the evaluations in the agriculture sector included no discussion of women's participation or gender issues in 1993. Donor reports suggested that the requirements of evaluators varied in their specificity. It seems that terms of reference often relied on standard clauses that were not adapted to the specific project to be evaluated and this might have limited their effectiveness.

Evaluation criteria for projects often appeared to be limited by the project's original rationale, and not guided by broader policy objectives such as WID commitments. Where issues concerning women's participation in the project or their position in the community were not explicitly addressed in the project rationale and objectives, they generally did not arise in the evaluation. There was on occasion a good analysis of women's position and their roles in the community. However, a more frequent approach was to allude to cultural differences as insurmountable barriers to implementation, with little or no analysis and without proposing alternatives. Evaluations rarely raised questions

about aspects of the project's rationale and assumptions that could affect women's ability to participate. Even where evaluators discussed successes or constraints in including women in a project, recommendations seldom resulted from this analysis; nor were these issues noted in executive summaries. While the evaluation sample suggests that an increasing proportion of evaluations pay some attention to the position of women, it is not yet routine and is infrequently substantive, and the process is providing limited feedback into policy and project development. The rather ad hoc approach to addressing WID in project evaluations is troublesome, as it reflects either that evaluators are not taking WID issues seriously or, more broadly, that evaluations in general (and not only with respect to WID) are not being designed and executed in ways that contribute to learning and better project strategies by development-assistance agencies.

A number of donors commenting on their evaluation reports noted that evaluations dealt more effectively with WID issues if a specialist participated on the evaluation team. One DAC member stated the conclusion that in order for WID objectives to be addressed in evaluations, "a [WID] expert should be on the team and in charge of that aspect of the work." This conclusion is also supported by the quantitative analysis of the evaluation sample, which found a strong positive correlation between the inclusion of a WID expert on evaluation teams and a "full discussion" of WID issues in evaluation reports.

Gender-disaggregated Data

An area of weakness in planning, monitoring and evaluating projects was the availability and use of gender-disaggregated data (data provided separately for women and men). Such data were included in 30% of the evaluation reports in the 1989 sample, and this increased to 45% in 1993. Data were generally lacking in evaluations for all aspects of a project, not only with respect to gender. Systematic data collection on target groups seemed to be rare and the lack of baseline information created difficulties in interpreting the data available. Several donors reviewing their own evaluations were puzzled by the lack of gender-disaggregated data, given the length of time over which their WID policies and directives had been in place. However, an increase in the quality of gender-disaggregated data is dependent on the capacity of project planners, implementors and evaluators to collect and use data generally and cannot be addressed in isolation.

2.3 Impact on Approaches Taken Within Projects

A major impetus for the initial formulation of WID policies was the realisation that women were generally invisible to development planners, except as mothers, housewives, and perhaps "family workers." The challenge was thus to make visible the productive activities of women. The productive activities of women were emphasised to counter the tendency to consider efforts to direct resources to women as being "welfare" rather than "development", and a cost rather than an investment. The description of women as "agents of development" has been frequently reiterated to emphasise that women are not outside the development process but active participants making major contributions through both their productive and domestic activities. It was argued that the identification of women's roles in the division of labour can lead to more appropriate resource

allocations, with positive results both for women and for project success. A concern soon added to this agenda was women's participation in decision-making, which recognised that the exclusion of women from decision-making processes meant that their needs and priorities received limited attention. Hence, the question addressed in this section is the extent to which these perspectives are reflected in development projects.

Women's Productive Activities

To what extent do projects take account of the productive activities of women and their roles in households and communities? The sample of evaluations done between 1989-1993 suggests that activities targeted to women still tended to focus on their domestic and reproductive roles. A comment by one donor illustrates the approach pursued in several major sectors:

"Most integrated rural development projects include a women-specific component: home economics, health education, handicrafts, family planning... Without being exhaustive, this list provides a good indication of place accorded to women in development projects, that is:

- solely in relation to women's traditional roles;
- marginal to the major concern, the principal rationale for the project." [translation]

This is a disappointing outcome given the amount of effort that has been invested in documenting the productive activities of women and the specific constraints they face in attempting to improve the productivity and returns of their labour. Attention must be paid to the domestic and reproductive activities of women as these significantly add to the workload of women. The heavy workload of women is itself often a constraint to women undertaking additional activities in projects. However, the focus on domestic activities within projects that are oriented to other objectives means that the larger part of project resources will bypass women.

While women were described as benefitting from projects in several economic sectors, several donors concluded that these benefits were often due to coincidence more than design. Where projects concerned a sector or industry in which women had a large presence, such clothing manufacture, electronics or agriculture, women might be identified as project participants or beneficiaries. However, the selection of activities did not seem to be influenced by a specific concern for women's employment, productivity or income, nor were women often specifically targeted.

Women's Participation in Project Planning and Decision-making

Are projects being planned and implemented in consultation with women, and do they allow a decision-making role for women? Consultation with women in project preparation is a means of ensuring that their needs and priorities are identified; participation in decision-making allows for a role in shaping project priorities and strategies. Project evaluations suggest that there has been an increase over time in women's participation in projects. However, several donors voiced concerns about the type or quality of participation by women. It has already been noted that consultation with women occurred infrequently in project planning. Nor were women well-represented in project

decision-making, even in sectors such as health and education in which they have a strong presence. Health projects did include significant numbers of women in training and service delivery at the project level, but as a means of project delivery rather than active participants in shaping project strategies. Agricultural projects reported the involvement of women as field workers, field monitors and extension workers, but their role as managers was insignificant. In the water sector, there was evidence of efforts to ensure equitable membership in village water committees, and projects often included a community sensitisation and mobilisation component that increased women's ability to participate. However, donors expressed particular concern about the extent to which water projects relied on the unpaid labour of women, particularly when this labour contribution was not matched with a greater voice in decision-making.

There has thus been limited progress in achieving the increased participation of women in project decision-making that would enable them to be more than passive beneficiaries of project activities. However, this reflects, at least in part, the lack of attention given until recently to project strategies for consultation with target groups generally and for involving target groups in project decision-making.

2.4 Impact on Benefits Derived by Women from Development Cooperation

Has there been an increase in the benefits that women derive from development assistance? Has there been progress in identifying and avoiding potentially negative effects of development projects and programmes? Has development assistance contributed to an improvement in women's living conditions and position in society?

These questions provide the ultimate test of whether there have been changes in development assistance since the adoption of policies on women in development. They are, however, the most difficult questions to answer and were not directly addressed in the assessment studies. The major sources of information available to development agencies are project evaluations. Project evaluations, however, tend to focus on outputs rather than effects and impacts. In the words of one donor reviewing evaluations for this assessment, "an overall impression of the review is that the main focus of evaluations is on technical problems and solutions and not so much on the people the projects are created for." Development agencies are only beginning to develop methodologies for assessing effects and impacts. In this process, approaches to data-gathering and analysis that allow identification of impacts on women (and on women relative to men) should be vigorously pursued.

Resources and Services Delivered

The principal means by which the project evaluations reviewed for this study identified effects or impacts on women was in terms of resources and services delivered. Evaluations generally identified the number of women participating in education and training programmes. About one-third of projects in the health sector also included information on beneficiaries of services, such as the number of male and female children vaccinated or given iodine supplements. However, the general approach was descriptive rather than quantitative, even where project outputs were at issue. Thus

women might be described as gaining improved access to credit, technologies or project services. A number of donors reviewing these evaluations expressed doubt that such observations could justify the conclusion that women were actually benefitting. They noted that when these observations were considered in the context of the project as a whole it was evident that the resources directed to women were marginal and not commensurate with those received by men. They pointed out that, if women receive some resources but men receive significantly more, the project might have the effect of exacerbating gender disparities, despite giving the appearance of delivering benefits to women. This underscores the importance of quantifying the distribution of such resources and services, rather than making the assumption that women are benefitting because they are receiving some part of project resources.

Data on the quantity of resources and services (such as education, training, credit and health services) delivered to women through development projects are surprisingly limited, given that this is probably the easiest level of benefit to assess. The collection of such data would generally entail a head-count of project beneficiaries and of the number of women among them and, at a slightly more sophisticated level, an assessment of the level of expenditure on different categories of beneficiaries. DAC members agreed to provide such information for technical-cooperation activities (students, trainees, experts, and volunteers) in 1985 and the standard reporting tables were modified accordingly (DAC Tables 9 and 10). However, the results are not yet published in the Annual Reports of the DAC, which provide extensive statistical information on aid activities; it appears that few countries have found it possible to supply such data. A base of such information would allow an analysis of whether the number of women participating in education and training is increasing, whether women account for an increasing proportion of students and trainees, and whether *per capita* expenditures for women and men are similar.

Effects of Resources and Services Delivered

A second level of analysis is to consider how individuals, communities and institutions are affected by the resources and services received. The review of evaluation reports suggests that this type of analysis requires attention in evaluations generally, not only with respect to gender issues. It was reported by one donor that evaluations of education and training programmes rarely based assessments of impact on considerations such as "job placement rates, rates of return or even the intent to return to the organisations from which [trainees] came, contributions to improved organisational capacity, or contributions to the advancement of their own careers." Where effects and impacts were discussed, they were often identified on the basis of broad assumptions not supported by data or analysis. For example, health projects immunising children were described as benefitting women; this was presumably because women are mothers and possibly because of the responsibility taken by women for the care of sick children, but the assumptions underlying the conclusions were not made explicit. The water supply sector provides another example. It was taken for granted that improved water facilities would result in reduced workloads and more free time for women, and that women therefore benefit from them; whether time was actually released and how it was used were questions generally not pursued.

Comments by donors also pointed to the need to assess impacts on women in relation to the various aspects of a project or strategy taken together, rather than to individual elements of them. In the agriculture sector, for example, some evaluations reported benefits to women such as better access to credit and improved capacity to generate income. However, an overview of the evaluations suggests that agricultural technologies, mechanisation and the use of fertilisers were largely restricted to men; there were also reports of job losses to women as a result of mechanisation undertaken through projects. These different types of effects must all be considered to provide a realistic assessment of impacts on women.

2.5 Concluding Comments

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* and the policies of most DAC members emphasise that women and development concerns are relevant to *all* aspects of development cooperation. DAC members have made substantial efforts to specify policies, provide guidelines and training in their application, and adapt project procedures. However, the evidence reviewed in this chapter suggests that while the efforts made have been substantial, a major gap remains between expressed intentions and actual impact on development assistance policy and practice. While frequent references in policy and discussion documents suggest that women's participation in development is now recognised as a legitimate issue, policy commitments concerning women's roles in development have not yet had a major impact on policy discussions by development decision-makers. Women's participation in development is not systematically considered throughout the project cycle. Too often women are defined by their domestic activities and they continue to have little influence on project decision-making. There seems to have been an increase in women's access to the resources and services of development projects, but as men continue to have greater access the overall effect may be to reinforce and even widen differences between women and men.

Some of the concerns raised in this chapter affect WID policy implementation but are not specific to WID concerns. Ensuring consultations with women in project planning and the inclusion of women in project decision-making is difficult if projects lack strategies for consultation with and participation of target groups generally. The quality of gender-disaggregated data and the use made of it is related to the agency capacities and practices for the collection and use of socio-economic data generally. The contribution made by evaluations to policy and programme development on WID issues is related to the ability of evaluators to incorporate broader policy objectives and to undertake analysis of concerns related to affected populations. The findings about WID policy implementation therefore raise broad questions about agency approaches and capabilities and it will clearly not be possible to address them through WID strategies alone.

3.0 STRATEGIC ISSUES FOR SENIOR MANAGEMENT

The review of DAC policy published in 1989, *Development Cooperation in the 1990s: Working with Developing Countries towards Sustainable and Equitable Development*, stated that the role of women in development had become a new priority in development cooperation during the 1980s. The review noted that there had been some progress in the previous decade in such areas as legislation, education, and family planning, but concluded that, in general, "the status of women and especially poorer women cannot be said to have greatly improved." While noting the adoption by the DAC of the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* and the policy statements and guidelines formulated by member countries, the review states that "the growing recognition of women's critical role in development has yet to be translated into operational action" and that "major efforts are needed in the coming decade to fill the gap between policy and implementation."

The discussion in the previous chapter supports the conclusion that a significant gap remains between expressed policy intentions and changes in operational practice. The assessment studies also provide information to suggest that closing this gap will require more attention by senior agency management to the requirements for success of WID strategies. This chapter reviews evidence from the assessment studies on two issues that may reflect the extent to which WID has been, in practice, a development priority: the relation between WID commitments and agency priorities and the investment made in WID policy implementation.

3.1 Relation Between WID Commitments and Agency Priorities and Programme Planning

The information provided by the assessment studies suggests that the overall approach taken by development-cooperation agencies and the choices made in programme planning are important influences on the ability to implement women in development policy commitments effectively.

WID and People-centred Development

The approach outlined in the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development*, and pursued in the DAC and by most donor agencies, has been to emphasise the importance of women's full participation in development and to introduce mechanisms to increase awareness of and response to the specific situation, needs, and constraints of women. This has been easier to achieve in some sectors and activities than others. The factor that seems to differentiate between those aspects of development cooperation that have more readily incorporated a concern with women's position in society and those that do not is the extent to which the *human dimension* is central. If development agencies are to take account of women's position and consult with them in programme and project planning, they must be able to focus on the socio-economic and human aspects of projects and programmes. However, there remains a strong tendency within development agencies to define

development assistance and projects in technical or narrowly sectoral terms. The complexity of integrating women into development-assistance activities in this context was succinctly stated in one of the case studies prepared for this assessment:

"If one does not carry out social analysis then gender analysis in isolation is problematic; and when one eschews participatory methods, then speaking to women only is not only unlikely to occur but lacks a logical basis."

The information gathered for this assessment from the sample of evaluation reports also points to the importance of the overall project approach as a factor in WID policy implementation. Several donors noted that the more that beneficiaries were a part of a project, the more likely the project would address women's participation; where the human aspects were subordinated to other considerations, the position of women was also likely to be ignored. It was easier to consult with women and to target women in community-level projects that were committed to participatory approaches and that had flexibility in the range of their activities. This was more often the case in multi-sector and integrated rural development projects than in supply-driven projects in the health, energy and infrastructure sectors. This suggests that where sectors or projects were approached from an angle that did not place priority on the human dimension, WID policy commitments and the guidance provided by WID operational tools were difficult to pursue in a meaningful way.

However, it was also noted that the sample included some projects that demonstrated that sectors or activities generally conceived in technical terms could be differently approached, with positive results for women's participation. In the water supply sector, for example, there was a shift in the mid-1980s from a purely technical approach to a more integrated development approach that focused on the target group affected by the intervention and provided for the involvement of community organisations in project design and implementation. Within the forestry sector, social forestry initiatives provided examples of how project objectives could be re-conceived in socio-economic rather than purely technical terms. In the transportation sector, interventions with links to rural development initiatives were more likely to include a concern with women's participation.

Thus opportunities and avenues for introducing WID concerns effectively are strongly influenced by the value placed on people-centred, participatory approaches and the degree to which such values are reflected in projects in all sectors, including those that have generally been conceived in technical terms. From this perspective, the recent emergence of a DAC emphasis on participatory development has positive implications for opportunities to pursue WID objectives at the project level. Participatory development is concerned with broader participation in social and economic decision-making and more equitable sharing of available opportunities and resources. The application of these ideas at the project level will be facilitated by the experience gained through WID approaches. From the outset, these have focused on the social context in which projects were implemented, the analysis of target populations, and participation in project planning and implementation. In turn, increased attention to the human context of development assistance that is required by participatory-development concepts will provide an environment more conducive to increasing women's participation in projects. On the evidence of the project documents reviewed for this assessment, however, DAC members face major challenges in effectively translating participatory development

concepts into practice: the predominant approach to projects was described by one donor as follows: "the population, and women in particular, are considered in light of their capacity to adapt to the project, and not the reverse" [translation].

Re-interpretation of WID with New Aid Priorities and Mechanisms

The rapid evolution of development policies, priorities and delivery mechanisms poses challenges to the implementation of WID policy commitments. Despite the reiteration of the importance of women's participation in development, it has proved difficult for policy-makers to interpret these commitments in new areas of activity, particularly in relation to policies and interventions for which the links between initiatives taken and their outcomes for the affected population are not immediately identifiable.

An important example is provided by initiatives in relation to economic restructuring in aid-recipient countries, which has been an issue of high priority to DAC members for most of the last decade. Discussions of economic restructuring have largely centred on reforms of monetary, fiscal and exchange-rate policies. DAC members did not initially approach strategies for economic restructuring with the question of how it could be pursued with WID policy commitments in mind. Considerable challenges were faced by those who sought to introduce social and distributional factors into the analysis of policy choices at the macro-level. Such policy choices have been a major concern to women's organisations and researchers because they have the potential for a redistribution of resources and broad impacts on the relative economic position and rewards of different groups of women and men in the population. The DAC *Principles for Programme Assistance* adopted in 1991 suggest that these concerns are now recognised as relevant. The Principles emphasise the importance of a concern with social and gender aspects in the preparation of programme assistance. They state that programme assistance can affect women and men differently, due to the different opportunities and constraints each face. They also note the potential of programme assistance and particularly sectoral assistance for contributing "to the advancement of strategic policy concerns and objectives such as ... strengthening the role of women in development". The inclusion of these points within the *Principles for Programme Assistance* is an important advance, but it was only achieved through concerted efforts by WID advocates to persuade decision-makers of the relevance of WID policy commitments to this important area of development intervention.

Participatory development has more recently re-emerged as a high-priority concern of DAC members. Participatory development concepts are relevant not only at the project level. In DAC discussions, participatory development is increasingly linked with the democratic development and good governance themes, which incorporate concerns with the development of civil society, government accountability to the people and the public interest, and the empowerment of people's representative organisations. Discussion papers prepared under WID auspices for the DAC have pointed out the relation between such concerns and the terms on which women participate in the development of their societies. Issues identified for attention include the ability of various groups of women to formulate and negotiate their claims on governments and other institutions, and the capability of governments and social institutions to identify and respond to the interests of women as well as those of men. A paper approved by the DAC in 1993 as a "work-in-progress" to provide

interim guidance, the *DAC Orientations on Participatory Development and Good Governance*, reflects the contributions of the Expert Group on Women in Development on these issues and provides a positive basis for further exploring approaches and areas for action.

Further inputs are probably necessary before these views are reflected in agency approaches to policy dialogue and institutional development in relation to good governance, human rights and democratisation. From the evidence to date, these inputs will depend largely on the efforts of WID advocates. The need for further guidance on such questions is illustrated by the limited perspective on the relevance of WID concerns to institution-strengthening activities evident in the evaluation reports reviewed for this assessment. Institution-strengthening activities are of increasing importance to development agencies and are of interest for their potential to have broad and long-term impacts. From a WID perspective, a critical issue is the capacity of major institutions -- national economic planning ministries, agriculture extension agencies, the judicial system, social and sectoral research institutes -- to respond to the needs, constraints and concerns of women as well as men. While there was only limited information in the evaluations reviewed about such projects, the discussion of institution-strengthening activities in the public sector suggested that neither evaluators nor project implementors had focused on the impact of the institution in question on women in the community. Where gender issues were raised, it was only in relation to participants in project activities. This largely misses the point. Where a project provides training to judges, magistrates and police officers, for example, it is likely that there will be few women candidates for training; however, those training programmes provide an opportunity to discuss issues such as land tenure, marriage and inheritance, and violence against women, where judicial officers have sometimes acted to increase women's disadvantage despite stated government policy. In most aid-recipient countries there are women activists, government offices addressing women's equality, and women's studies centres that would be a major resource for incorporating such components in institution-strengthening projects.

Within DAC member agencies, the specification of issues and approaches to translate WID policy commitments into new areas of activity relies on WID units or advisors. These units or advisors are generally the sole or major source of leadership in identifying the relevance of agency WID policies to new development priorities and mechanisms. A few DAC members have WID units with a clear mandate and appropriate resources to pursue this role effectively. For other DAC members, the capacity of WID units and advisors to provide leadership on WID as agency policies evolve is limited by several factors. Many WID units and advisors are located in technical advisory or operational divisions, reflecting the importance given to the provision of practical technical advice at the project level after WID policies and mandates have been adopted. However, this means that they are generally not strategically placed to influence policy development. The skills, experience and standing within the organisation required to intervene strategically in the development of agency policies are also different than those required to provide technical support to projects. If WID units and advisors are to provide the leadership required, agencies will need to provide the mandates, senior staff and resources for them to be effective in this catalytic and policy development function.

Within the DAC, this role falls to the Expert Group on Women in Development, whose resources include one administrative staff member within the OECD Secretariat and a WID Fund to support research that is not part of the regular DAC budget but dependent on voluntary contributions from DAC members.

WID and Programme/Resource Allocation Choices

Another way in which agencies shape the possibilities for WID policy implementation is through decisions made at the programme level about the allocation of resources among sectors and types of activity. This issue was raised by the DAC Chairman in the 1987 DAC Annual Report when he stated that "choices in priorities and approach...can steer development efforts to previously neglected areas which affect women," giving as an example higher priority for primary education. The comments of donors participating in the review of project evaluations for this assessment suggest that this advice has not yet been heeded: several donors noted that a large proportion of education and training projects were directed to post-secondary levels rather than primary education and literacy, and it was this programme choice rather than project strategies that influenced the degree to which women were benefitting from education initiatives. Examples from other sectors confirmed the role played by the choice of activity within a sector. In the industry sector, for example, the likelihood of raising WID concerns was greater if the industry targeted was one in which women were represented in large numbers, and was more likely if the project concerned micro-enterprise than the formal sector.

A number of DAC members have integrated WID considerations into sectoral or country guidelines, which may provide some direction on questions of programme-level choices. It would seem, however, that the focus to date has been on how to incorporate WID considerations into a project selected according to other criteria, and not on the way in which WID policy commitments might inform the formulation of the overall programme. However, since major decisions on emphases and resource allocations are made at the level of country programmes or sectoral programmes, it may be more effective and appropriate to specify objectives and targets for WID at these levels than to focus on the project level alone. The specification of objectives and targets at these levels would serve to guide programme managers in allocating the resources they command and in reviewing individual projects; it would also establish a basis for accountability on the implementation of WID policy commitments.

3.2 Investment in WID

There are many different ways in which investment in WID efforts by donor agencies could be looked at, but here the question is: what are the ways in which agencies have specifically allocated resources to support the implementation of WID policies. Two major types of investment are considered here: investment in WID personnel and expertise, and the establishment of designated funds for WID initiatives.

WID Personnel and Expertise

All DAC members have staff that have specific WID responsibilities. The Third Monitoring Report of 1992 suggested that agency staff allocations for WID were characterised by a "considerable economy of personnel" and this was confirmed by this assessment, although there is considerable variation among DAC members. Counting staff of WID units, personnel with WID responsibilities in other parts of the agency, WID specialists in field offices and contracted advisors, the proportion of total staff with specific responsibilities for WID policy implementation ranges between a high of one staff person in 35 to as few as one in 500.

The establishment of WID units or advisors responsible for the WID strategy recognised the need for a catalyst for agency action, although this was initially conceived of as a short-term need pending the development of competence on WID throughout donor agencies. The development of competence by agency staff has been pursued through training programmes and the development of analytic frameworks, guidelines, manuals, checklists, *etc.* There has been considerable investment in the development and delivery of training programmes and in the allocation of time and resources by WID units or advisors in developing technical support materials.

The emphasis on the provision of training and technical support materials reflects an assumption that all staff, once exposed to the issues and given tools, could take effective action to implement agency WID policies. The information provided by the donors participating in this assessment casts doubt on this assumption. Although there was a consensus that training was a useful tool, it may be more useful in raising awareness than in increasing actual competence for implementation. Several donors commented on the lack of understanding, knowledge, or competence within their agencies. The continued demand by staff for more specific "tools" to assist them in meeting their obligations can be understood uncertainty in determining how to proceed. DAC members who participated in the review of evaluation reports for this assessment commented on the importance of WID experts in ensuring that WID policy commitments are appropriately addressed in both project implementation and evaluation.

This suggests that the ability to interpret and pursue WID policy objectives is more complex than initially foreseen and that there is a need for reconsideration of the resources allocated to ensure that WID or gender experts are developed and are used in both policy and project development.

Designated Funds

Some DAC members have established special funds or set aside resources to support the implementation of WID policy. Such funds were used to support innovative activities that could not be financed under the criteria of the regular budget, or to provide seed money or matching grants that allowed greater access to the regular budget. The assessment studies did not produce comparable information about the amounts allocated by DAC members to such WID funds. However, such funds were highlighted by over half of DAC members as an effective means of pursuing WID policy implementation, and the absence or insufficiency of such funds as a constraint to implementation.

Several agencies also have small-project funds administered by field offices or embassies to support activities by non-governmental organisations. In a number of cases project-selection criteria for these funds have emphasised the targeting of women or support to women's organisations. These funds have been described as useful means of providing direct financial support to local initiatives at short notice. They are an important mechanism that can complement initiatives and objectives of the bilateral programme. However, their role should not be overestimated as the amounts allocated in this way are very small by comparison with bilateral allocations.

3.3 Concluding Comments

The information provided by donors suggests that personal commitment and motivation are major factors determining the degree of attention that staff give to agency WID policy, and that implementation of WID guidelines remains largely a "voluntary act." It would seem that much of the progress made to date can be attributed to the impressive efforts of small WID offices and the personal interest of a relatively small number of staff.

However, real progress in filling the gap between policy and implementation will require a broader commitment by development-cooperation agencies. WID issues cannot be addressed effectively unless given serious attention in the process of formulating agencies approaches and in programme-level decisions on the allocation of resources among and within sectors. Expectations of progress must also be based on assessments of what can realistically be accomplished with the resources specifically allocated to WID policy implementation.

4.0 STRENGTHENING DAC GUIDANCE ON WID

As a forum that enables member countries to explore issues concerning the quantity and quality of aid and to challenge each other to improve aid effectiveness, the DAC provides leadership and guidance on a wide range of issues. On WID, this guidance comes in several different forms. One form is the way in which WID policy concerns are reflected in research and discussions on other policy issues, such as economic restructuring, participatory development or institutional strengthening. Another form is through guidelines and mechanisms specifically focused on WID, principally the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development*, the Statistical Reporting System for Women-oriented Aid Activities, and DAC contributions to monitoring progress and results.

This chapter is concerned with the second form of DAC guidance. In light of the analysis in Chapter 2 of this report, and additional information from the assessment studies, it identifies a number of modifications of these mechanisms that might be considered by the DAC Expert Group on Women in Development, which plays the major role within the DAC in developing, assessing and revising such instruments.

4.1 Guiding Principles for Women in Development

The *Guiding Principles* were first adopted by the DAC in 1983, when DAC members were at early stages of their formulation or implementation of WID policies. The *Guiding Principles* urged the adoption of a mandate or policy guidelines, an administrative or management structure, and procedures to influence project design and implementation. The review of the *Guiding Principles* following the 1985 World Conference on Women in Nairobi resulted in some modifications and additions to reflect new priorities identified at the Conference and the experience gained by members. The revised *Guiding Principles* adopted by the DAC in 1989 are thus more elaborate and specific although the key areas remain the same. The *Guiding Principles* are likely to be further revised following the 1995 World Conference on Women, taking account both the reflections of DAC members on progress and the deliberations at the Conference itself. Some issues that might be considered in the process of revision but are not addressed elsewhere in this report are outlined below.

Clarification of Objectives

The *Guiding Principles* place more emphasis on the processes that should be adopted than on the principles or objectives on which these processes might be based, although references are made to other international agreements, such as the *Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies* and the United Nations *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*. The major policy principle concerning efforts by DAC members on women in development issues is stated in the first paragraph of the *Guiding Principles*:

"The overall objective of sustainable development is only attainable when needs and interests of women are fully recognised in the planning and implementation of projects and programmes. Minimum requirements to achieve this are equal access to resources, services, education and training."

The following paragraph refers to the acknowledgement by DAC members that:

"...all aspects of development -- social, economic, political, cultural, religious -- must be taken into account in the planning and implementation of projects and programmes and that special attention must be given to the situation of women in their respective communities as well as the role they play in their communities."

Concerning mandates and policy guidelines, the *Guiding Principles* state that all members:

"... acknowledge the importance of involving women fully in the development process...",

and recommend that policies and mandates:

"... should now be strengthened with more precisely defined objectives. These must be action-oriented, showing recognition of women as a development resource and especially as active participants with full access to benefits..."

What is striking about these statements is that they do not specify what agencies might be seeking to achieve with respect to *women's position in society*.

A revision of the *Guiding Principles* following the 1995 World Conference on Women would present an opportunity for reformulating principles and objectives in a way that would provide development-cooperation agencies with a clear vision of what they should be trying to achieve through WID policies. The deliberations at the World Conference will result in the specification by the world community of strategic objectives to guide efforts to improve the position of women. The preliminary documents for the Conference are placing emphasis on strategic objectives concerning equal sharing of power between women and men, human rights for women, women's economic self-reliance and their emergence from poverty, women's access to quality education and training, and response to women's health needs. A reformulation in the *Guiding Principles* of basic objectives around these strategic concerns would provide DAC members with a more substantive basis for taking account of women's needs and interests. This could be a means of providing useful guidance in designing programme assistance, in considering the impacts of institutions targeted for institutional-strengthening support, in making resource allocations among sectors, and in considering gender strategies at the project level.

Clarification of Concepts: WID, Gender and Women-specific Projects

The general approach proposed by the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* and followed by most agencies is that of integrating a consideration of women's roles into all areas of

development cooperation. The rationale for taking account of women throughout agency activities has been argued both on grounds of *efficiency* (better knowledge of women's social and economic roles would result in a more realistic and effective allocation of resources) and *equity* (women are entitled to both a fair share of development assistance and more generally of the social, economic and political resources of their societies). These perspectives are reflected in the *Guiding Principles* and are the basis of the WID policies of many DAC members.

The experience gained since DAC members first began to address women's participation in development has resulted in considerable evolution in thinking about how to conceptualise the issue and what might be required to achieve real change in the position of women. Initially analyses focused on women and their relation to the economy and development processes, and initiatives focused on compensatory measures to enable women to participate more fully. Theoretical and empirical research resulted in the development of another analytic framework that focused not on women but on the processes and relations that recreate and reinforce inequalities between women and men. Biological differences between women and men were distinguished from *gender differences*, that is, the different social meaning given to being either a man or a woman in a particular society. Emphasis was placed on the unequal *gender relations* that shape outcomes for both women and men. Questions were raised about the degree to which further integration into an unequal development process, without deeper questioning of the development agenda, would really relieve the subordinate position of women. This resulted in increased emphasis on women's participation in *decision-making* and their *empowerment* to develop and pursue strategies to address their own situation and the direction of social change. These perspectives are reflected in some degree in the *Guiding Principles*.

Within certain agencies and in the literature on these issues, the terms "women in development" and "gender in development" are understood to imply different conceptual approaches and strategies. However, the information gathered for this assessment demonstrates considerable variation in the ways in which these terms are understood and used by DAC members. This is of concern not for reasons of terminological purity but because of the potential for misunderstanding in communications among members. Some members clearly equated women-specific projects with a "women in development" approach and integrated projects with a "gender and development" approach. One member stated that the "gender and development" terminology was preferred because it was perceived as more inclusive and development-oriented and therefore more acceptable within the agency. For another member, the aim of empowering women was more clearly reflected in the label of "women and development" for their strategy. It was clear that no conclusions about differences in strategies and approaches could reliably be drawn on the basis of the terminology used by any particular agency.

The revision of the *Guiding Principles* could clarify how this terminology might be understood for purposes of DAC communications. In particular, the *Guiding Principles* could distinguish between the use of *gender as an analytic concept* for understanding the relative positions of women and men in a particular setting and for providing insights on strategies, and the *categorisation of projects as women-specific or integrated*. A gender analysis may lead to the recommendation of a women-specific project or for a particular strategy within an integrated project

(ie., a project targeted to both women and men). Gender analyses and the emphasis on women's empowerment have served to highlight the role of women-specific projects in enabling women to articulate their interests and to build a foundation to influence social and economic decision-making. This is emphasised here because it would be unfortunate if "gender and development" approaches were seen as largely precluding a role for women-specific projects.

Revisiting the Across-the-board Approach

The *Guiding Principles* recommend an across-the-board approach that entails the application of WID directives to all projects and all sectors. The strength of the strategy of requiring WID guidelines and project measures to be applied across all projects and sectors lies in its reinforcement of the principle that all initiatives are "women's initiatives" in some measure in that all development initiatives affect people. This emphasis has probably contributed, in some cases, to a shift in project focus from technical to human aspects. The strategy has also created openings for the identification of WID project approaches in sectors that were initially not seen as being relevant to WID policy. This was evident in the references to women or gender issues in some evaluation reports in projects concerning soil conservation, forestry, import support, and transportation. One DAC member observed that more progress had been made in sectors such as mining, industry and public administration than in health and education. Other donors also reiterated their commitment to a broad, integrated approach to WID as a means of promoting women's access to the projects in which agencies are investing the bulk of their resources and of avoiding the marginalisation of women.

Many DAC members have developed a base on which WID efforts can be pursued across all sectors: training, guidelines, project procedures. However, progress in implementing the across-the-board approach has been slow. It can be concluded from the review of project evaluations done for this assessment that there have been incremental increases in the attention to WID policy commitments and directives in project planning, design and evaluation, and in the range of sectors in which these concerns are raised. It was also clear that the objectives of recognising women's roles and encouraging their participation were not pursued consistently and systematically throughout the project cycle, or across all sectors.

The across-the-board strategy has a number of drawbacks, some of which are inherent in pursuing a "cross-cutting issue" that affects all sectors. It has meant that WID resources are spread very thinly over numerous sectors, thus inhibiting the development of a depth of expertise and experience in particular sectors. It has absorbed much WID effort and resources in areas where only a small amount is achievable without a broader shift in the conceptual approach to the sector. It has also placed more emphasis on the inward-looking activity of revising agency approaches and practices than on an outward focus of identifying the types of activity that would have the potential for major impacts on the position of women.

A review of the *Guiding Principles* might consider whether an intensification of an across-the-board strategy focused on projects is the most effective way of using limited WID resources in the next phase of WID policy implementation. An alternative approach would be to focus on the

programme level and the establishment of targets and criteria for the decisions that shape the choices and form of individual projects. Another alternative would be to identify specific sectors, objectives or activities on which to concentrate the limited agency resources specifically allocated to WID policy implementation. For both of these alternatives, the strategic objectives to be specified by the 1995 World Conference, and DAC deliberations on them, would be major sources of guidance.

It must be emphasised that the adoption of such strategies does not imply a retreat from integrative or mainstreaming approaches, but the specification of clear priorities within such approaches in order to build on the base already established and to make the most effective use of available resources.

Requirements of Projects

The paragraphs of the *Guiding Principles* dealing with projects and programmes emphasise the identification of barriers and opportunities in relation to women's participation, consultations with women and men in the target group, and the specification of steps to reduce constraints and maximise opportunities. What would be required for a project to be considered satisfactory from a WID perspective is somewhat more clearly stated in DAC Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities; the four criteria it specifies are: consultation of women in project design, active participation by women in implementation, identification of barriers to women's participation and the development of steps to overcome them, use of WID expertise throughout project cycle to ensure full participation of women.

Any future revision of the *Guiding Principles* should provide a context for the type of guidance provided by the four criteria of the Statistical Reporting System. Here consideration might be given to two issues connected with the reliance of the criteria on the concept of participation.

One problem with the emphasis on women's participation is that it is not equally applicable to all types of projects. Institution-strengthening projects provide an important example. For institution-strengthening activities in a national economic planning ministry or an agricultural extension institute, for example, the more important focus of attention is to build the capability of the institution and its staff (both male and female) to identify gender differences and gender-specific needs that are relevant to the policies, services and clientele for which they are responsible. A reinterpretation of the concept of participation for these types of projects would be useful to guide project activities in these areas.

A second problem is that participation in itself cannot be assumed to result in positive benefits. The evaluation reports suggest that the interpretation of "participation" can include such various activities as being a recipient (direct or indirect) of project inputs, providing labour in project implementation, being an employee in project delivery, or having a role in project design and management, each of which have different implications. Assessments of women's participation in comparison to that of men can also lead to quite different conclusions than when women's participation is assessed in isolation: skewed distributions may mean that the overall impact of the

project is negative despite some level of participation by women. The four criteria of the statistical reporting system are not explicit about these issues concerning the type or quality of participation, or the relative levels of participation by women and men. More differentiated measures of participation will be needed to guide project designers and implementors.

Finally, the *Guiding Principles* and the criteria of the Statistical Reporting System could also address one major finding of the review of project evaluations done for this assessment: if gender considerations were not explicit in the project rationale and objectives, and if women were not targeted in the planning stage, women's participation in the project was limited.

Coordination and Consultation

The section of the *Guiding Principles* on coordination and consultation focuses on consultations on WID among DAC members. The major mechanism for such consultation has been the Expert Group on Women in Development, and the value of this forum to member countries has already been noted. The assessment studies suggest that two other forms of consultation may make valuable contributions to strengthening and informing the WID initiatives of DAC members, and these could be considered for inclusion in a revision of the *Guiding Principles*.

- *Consultation with Women in Aid-recipient Countries.* The assessment studies provided limited information for judging the extent to which consultations between DAC members and aid-recipient countries included women, women's issues, and donor agency WID strategies. Some DAC members pursue project activities with organisations and activists in aid-recipient countries, such as national offices for women's affairs, various types of non-governmental women's organisations and women's studies centres, and these types of activities may in turn provide feedback that assists agencies in shaping their WID strategies and aid programmes. Increased attention to establishing linkages between DAC members and these types of organisations might be an important means of developing a common understanding of issues, priorities and approaches and provide both new ideas and a firmer foundation for the WID initiatives of development agencies.
- *Consultations Between DAC Members and Women's Organisations in their own Countries.* A number of DAC members have established external advisory groups consisting of experts or non-governmental organisations. Several DAC members that do not have such formal mechanisms reported that domestic women's organisations provided important support for WID policies. The development of such linkages merits further attention. Within most donor countries, there are many organisations that could provide an important source of perspectives and experience on a range of issues that are also of concern in developing countries (including, for example, vocational training, gender issues in the judicial system, constitutional development, economic policy and international trade) and could provide a useful stimulus to new thinking about such issues in development-cooperation activities.

4.2 DAC Statistical Reporting System for Women-oriented Aid Activities

The Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities was adopted by the DAC in 1989. It was conceived as a means identifying the level of effort made by member countries through an identification of proportion of agency resource commitments that are significantly influenced by WID policy objectives. As noted earlier, it specifies four criteria for identifying whether a project satisfies such WID commitments; if a project fulfils all four criteria, the entire resource commitment for the project can be classified as "WID-satisfactory activity". These resource commitments can be summed up over the course of each year as part of agency reporting to the DAC. Thus the measure can provide an annual summary of the proportion of an agency's expenditures that have been influenced by WID considerations. (It must be emphasised that this does not identify the amount or the proportion of resources going to women.)

The approach is an innovative attempt to develop a monitoring system. It led the way for the adoption of a similar system by the DAC for statistical reporting on the environment. Yet it has proved difficult to apply for reasons that relate to the methodology itself and because of difficulties in reconciling the requirements with agency statistical procedures and project approaches. The Expert Group on Women in Development anticipated some of the difficulties DAC members would face in using the methodology, but decided that it remained a useful means for clarifying what a satisfactory WID approach would require and for promoting attention to women and women's views throughout project design and implementation. Most DAC members stated either that they had introduced the system (sometimes with modifications to suit their own needs) or were taking steps to adopt it. However, a review of the methodology done as part of this assessment concluded that it did not meet the basic condition of the DAC statistical system, which is to produce comparable data on the aid activities of members. Differences in the interpretation of specific terms of the four criteria, the reliance on policy criteria that had not yet matured in agency policy and practice, and the specification of four criteria that are not all equally applicable to all types of projects resulted in figures that were unreliable for comparative purposes.⁴ These are issues that will need to be addressed if the data provided by this means is to be an effective aspect of DAC statistical monitoring.

4.3 Monitoring Progress

The DAC makes a number of contributions to monitoring progress on WID policy implementation. These include the preparation by the Expert Group on Women in Development of periodic monitoring reports on the implementation of the *Guiding Principles For Women in Development*; the joint work of the DAC Working Party on Statistical Problems and the Expert

⁴ Although aspects of this methodology inhibit its utility in comparing the performance of different DAC members, members that have adopted it may find it a useful tool to assess their own progress over time. One DAC member has taken this approach one step further and has specified in its general development-assistance policy that 50% of its bilateral aid should meet the criteria of the WID statistical reporting system by 1998.

Group on Women in Development of the Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities; and WID monitoring through the Aid Review process by the DAC in collaboration with Expert Group on Women in Development.

The focus of most of the monitoring of WID policy implementation through these means has been on inputs and efforts made. The emphasis on monitoring the adoption of WID measures has provided a useful source of impetus to member countries. At this stage, a more significant contribution might be made by shifting attention toward identifying effects and impacts of development strategies and the relation between various strategies and types of effects or impacts.

The studies done for this assessment suggest that there are two major areas in which collective work by the DAC would be of assistance to individual members in improving monitoring and evaluation approaches.

- *The Development of a Framework and Indicators for Assessing WID Issues in Project Evaluations.* The review of project evaluations suggests that most project evaluators are labouring in the dark and that their work suffers from the lack of a basic framework for assessing the distribution of project resources and benefits to target groups, for identifying the effects of resources and services delivered on women, for consulting with target populations, or for assessing projects in relation to agency WID policy objectives. Tentative suggestions were made by some DAC members on approaches and indicators that might be used. Further joint work and some pilot studies by the DAC Expert Groups on Women in Development and Aid Evaluation could make a major contribution in this area.
- *The Development of a Framework of Analysis and Indicators for Assessing Progress by Development Agencies in WID Policy Implementation.* The review of WID policies and organisational measures in DAC member countries was also complicated by the absence of a framework for analysis and agreed indicators to assess progress and undertake comparative analyses. The development of such indicators would be useful to individual DAC members that undertake agency-level or country-level reviews of the implementation of their WID policies and could also serve to guide the DAC in addressing WID issues in the Aid Review process.

4.4 Concluding Comments

The guidance provided by the DAC through the *Guiding Principles for Women and Development*, the Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities, and various DAC contributions to monitoring progress on WID policy implementation have all proved to be an important stimulus for action among DAC members. The major pillar continues to be the *Guiding Principles*, which will likely be reviewed and revised following the 1995 World Conference on Women.

The form and content of the *Guiding Principles* reflect the history of their development. In particular, the emphasis on establishing policy mandates, practices and procedures reflects the need to gain legitimacy for the issues and a foothold for its pursuit in member agencies. The revisions of 1989 recognised that progress had been made and emphasised the strengthening of mandates and more vigorous efforts toward implementation; this revision generally elaborated and further specified the guidance that had been provided by the 1983 document. In view of the progress that has been made by DAC members in establishing policy mandates and an institutional base, it may be timely to undertake a thorough review of the structure and emphases of the *Guiding Principles*. Such a revision could take account of trends in development cooperation and the platform for action being developed for the World Conference on Women and provide a framework for the next phase of WID policy implementation.

5.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the period 1992-1994, the DAC Expert Group on Aid Evaluation, in consultation with the DAC Expert Group on Women and Development, undertook a review and assessment of the experience of the DAC and its member countries with the implementation of policies on women in development. The assessment was pursued through studies on three themes that provide different perspectives on the process of implementation.

The first Theme Study examined the collective work of the DAC in its role as a policy forum that provides leadership and a stimulus for individual members on issues that are jointly identified as relevant to the quality and effectiveness of aid.

The second Theme Study examined individual DAC members and the policies and organisational measures they had adopted to implement the DAC *Guiding Principles for Women in Development*. The study gathered information on the extent and type of measures adopted, donor perceptions on those that were most effective, and the constraints and obstacles to implementation.

The third Theme Study focused on evaluations due to their importance for assessing the actual extent of implementation and identifying lessons learned. The study was based on a sample of project evaluation reports completed between 1989 and 1993 that considered direct or indirect effects on beneficiaries. The assessment considered both the degree to which WID objectives were reflected in the process of evaluation itself as one stage of the project cycle, and the indications provided by evaluation reports on the way in which WID policy objectives had been pursued in project planning and implementation.

Each of the three Theme Studies provides a wealth of information as well as specific recommendations for the consideration of the DAC and member countries. Taken together, the Theme Studies provide an overview of the degree to which the WID policy objectives adopted by DAC members have permeated the organisations and practices through which development assistance is delivered. The task of this Overall Report by the Expert Group on Aid Evaluation has been to integrate the information and analyses of the three Theme Studies in order to highlight major findings and to identify strategic considerations for the future. The analysis is summarised below. The summary is followed by recommendations for the consideration of DAC members.

5.1 Impact of WID Efforts on Development-assistance Policies and Projects

The *Guiding Principles* reflect the consensus reached among DAC members on means to improve the quality of aid by taking account of the social and economic roles of women in development-cooperation activities. They emphasise the relevance of this concern for *all* aspects of development cooperation. Thus implementation would imply changes in approach from the macro (policy) to the micro (project) levels.

The Theme Studies provide evidence of the substantial efforts made by DAC members to implement this commitment. Some DAC members instituted efforts earlier than others and a few have only recently begun to pursue policies on women's participation in development. All DAC members now have some form of official written statement of principles, objectives or commitments. Many members have also developed plans of action, undertaken administrative adjustments, and provided operational guidance to support the implementation of policy commitments. There is considerable variation among members in the number and scope of measures adopted, but for all it has been a period of innovation and experimentation in the development of policies, strategies, administrative measures, project procedures and implementation. The steps taken demonstrate that WID issues are now considered legitimate concerns by all DAC members.

The Theme Studies were also reviewed for the evidence they provide on the impact of WID efforts on development thinking and practice. Four ways in which WID policies might be expected to have an impact were identified.

- ***Impact on Development Policy Discussion and Decision-making.*** Whether WID policy commitments were reflected in discussion and decision-making on development policy was explored through the perspective of DAC documentation for the period 1985-1992. A review of DAC policy statements, joint work on topical issues, the *DAC Principles for Effective Aid* and the DAC Aid Review process found evidence of increasing attention to WID policy commitments. However, the review showed that it was still possible to overlook these WID commitments in key discussions, and that it had been difficult to move beyond perfunctory references to the importance of women's contributions and their full participation in development-assistance initiatives. More specific and substantive attention required a special stimulus, which was in most cases provided through the DAC Expert Group on Women in Development.
- ***Impact on Agency Practices Throughout the Project Cycle.*** A concern of the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* is the systematic implementation of WID policies throughout the project cycle, including project appraisal, planning, implementation and evaluation. Member countries have pursued this through the development of WID analytical frameworks and operational guidelines and by training staff. The review of project evaluations for this assessment shows that there have been incremental increases in the attention to WID commitments and directives in project planning, design and evaluation, and in the range of sectors in which issues of women's participation are addressed. However, the objectives of recognising women's roles and encouraging their participation were not always pursued consistently and systematically throughout the project cycle or across all sectors. Gender analyses were not often done, or done seriously, at the stage of project design and appraisal. Women were infrequently identified as a target group. Projects with a clear gender strategy were rare. General statements of intent to include women often appeared but signified little in the absence of specific strategies to follow through; generally, women did not participate in projects unless specifically targeted in planning. Evaluations did not consistently address these issues. Further, the analyses in evaluations reports was

frequently insubstantive, and the process provided limited feedback into policy and project development.

- ***Impact on Approaches Taken within Projects.*** WID approaches have emphasised the active contribution made by women as agents of development and the need to consider the productive roles of women in project design. Another more recent major concern has been the inclusion of women in decision-making to ensure that their needs and priorities are addressed. The analyses of evaluation reports done for this assessment provided insight about the extent to which these perspectives have had an influence on projects. A disappointing finding was that activities targeted to women within projects in the sample still tended to focus on their domestic and reproductive roles, despite the considerable effort that has been invested in documenting the productive activities of women and the specific constraints they face in improving the productivity and returns of their labour. This focus on domestic activities within projects oriented to other objectives means that the larger part of project resources bypasses women. Nor has there been much progress in consulting with women in project design or including them in decision-making roles within projects; women still tend to participate as passive beneficiaries of project activities rather than as decision-makers in shaping projects.
- ***Impact on Benefits Derived by Women from Development Cooperation.*** The impact of development assistance on women in aid-recipient countries provides the ultimate test of the extent and impact of WID policy implementation. The major source of information for development agencies on such questions are project evaluations. However, the assessment revealed significant concerns about the types of assessment done in evaluations and the information available from this source. Project evaluations tended to focus on outputs rather than effects and impacts. There was a tendency in evaluation reports to conclude that women had benefitted on the basis that they had received some project resources or services, even though it was evident from other information provided that the resources directed to women were marginal and not commensurate with those received by men. Several donors participating in the review voiced the concern that if women receive some benefits but men receive significantly more, the project might have the effect of exacerbating gender disparities despite the appearance of delivering benefits to women. Efforts in evaluation reports to identify effects and impacts were generally based on broad assumptions about women's roles that were not supported by data or analysis. Frameworks and indicators for assessing impacts on women are clearly needed to guide evaluators and to enable impact evaluations to be conducted.

5.2 Strategic Issues for Senior Management

Women's participation in development is referred to in DAC documents and in the statements of member countries as a "development priority." Both the DAC and member countries have made considerable efforts to establish a framework for its pursuit. However, the discussion above suggests that a gap remains between expressed intentions and actual impact on development assistance policy

and practice. This was also noted in the review of DAC policy published in 1989, *Development Cooperation in the 1990s: Working with Developing Countries towards Sustainable and Equitable Development*, which stated that "the growing recognition of women's critical role in development has yet to be translated into operational action" and that "major efforts are needed in the coming decade to fill the gap between policy and implementation."

Information from the assessment studies suggest that closing this gap will require more attention by senior agency management to the requirements for success of WID strategies. Two issues that may reflect the extent to which WID has been, in practice, a development priority were identified: the relation between WID commitments and agency priorities and the level of investment in WID policy implementation.

- ***Relation between WID Commitments and Agency Priorities and Programme Planning.*** The assessment studies suggest that the overall approach to development, the interpretation of WID commitments in relation to new aid priorities and mechanisms, and decisions made at the level of programme emphasis and resource allocation are important elements affecting progress and possibilities for implementing WID objectives.

People-centred Development. The factor that seemed to differentiate between those aspects of development cooperation that have more readily incorporated a concern with women's position in society and those that have not was the extent to which the *human dimension* was central. Attempts to impose people-centred approaches in sectors and projects defined in terms of technical objectives or the provision of a supply have produced limited results, although WID efforts have probably contributed to a rethinking in some sectors about the role of local communities in project implementation and the value of analyses of the social context of projects. However, where sectors or projects were approached from an angle that did not place priority on the human dimension, WID policy commitments and the guidance provided by WID operational tools were difficult to pursue in a meaningful way. This would suggest that the emergence of participatory development as a priority for DAC members will have positive implications for opportunities to pursue WID objectives at the project level. The experience with WID suggests, however, that agencies still face major challenges in effectively translating participatory development concepts into practice.

New Priorities and Mechanisms. It has proved difficult for policy-makers to interpret WID policy commitments in relation to new areas of activity, particularly in relation to policies and interventions for which there is no immediate or direct target group. This was evident in the approaches taken to economic restructuring and the major efforts that were required to introduce social and distributional factors into the analysis of policy choices made. The references in the DAC *Principles for Programme Assistance* to the need to take account of social and gender factors suggest that these concerns are now considered relevant; this was a result of concerted efforts by WID specialists. Democratisation and institutional development initiatives are two further areas that have the potential for broad and long-term effects and are of increasing importance for development cooperation-agencies. Such new priorities and mechanisms are increasingly receiving the early attention from WID advocates

that is required if WID concerns are to be addressed. However, if WID units are to provide the necessary leadership consistently and effectively, agencies will need to provide them with appropriate organisational, staff and financial resources to undertake this function.

Programme and Resource Allocation Choices. Programme-level choices about the allocation of resources among sectors and within sectors also shape the possibilities for WID policy implementation. Decisions about the relative amount of investment in primary and secondary education is one example. Decision-making at the level of programme formulation and resource allocation does not seem to have been a focus for WID policy implementation, even though it may be more effective and appropriate to focus at the programme rather than the project level in establishing WID objectives, targets, and accountability measures.

- ***Investment in WID.*** Two major ways in which agencies have specifically allocated resources to support the implementation of WID policies are investment in WID personnel and expertise and the establishment of designated funds for WID initiatives.

WID Personnel and Expertise. While all DAC members have staff with specific WID responsibilities, they are generally a small proportion of overall agency staff. Most agencies have focused on providing training and technical tools to staff, which reflects an assumption that all staff, once exposed to the issues and provided with operational guidance, could (and would) take effective action to implement WID policies. However, even donors with longer histories of WID implementation are concerned about the lack of knowledge and competence among agency staff. The evaluation reports reviewed for this assessment also suggest the importance of special expertise in project implementation and evaluation if effective action is to be taken. This implies that the ability to interpret and pursue WID policy objectives is more complex than initially foreseen and that there is a need for reconsideration of the resources allocated to ensure that WID or gender experts are developed and are used in both policy and project development.

Designated Funds. Special funds to support innovative activities or to use as an incentive for further activity under the regular budget were highlighted by a majority of DAC members as an effective means of policy implementation. Their absence or insufficiency was stressed by other members as a constraint to implementation.

5.3 Strengthening DAC Guidance on WID

Three major instruments or mechanisms through which the DAC provides guidance on WID to member countries are the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development*, the Statistical Reporting System for Women-oriented Aid Activities, and monitoring mechanisms such as the periodic reports on the implementation of the *Guiding Principles* and the assessment of WID policy implementation done through the Aid Review process. The DAC Expert Group on Women in Development provides leadership within the DAC in developing, assessing and updating such mechanisms. A number of

concerns about the type of guidance provided by each of these mechanisms were identified on the basis of the assessment studies as requiring the attention of the Expert Group.

- ***Guiding Principles for Women in Development.*** The *Guiding Principles*, which were first adopted in 1983 and revised in 1989, should be further revised following the 1995 World Conference on Women. The current form and content of the *Guiding Principles* reflect the history of their development. Their emphasis on establishing policy mandates, practices and procedures reflects the concerns with gaining legitimacy and establishing an institutional base that characterised initial WID efforts. The process of incremental revision has yielded a less coherent document. A thorough revision in light of the assessment studies would provide an opportunity clarify basic principles and to reorganise and streamline the types of guidance provided. Some of the issues that might be addressed in this revision include: a reformulation of the principles and objectives in a way that would provide development-cooperation agencies with a clear vision of what they should be trying to achieve through WID policies; clarification of the terminology used in this area; the extent to which across-the-board approaches are relevant to the next phase of WID implementation; specification of requirements at the project level; guidance provided on consultations on WID strategies with women from aid-recipient countries and women in donor countries.
- ***DAC Statistical Reporting System for Women-oriented Aid Activities.*** The Statistical Reporting System was conceived as a means of identifying the level of effort made by member countries in pursuing WID policy through an identification of the proportion of agency resource commitments that are significantly influenced by WID objectives. This was an innovative experimental approach, but it has proved difficult to apply. The system will need further refinement if it is to produce comparable data and be an effective aspect of DAC statistical reporting and monitoring.
- ***Monitoring Progress.*** DAC contributions to monitoring WID policy implementation include the periodic monitoring reports on the implementation of the *Guiding Principles*, the development of the Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities, and the monitoring of WID policy implementation through the Aid Review process. To date most of the monitoring initiatives and approaches have focused on inputs and efforts made. The DAC could make a major contribution by providing assistance in turning attention to the effects and impacts of different strategies at the project and agency levels and in developing frameworks for analysis and indicators for these purposes.

5.4 Recommendations

For over a decade, the collaborative work of DAC members has provided an important impetus for the adoption of policies focusing on women and for the subsequent evolution of agency practices. The review of DAC policy published in 1989, *Development Cooperation in the 1990s: Working with Developing Countries towards Sustainable and Equitable Development*, states that a policy priority for the 1990s is "to see [the] growing recognition of women's essential role in

development translated into operational action." It called for further efforts "to fill the gap between policy and implementation." The purpose of the assessment studies and this final Overall Report is to assist in this process.

A major lesson of the experience to date is that the challenge is much more complex than once thought. It is now evident that the objective of ensuring positive outcomes for women from development cooperation will require more attention at the highest level of development-cooperation agencies and long-term strategies. Specific recommendations for initiatives by the DAC, for WID policies and actions by DAC members, and for the evaluation process are made in the separate Theme Studies. The recommendations of this Overall Report by the Expert Group on Aid Evaluation emphasise broad concerns that arise from the overall assessment.

1. *Specify Gender Equity as the Overall Strategic Objective*

Impetus for the initial adoption of policies on women's participation in development cooperation came from the recognition that disparities between women and men had not been taken into account in development projects, to the detriment of women and project effectiveness. A focus on women's position and their roles in the development process has led to a realisation that inequalities between women and men have implications for the development process as a whole. It is now recognised that gender inequality is a fundamental constraint on economic and social development.

The DAC policy stated in the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* implies but does not clearly state a commitment to achieving gender equality. The revision of the *Guiding Principles* contemplated in relation to the 1995 World Conference on Women provides a timely opportunity to specify the achievement of gender equality as a long-term strategic objective of development-cooperation efforts. This would clarify the *goal* of the WID efforts of development-cooperation agencies. It would also be a means of aligning the underlying policy of development-cooperation agencies with the commitments made by both DAC members and their development partners in such instruments as the *Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies* and the United Nations *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, as well as other agreements on human rights. It would also be consonant with the strategic objectives being formulated for the consideration of the world community at the 1995 World Conference. The latter also provide a basis for identifying specific substantive concerns to assist the DAC and its individual members to focus efforts and resources in the medium-term.

The DAC could:

- Clarify the underlying principle for focusing on WID issues in development cooperation: recognising that gender equality is both an indicator of and a prerequisite for social and economic development, a long-term strategic objective of development-cooperation agencies is to contribute to achieving gender equality.

- Identify, in light of the strategic objectives being formulated for the 1995 World Conference on Women and international agreements already in place, the substantive concerns that should receive priority in establishing targets for development cooperation in the next 5-10 year period. (Major strategic concerns that will be considered by the 1995 Conference include: sharing of decision-making power between women and men, human rights for women, women's economic self-sufficiency, women's access to quality education and training, and health services that meet women's health needs.)

2. *Strengthen Institutional Approaches for Achieving Gender Equity*

Closing the gap between policy and implementation will require renewed attention to how development-cooperation agencies respond to policy commitments at an institutional level.

The assessment studies suggest that, despite the intentions stated in WID policies and the substantial number of steps taken by most donor organisations, responsibility for WID policy implementation is not broadly shared. Personal commitment remains a major factor in stimulating staff action. WID units and advisors can be credited with much of the progress made. In developing more comprehensive approaches, DAC members might consider building on the strategies identified through the assessment studies as effective, and on addressing the major constraints identified. Effective instruments for influencing operational strategies included: analytic frameworks, training, technical support, WID funds and project screening for WID issues. Constraints to implementation included: inadequate accountability measures, limited resources, lack of operational tools in emerging areas, and gaps in expertise on WID issues.

DAC members could commit themselves to:

- Clarify the *responsibilities* of various actors in the ministry or agency (senior management, WID units, policy and planning units, programme managers, individual staff members) for policy development and implementation, and how each will be held *accountable* for fulfilling these responsibilities.
- Set measurable targets to guide programme planning and provide a basis against which progress can be assessed.
- Build gender perspectives into new policy and programme areas and new mechanisms for aid delivery from the first stages of their formulation, paying particular attention to non-project aid, capacity-building with mainstream national institutions, and result-based delivery mechanisms.
- Allocate sufficient personnel resources to provide the expertise on gender equity issues both for policy and planning matters and for the provision of technical

expertise to projects, both at headquarters and in the field, in addition to providing basic training on gender issues to general staff.

- Allocate financial resources to support innovation and experimentation in programme and project management, implementation and evaluation.

3. *Strengthen Development Partnerships for Achieving Gender Equity*

A common agenda for DAC members and aid-recipient countries was provided by the *Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies* adopted 1985 and will be updated and refined in the strategic objectives to be discussed at the World Conference on Women in 1995. The objectives for government action set out in the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, which has been ratified by many DAC members and their development partners, provide another base for a common agenda.

There are a range of potential partners with whom DAC members could cooperate on gender equity objectives. Many governments of developing countries have specified policies or objectives with respect to women or gender equity. Sectoral departments are increasingly dealing with the integration of women into their programmes. Most developing countries have established government offices for women's affairs (often referred to as national machineries for women's affairs) as a means of increasing attention and response to the interests and needs of women in decision-making by national governments. Women's organisations and networks are becoming increasingly numerous and effective in articulating the interests of women. Women's studies and research centres in developing countries are developing theoretical perspectives rooted in the historical, economic and cultural conditions of their own countries.

Increased dialogue among women in the South and between women of the North and the South would also contribute to developing a common understanding and strengthening partnerships. An example of an innovative approach to increasing such dialogue is the Facilitation Initiative led by the DAC Expert Group on Women in Development, which supports networking by women within and between regions in preparation for the 1995 United Nations World Conference on Women.

In support of development partnerships with governments and with the women of developing countries, DAC members could commit themselves to further efforts to:

- Encourage national governments to prepare policy papers on women's position for the process of policy dialogue, as they do now for sectors such as the environment.
- Encourage national governments to increase representation of offices of women's affairs in policy dialogue, joint planning, and assessments of development cooperation.

- Take initiatives to increase the capacity of sectoral departments of governments to respond to the needs and constraints of women as well as men in policy development and programme delivery.
- Take initiatives to build the capacity and impact of government offices for women's affairs and non-governmental organisations concerned with gender equity.
- Support contacts and exchanges between women's organisations at regional and international levels and between organisations in aid donor and recipient countries as means of strengthening common understanding.
- Consult with government offices for women's affairs and with women's organisations outside government in the formulation of the targets and emphases of donor policies on women and in assessing their impact and effectiveness.

4. *Redefine the Role of the Expert Group on Women in Development*

The Expert Group on Women in Development has been a major catalyst for attention to women's issues in the work of the DAC. The impact of the work of the Expert Group on the aid policies and programmes of individual members has also been considerable. The continuing need for a catalyst within the DAC and a forum for consultation among members on WID initiatives is evident from the assessment studies.

The DAC could:

- Request the Expert Group to revise the *Guiding Principles for Women in Development* for the consideration of the HLM at their first meeting after the 1995 World Conference on Women. The revision should include a complete review of the structure and content of the *Guiding Principles* and provide a framework of principles that provides guidance at the policy and programme as well as the project level. It should also take into account the strategic objectives adopted at the 1995 Conference.
- Request the Expert Group, in conjunction with the Working Party on Statistical Problems and the Expert Group on Aid Evaluation, to undertake the research required to further develop approaches to monitoring WID policy implementation and the impact of development assistance on women. This would include addressing problems with the Statistical Reporting System for Women-Oriented Aid Activities, the development of a framework and indicators for assessing WID issues in development assistance, and the development of a framework of analysis and indicators for assessing progress in the implementation of WID policies by development-assistance agencies.

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- Review the mandate and resources of the Expert Group on Women in Development to ensure that it can undertake the assignments above and the policy research required to intervene effectively in DAC discussions.

Theme I: Review of the Integration of Gender Concerns in the Work of the DAC

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

With the adoption of the Guiding Principles on Women in Development in 1983, the Development Assistance Committee recognised that the advancement of women was a major and distinct issue in the development process. The members committed themselves to translate these Guiding Principles into action and to make Women in Development part of their common agenda.

Meanwhile, ten years have passed and questions arise whether gender-related policies, actions and instruments are in place and are being operationalised and whether such efforts are having the effects for women in developing countries as hoped for. These questions can be asked to DAC members individually, they may also be put before the DAC as a collective. The collective level has been the concern of this study. The Development Assistance Committee is intended to be a forum in which industrialised countries can challenge each other to improve their development assistance efforts. In this sense, the DAC is supposed to be instrumental for improving the members' aid policies and programs. The general query of our study was if and how Women in Development has become part of this challenge. Or, to state it in the language of our terms of reference, : The aim of this study is to assess the extent to which the gender concerns have been integrated in the work of the DAC.

'GENDER' AND 'WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT'

The use of the word 'gender' in the title and objective of the study is somewhat complicated. 'Women in Development' is the term mainly applied in the DAC, but in recent years gender has also become common. The two terms are often used interchangeably. However, conceptually they are quite distinctive, and we have tried to avoid making them synonymous in this study.

"Women in Development" is the original term for matters regarding women's advancement in the development process. It dates from the early seventies and has been used ever since, sometimes with a distinct connotation, sometimes as a common and current term. In short, the specific connotation of WID is that women are the poorest and most backward income group, for whom special efforts are required; efforts in the sense of equal treatment for women in all spheres of life and efforts to increase their productivity and income. There is little attention in this approach for the environment in which women's problems are rooted. Leaving women out of the development process is generally considered to be an unfortunate mistake, which can be rectified by putting them on the bandwagon of economic growth and modernisation.

The concept of gender refers to women's and men's socially defined characteristics, which are shaped by historical, economic, religious, cultural and ethnic factors. As a result of gender characteristics, women and men have different experiences in life, different knowledge, perspectives

and priorities. With the introduction of the concept of gender in development planning, recognition is given to the causes for and structures of women's subordination in society, to the inequality with men and the power relations involved. Gender analysis emphasises the context in which women face their problems and stresses the necessity of social change and the need to empower women in this process.

In this report we have mainly used the term Women in Development, being the official DAC term. This does not imply that the word always has the strict connotation as spelled out above. Its application here is also a reflection of its common use. We used the word gender only when gender elements were involved, or as common terminology such as in 'gender-specific data'.

WORK OF THE DAC

Work of the DAC is manifold. Some of it is an expression of the communis opinio of the DAC as a forum, like the policy statements and the principles, guidelines and good practices. Other work is meant to stimulate and support the members' activities in particular fields. This is the case with the DAC meetings on topical items and, to a certain extent, also with some of the expert groups and working parties. Statistical work and aid reviews are instruments to monitor the results of the members' aid efforts. In this study we analyzed the following categories of work:

- Policy Statements
- Chairman's Overviews in DAC Annual Reports
- Principles, Guidelines and Good Practices
- Aid Reviews
- Statistical Reporting
- Sectoral Work
- Working Parties and Expert Groups

The methodology used was primarily a content-analysis of documents, complemented by interviews with the DAC Secretariat, members of the WID Expert Group and DAC delegates.

FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSMENT

The framework for the assessment was derived from the Guiding Principles on Women in Development and the Mandate of the Expert Group on WID, while the spirit of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women was taken into account as well. Taking the major points of relevance of these documents for the DAC level, we arrived at the following framework:

- (a) Do DAC papers, DAC Chairman's Reports and Sectoral Analysis acknowledge the importance of involving women fully in the development process, showing recognition of women as a development resource, and especially as active participants with full access to benefits?

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- (b) Has the DAC explored gender implications in all sectors and types of aid? Are they action-oriented and strengthened with more precisely defined objectives?
- (c) Does the DAC Secretariat have the capacity to understand and incorporate gender issues in its routine work? Does it play an active role in including these issues in the TORs for consultants to the DAC? Has the Secretariat organised a training program to enable its staff and permanent delegations to understand the WID policies of DAC members?
- (d) Has the DAC been instrumental in developing gender-differentiated data through a new methodology for statistical reporting to the DAC by DAC Members?
- (e) Has the relationship between the genders been emphasised in studies and research, focusing on the dynamic aspects of gender relations in the socioeconomic context and not restricting itself to a description of women as a homogeneous group?
- (f) Has the DAC coordinated research initiatives of the members and distributed information to all members about major research activities, policies, guidelines, checklists, evaluations and training efforts regarding WID?
- (g) Has the DAC applied the Guiding Principles in the Aid Review process?

CONCLUSIONS

With this framework in mind we have analyzed the work of the DAC. The overall conclusions will be primarily related to the framework. Instead of addressing the eight points separately, we cluster them into four groups. The points (a), (b) and (e) will be taken together as all three deal with questions concerning DAC documents. Next we will take separately the conclusions on point (d) the Statistical Reporting and on point (g) the Aid Reviews. The points (c) and (f) will be clustered again, they concern the actors and efforts. Recommendations are included in the text; they are printed in *italics* to distinguish them from the rest.

DAC Documents

- The extent to which women's issues were brought forward is quite satisfactory; they have been taken into account in many DAC documents. Most Policy papers and Chairman's Overviews pay attention to the subject, as do half of the Principles, Guidelines and Good Practices, while also the majority of the papers for DAC meetings on topical issues have shown recognition of the importance of involving women in the development process. The reference was not constrained to sectors and types of aid which are of obvious importance to women, such as health or drinking water, but was also found in work like the Principles for Program Assistance and in the debates around Structural Adjustment and Urban Development. On the other hand, WID aspects were lacking in a few cases where they would have been relevant, like in the Principles for Evaluation of Development Assistance. The Expert Group on Evaluation explained that the technical character of the principles

did not allow for reference to sectoral or thematic issues. However, earlier studies carried out by the Expert Group, revealed that in evaluations women are addressed infrequently, which led the Group to conclude, in its Compendium of Evaluation Experience, that the failure to address women, or people in general, in evaluations can have serious implications for the sustainability of development. In this light it is unfortunate that the Principles for Evaluation do not provide directions for these aspects.

- The manner in which women's issues are brought up varies, which is only logical given the difference in character of the documents.

The DAC policy papers of 1985 and 1989 both address Women in Development. The last one, 'Development Cooperation in the Nineties', treats the issue rather substantively, which is in line with the intended policy priority for the nineties "to see this growing recognition of women's essential role in development translated into operational action". The Chairman's Overviews usually mention WID; the 1987 one being the most essential. Other overviews touch upon the issue briefly, in relation to other subjects.

The High Level Meeting documents are brief and general on WID, with the reference to women often being a specification of other areas in need of special attention. The Press Release usually gives the same text on WID as the Issues Paper, in a more compact form. Contentwise, the remarks generally deal with the important role of women in development and the need to increase their participation.

When WID is addressed in the Principles and Good Practices, it is usually in the context of procedures, like stressing the need to involve women, to increase their participation, to collect gender-specific data and to apply a gender-analysis in the planning process. This is generally in line with the character of the principles. Perhaps the Good Practices for Environment could have been more explicit about the special relationship of women in developing countries with the environment, thus giving the rationale for the need to pay special attention to women's interests in environment programs.

For DAC meetings on topical issues separate contributions about women's concerns in the context of the particular issue were made. Lately, this approach has been used increasingly and it has led to several good papers. When comparing the WID input for the DAC meetings with the conclusions of these meetings, often only a standard phrase about the importance of women's involvement is found in the conclusions. This was noticed in the case of meetings with a minor WID input, but also in the case of those for which an extensive WID contribution had been prepared. It indicates that in the process of the meeting the specificity and characteristics of women's problems in the particular sector got lost. This has happened, for example, with the WID input for the meetings on Structural Adjustment, on Agriculture and on Participatory Development. Favourable examples of sector-specific reference to women were found in the DAC meetings on Micro-enterprise and Informal Sector in 1991 and on Basic Education in 1992. At the last one, for example, investment in education for girls and women was a major item on the agenda and in the discussion. Recognition was given to the overriding importance of gender issues in the education sector.

- The rationale for WID is mainly stated in terms of equity and efficiency. The equity view implies that women should have equal chances with men in the development process, while the efficiency approach emphasises that women's productive capacities are necessary for social and economic progress and should be tapped. Both views are in line with those expressed in the Guiding Principles, where it is said that recognition should be given to women "as a development resource and especially as active participants with full access to benefits" (see framework sub (a)). This can be seen as the Women in Development approach.

There seems to be a trend in the documents towards an emphasis on gender analysis, recognising that the socioeconomic environment acts differently upon women and men due to differences in gender roles and conflicting gender relations. This was found in some of the Principles and Good Practices (Program Assistance and Environment) and in recent Sectoral Work. This responds to the Guiding Principles as well, where they call for a focus "on the dynamic aspects of gender relations in the socioeconomic context" (framework sub (e)).

- The very point of integration of women's concerns in documents and meetings deserves some reflection.

There was much reference to women's issues in the documents, indicating a high level of integration. Several times the way of addressing WID was quite to the point and promoting the issue. In other cases, it was superficial and vague. However important it may be that WID is mentioned in different sorts of documents and that it is made part of DAC meetings, when too often the reference is only a matter of perceived obligation, it will become counterproductive. *Women in Development deserves better than becoming another ornament in the Christmas tree. The concern should not be: 'we forgot WID, why not fit it into paragraph 14". Rather, the aim should be to make gender a essential component in the given context. If that is not possible, it had better be left out.*

One wonders if the integration has overshot its goal and has led to some invisibility of WID. The fair record of integration of WID issues in the DAC documents and meetings goes hand in hand with the fact that no formal DAC sectoral meeting has dealt with Women in Development as a separate topic. Over the years, Women in Development has been an add-on subject, included in meetings dealing with other primary topics. Thematic discussions about WID as a main issue were only held in the context of the WID Expert Group's meetings. The one formal DAC meeting about Women in Development ever, took place almost twenty years ago, in 1975. *A DAC meeting in preparation of the 1995 UN Women's Conference and a ministerial meeting about Gender and Development between ministers responsible for Development Cooperation and for Emancipation Affairs, should be considered.*

Statistical Reporting

- The DAC Statistical Reporting System for Women in Development has given an important impetus to the development of gender-differentiated data in member countries. Some ten years ago, none of the statistical reporting to the DAC was gender-specific. Now disaggregated data are reported by many members for Tables 5, 9 and 10 and for the Creditor Reporting System.
- For DAC Table 5 an interesting methodology regarding 'women-oriented aid activities' was developed and introduced in 1989. The basic principle of the methodology is that whenever a project satisfies the criteria for WID its entire resource commitment will be credited to WID in the statistical accounting system. The four criteria, introduced to determine which projects qualify as WID and which don't, were basically policy criteria, but of a policy that was not current yet in DAC members' aid programs. Therefore, the methodology had a double objective: it was to be a tool for statistical reporting as well as an instrument for raising awareness about WID issues at the design and implementation stages. This double objective has been both a blessing and a burden. It was a blessing, because it has exposed the lack of policy for women in development in the majority of the aid agencies and has activated them to put their systems in place. The WID criteria have been functional in pointing out the direction for such a policy and program. It was a burden because of its complexity. The methodology introduced elements in statistical reporting that had not yet matured elsewhere in policy. In practice this has caused much subjectivity and bias in the reporting.
- At present the system is inadequate. It is out of pace with the rest of the DAC statistical reporting, as it is not yet able to satisfy the basic conditions of the statistical system, namely allowing for the "fullest possible comparability (-) among DAC members and other donors". As long as the WID columns in the DAC statistics produce unreliable and incomparable figures, WID will not be taken seriously. A status-aparte of the WID reporting may even work counter-productively. *The system should only be maintained for statistical reporting under conditions that guarantee the generation of sound and comparable figures. These conditions range from a clarification of terminology to a review of the present standard that all four criteria need to be satisfied, while also a proper introduction and monitoring of the methodology is imperative.*
- *The methodology for statistical reporting has introduced important elements for policy and implementation, the four WID criteria. These could be elaborated upon and used for designing a DAC monitoring system for WID. It is at the level of monitoring that a number of aspects can be addressed which are beyond the present methodology for statistical reporting, notably a way to determine the actual amount of aid benefiting women and of the emancipatory quality of aid activities. Whether and how this is to be translated in the DAC statistical reporting is to be a point of subsequent study.*

Aid Reviews

- In recent years Women in Development has become an explicit part of the Aid Review. Almost all members comply with the DAC Directives for the Country Memorandum and report about their WID policy and programs. So does the DAC Secretariat in its report for the Aid Review.

The increased attention for WID during the Aid Reviews was illustrated by the fact that recently two members who are still reluctant to carry out a WID program were seriously questioned about it. The purport of the discussions was reported in a press release. Another illustration of positive developments in the Aid Review process is the attention given to WID during the field visits which are recently undertaken as part of the Aid Review process. While these events show that the concern for WID in the Aid Reviews has increased considerably, it was also reported that a substantive debate about the subject is still an exception.

- The stage for the WID discussion during the Aid Review is primarily set by the Guiding Principles on Women in Development, being the framework for WID upon which members agreed. Consequently, the focus is on policy and administrative structures. Nevertheless, in the period under study, some of the questions also dealt with experiences, plans and results with regard to WID, the relative importance of WID in the members program, efforts to sensitize third parties (recipient governments, institutions involved in implementing aid programs), the linkages between WID and other themes.

An intensification of this sort of agenda may be considered to make the debates about Women in Development more substantive in future Aid Reviews. The present Guiding Principles already provide room for discussion beyond questions regarding intentions and WID structures. Attention to the approaches and strategies applied and the results thereof would be appropriate. Especially with the information gathered during field visits the actual scope and effects of members' efforts can be monitored more closely.

Actors and Efforts

- The questions regarding the role of the DAC Secretariat in the Framework for Assessment (sub (e)) can all be answered positively. The Development Cooperation Directorate has proven to be capable of understanding and incorporating gender issues in its routine work. This capacity has grown steadily over the years. In addition to the staff member assigned with the specific responsibility of Women in Development work, many more staff have been attending to the subject in their own field. The DCD management plays a stimulating and supportive role.

The DAC Secretariat organised a gender training day, which was attended by many staff and management. According to the internal evaluation, the training was appreciated.

The Secretariat's coordinating role has been very useful to keep members of the Expert Group informed about major activities carried out by other members and about WID relevant initiatives in the DAC.

- Major inputs for the integration of gender concerns in the work of the DAC has come from the Expert Group on Women in Development. The role and function of the Group did not form an explicit part of our TOR and has not been investigated as such. However, a study like this cannot possibly bypass the WID Group's contribution.

Over the years, the Group's priority has been to enhance WID as a discipline in the policy and program of DAC members. In that context pressure was put upon several parts of DAC work to be WID-responsive, notably the Statistical Reporting, the Aid Reviews, the Principles and Good Practices. We have described the Group's contribution in the respective chapters. Another way of promoting the objective that WID becomes incorporated in the members' aid programs, was through direct exchange of experience and information between WID Group members and through mutual support.

The Group's second objective concerns the integration of WID issues in the ongoing DAC work and programs, like the work on topical issues. The Group's contribution in this respect was delivered in different forms, ranging from an input prepared by a small task-force, to a seminar about WID aspects in a major DAC topic or the provision of a paper with the help of a consultant. The WID Group itself has expressed its doubts about the cost-benefit ratio of this kind of effort in 1989 and decided not to spend too much energy on providing a WID input into all different DAC meetings. The DAC Secretariat, though, looked upon the Group to provide expertise to integrate women's issues in the Sectoral Work. Perhaps a good solution has meanwhile developed in the form of assignments to WID consultants to prepare a paper, financed from the recently established WID Fund.

Some critical remarks about the Expert Group on WID, which we encountered during our evaluation, concerned the high level of detail that characterised some of the inputs of the WID Group in the general DAC work. It was felt that on different occasions this had led to an 'over-demanding' of attention for WID issues. Also, the operations of the Group were said to be out of the direct line of vision and considered to be rather isolated from the rest of the DAC, a problem that was signalled for most of the DAC sub-committees.

Finally

- Women in Development is manifest in the DAC work. It is being included in the instruments which the DAC has developed for challenging its members to improve the aid programs. It is also made explicit in various topics discussed at the DAC forum. The subject has indeed become part of the DAC's development agenda.

But what does it actually mean, to be part of the agenda? Has Women in Development been an agenda-setting item: has it been able to make a difference to the DAC work? Or is it agenda-following: is the agenda for WID dependent on the course set out elsewhere? From the preceding pages it may have become clear that in this study both sides were encountered. Signs of agenda-setting by WID issues were found in the DAC Chairman's Overview of 1985, where he expressed the opinion that the Women in Development movement had reinforced the tendency to bring the poor more fully into the process of development, thereby pointing to the likelihood that WID has been instrumental to increase the focus on poverty, people and participatory approaches in the development process. The DAC topic of Participatory Development was initially also inspired by inputs from WID experiences. Another case of trend-setting by WID regards the Statistical

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Reporting of Women-oriented aid activities, which basic methodological principle has recently also been introduced for the DAC Statistical Reporting on Environment.

There was agenda-following as well. Our inference that WID has been mainly an add-on subject in DAC meetings and not a subject in itself (except for meetings of the WID Expert Group) may serve as an illustration in this regard. WID-aspects were added or included if the 'main' subject allowed for it, in DAC documents, meetings and aid reviews. This has resulted in a repetition of standard phrases about WID and the inclusion of 'women' in long lists of points that should not be forgotten.

The balance between agenda-setting and agenda-following is delicate and the challenge to integrate gender issues in the work of the DAC remains. A challenge that necessitates full policy analysis, not just WID-additions. Ultimately, the real move beyond rhetoric and symbolism is in the implementation of policies and the DAC's function in that regard can be to encourage, monitor, evaluate and to discuss seriously effects and results, in the light of gender strategies used. A discussion that should not only be held among members, but also with authorities and WID experts in developing countries.

Theme II: Assessment of Policies and Organisational Measures in Women in Development Adopted by DAC Member Countries

INTRODUCTION

More than a decade ago, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) adopted a set of "Guiding Principles" to help aid agencies support the role of women in development (WID). To prepare for the 1995 World Conference on Women, DAC's Expert Group on Aid Evaluation decided in 1991 to undertake, in coordination with DAC's Expert Group on Women in Development, a review of the WID policies and programs of DAC and of DAC member countries.

One part of that review was an assessment of the policies and other measures adopted by DAC member countries to strengthen "WID efforts" in donor assistance. The objective was to compare and verify the "institutionalization" of DAC/WID Guiding Principles in the donor organizations, assess how WID policies and measures influence donors' operational strategies and policies, identify both successful instruments and constraints, draw conclusions about the efficacy of current policies and measures, and recommend future strategies, including better ways to track the institutionalization of WID principles. This report is a synthesis of that assessment.

Sources for the assessment were the DAC donor organizations themselves. The assessment was based on a 1992 desk review of existing DAC/WID monitoring reports and other reports, a survey (by written questionnaire completed in late 1992 or early 1993) of DAC members, and case studies of five donors completed in 1993. Granting that many donor organizations may have changed since these data were collected, the analysis and conclusions remain essentially valid.

Although the DAC Guiding Principles still use the term "women in development" (WID), over the years several member organizations have changed the names of their policies and programs from WID to "gender and development" (GAD). Generally the WID approach implies a focus primarily on the roles of women, and the gender approach implies a focus on the socially constructed roles of both women and men.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reported here, based on evaluation of data and findings, are grouped around topics suggested in the terms of reference: The institutionalization of WID Guiding Principles, the impact of WID measures on operational strategies and policies, factors influencing WID institutionalization, and evaluation data.

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Institutionalization of WID Guiding Principles

The DAC/WID Guiding Principles, adopted in 1983 and revised in 1989, laid the foundation for concerted action by DAC members. The Guiding Principles, regularly monitored by DAC, served to apply significant peer pressure on members to develop and adopt WID policies and operational measures. In the last decade, DAC member countries have made substantial progress institutionalizing WID concerns and actions. Beginning with a tenuous foothold in a few donor agencies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, WID has now become a legitimate institutional concern in all DAC donor organizations.

There appears to be a pattern: Agencies first adopt formal mandates and policies that legitimize WID within their organization and later develop administrative guidelines and other operational tools. No donor moved directly to operational tools without first adopting an agency policy. In most donor organizations, WID has graduated from the first stage, gaining an institutional foothold, to the next, influencing operations. Twenty-one DAC members have adopted WID mandates and policies supported by some level of administrative measures and staff responsible for WID.

DAC member countries vary in the extent to which they adopt measures recommended in the DAC/WID Guiding Principles. Some countries have adopted many measures; others have adopted relatively few. Some had a formal mandate about WID, some had an internal policy directive. Which of the two they chose made little difference to their "WID effort" so long as the government's commitment, objectives, and principles were clearly communicated. The critical factor was official commitment.

Is WID more likely to be institutionalized in one type of organization than another? No clear pattern is discernible. WID/GAD staffs have successfully promoted gender concerns in organizations with varying types of structure and culture. WID has been institutionalized in large and small donor organizations and in organizations with different modes of operations, different sector priorities, and different development partners.

Impact on Operational Strategies

Data are limited, but there are clear indications that WID policies and measures have had a positive effect on DAC members' operations. The number of WID-specific and WID-integrated projects has increased. WID resources have increased. More and more women have participated in scholarship and training programs. Awareness of and expertise in gender issues have improved because of training, research, and innovative projects. Women's organizations in partner countries have become stronger in both advocacy and institutional capacity. Gender issues are more visible in donor agency documents, and sectoral and crosscutting themes have increasingly addressed gender concerns.

The instruments donors have found most effective in influencing their operational strategies have been operational tools (such as WID/gender analysis), training, technical support, funds, and project screening for WID issues.

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The donors identified some constraints on, and obstacles to, the implementation of WID measures. Those cited most often were inadequate accountability measures, limited resources, a lack of state-of-the-art operational tools for emerging programming areas (related to macroeconomic policies, for example), and persisting gaps in awareness and expertise in gender issues in the donor organizations. A few donors saw the marginalization of the WID staff and office within an organization to be an obstacle.

On the whole, more donors identified effective instruments than identified obstacles. This demonstrates in part the donors' overall sense of positive achievements in the last decade. Donors appear to believe that despite constraints they were able to move forward significantly in a short time—from mandates and policies to staff and resources and finally to procedures and tools to influence agency operations.

Factors Influencing WID Institutionalization

Several donor agencies found factors, both inside and outside the agency, which were seen to facilitate WID's institutionalization. Inside the agency, the six most positive factors were

- WID's adoption as a priority issue in development assistance.
- Strong support from higher management.
- The development of an operationally feasible WID policy and action plan that included useful administrative measures (such as training, strong guidelines, accountability measures, screening procedures, and operational tools).
- A collaborative professional relationship among WID and other agency staff.
- Adequate funds and staffing.
- International networking, especially with the South, and collaboration within DAC.

Two factors outside the purview of the agency also had a positive influence on WID's institutionalization: a strong domestic lobby for WID and a strong national policy on gender equality. Women's groups and networks — in both donor countries and the countries receiving aid — have helped put political pressure on DAC members to adopt WID/GAD policies. Women's lobbies in donor countries have been most effective when they collaborated with women's groups and networks in the recipient countries. The continued support of the women's movement in both donor and recipient countries is essential for strengthening WID's institutionalization in donor organizations.

Assessment Data

Assessment data were uneven. The questionnaire and case studies generated a certain amount of information about WID institutionalization — for example, the extent to which countries had adopted

WID policies and measures. Information about the actual implementation and impact of WID policies and measures on donors' operations was less precise and systematic.

Some information was not comparable. Donors used different criteria, for example, to report on donor resources, especially funds. "Women-oriented assistance" could have been a good quantitative indicator to measure donors' WID effort, but the variations in reporting made this indicator somewhat unreliable.

Assessments were based primarily on the donors' perceptions of their effectiveness. Field-based assessment was limited. This study was not designed to find out how countries receiving aid perceived the effectiveness of donor WID policies.

Data generated through the questionnaire sometimes contradicted information available elsewhere in donor organizations and outside. The survey questionnaire proved to be of only limited use in generating precise and comparable information about complex issues of effectiveness and impact.

Data were limited for several reasons. In some donor organizations WID measures were too new. In others, information was scattered in the donor organization and had not been properly analyzed, collated, synthesized, and tracked by internal monitoring mechanisms. But the absence of key indicators to assess progress in WID achievements was the main obstacle to generating comparable data. Except for the DAC/WID statistical reporting format, which is input oriented, the donors have not yet established quantitative or qualitative measures by which to track the progress of WID achievements.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In a mere decade, DAC donor organizations have travelled a long road. In many ways, WID was a trailblazer in donor agencies, the first crosscutting mandate, to be followed later by mandates on the environment, human rights, good governance, and other emerging issues. Mainstreaming WID concerns has pioneered many institutional and programming strategies that have served as models for other issues. Despite limited resources, WID has not only survived but has gained in visibility; increasingly, it is being mainstreamed into agencies. True, in that same decade WID/GAD policies, programs, and instruments have not completely changed agency operations, but a good beginning has been made and necessary first steps have been taken. Future policies and actions should be based on the solid foundation that has already been laid — strengthening and expanding the measures that have worked and taking new measures to overcome the obstacles to implementation of WID policies.

In the 1990s, WID policies and measures should be shaped not only by how donors assess past policies and instruments. More important, they should be responsive to emerging concerns about development cooperation. A major concern expressed in this assessment is to transform the traditional relationship of donors and aid recipients into a development partnership in which each party has a part in defining roles and responsibilities. Countries receiving aid should be helped to set their own goals, policies, and instruments and monitor their own actions and results.

The WID/GAD policies of the 1990s should also be responsive to other emerging development concerns, such as sustainable development, good governance, and macroeconomic policy instruments. The underlying principle of the following recommendations is that future WID policies and actions should be shaped by three considerations: the needs to learn from experience, to build development partnerships, and to strategically link gender considerations with emerging issues in development.

Learn from Experience

Available data suggest that despite clear achievements, donors have not made enough progress in instituting accountability measures, designing clear indicators to monitor progress, and developing awareness and expertise on gender issues. Based on experience reviewed for this assessment, the following steps could be undertaken in these three areas:

Institute accountability for implementing WID/GAD policies in organizations.

The policies of the past two decades elaborated responsibility structures for WID mandates and policies but did not spell out accountability measures to monitor organizational compliance. Transparent measures should be designed to hold donor organizations accountable for their WID/GAD policies. This can be done by

- Setting time-bound, measurable targets against which organizations can be held accountable.
- Strengthening checkpoints within agencies (such as steering committees, project approval boards, and so on).
- Holding key program managers and heads of field missions -- as well as individual staff members -- accountable for WID.

Design indicators and monitoring mechanisms to track achievement of WID results.

One problem DAC donors have in assessing the effectiveness of their WID/GAD policies is the lack of data about how WID measures influence agency operations and affect aid recipients. Priority tasks would be to

- Identify key quantitative and qualitative indicators to assess WID results.
- Establish monitoring mechanisms to track progress on the key indicators.
- Refine and adopt the DAC statistical reporting method for reporting women-oriented aid activities.

Develop awareness and expertise in gender issues.

Despite clear progress in raising awareness of WID concerns and developing expertise on gender issues over the previous decade, gaps still exist. Gaps in awareness and expertise can be further reduced through

- Specialized gender expertise.
- Training programs on a regular basis.
- Research on emerging issues.
- The exchange of information and experiences between North and South and between South and South.

Build Development Partnerships

To date, the DAC/WID Guiding Principles and the donors' WID policies and measures have focused primarily on incorporating systematized attention to gender issues in agency operations. If development assistance is to be reoriented toward partnerships and increasing aid recipients' own responsibilities for WID action, donors should

Build aid recipients' abilities to set their own agendas.

Many aid recipient countries have not developed their own national policies, institutions, and instruments. They have borrowed donor-developed models and instruments without assessing their local cultural and political suitability. Donors may wish to support partner countries in their efforts to

- Develop their own national gender equality policy.
- Build a wide-ranging consulting process among government and nongovernment groups geared to setting the national agenda.
- Develop institutional mechanisms, including accountability measures and evaluation systems, to implement national policies.
- Enhance awareness and expertise through training, information exchange, networking and research.
- Increase women's participation in development decision making.

Strengthen common understanding and dialogue.

ASSESSMENT OF DAC MEMBERS' WID POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

Development partners -- donors and aid recipients -- often bring divergent perspectives and priorities to bear on development problems. Donors should consider taking steps toward a common understanding and dialogue by supporting

- Networking and joint endeavours among women's organizations in the North and South to develop concepts and tools.
- Joint donor and aid-recipient monitoring and evaluation of field activities.

Link Gender Issues with Strategic Priorities

In the past, WID/GAD programs have been quite successful in linking with agencies' priority sectors and issues. This has proved to be an effective strategy for mainstreaming gender issues into assistance activities. In the last two decades, gender issues were for the first time elaborated in many of the economic sectors -- including agriculture, industry, energy, transport, settlement, and the informal sector. Although this strategy should continue, donors may also wish to develop programming ideas for strategic priority areas. Donors could

Bring a gender perspective to policy dialogues.

Policy dialogue among development partners is an increasingly influential instrument for shaping development agendas. Up to now, however, gender issues have not featured prominently in such dialogue. Women's participation in such dialogue has been marginal. Donors may increase the place of gender issues in policy dialogue by

- Engendering debates on macroeconomic and sectoral policies, i.e., discuss gender differentiated impact of these policies.
- Ensuring women's participation in policy dialogues.

Explore gender issues in strategic programming areas.

Gender issues have been relatively well highlighted in many of the social and economic sectors, but the understanding of gender issues is still limited in the emerging development sectors. Donors may wish to support

- Building gender perspectives in new program areas, such as good governance and participatory development, human rights, and sustainable development.
- Investigations of macroeconomic policies in such areas as trade, science and technology, and information and communication, from a gender perspective.

Revise the DAC/WID Guiding Principles after World Conference on Women in 1995

The DAC/WID Guiding Principles were adopted in 1983 and revised in 1989 in response to the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies and DAC members' own experiences. These principles have successfully helped integrate gender issues in DAC donor agencies' policies and programs. Taking note of this assessment, of discussions in Beijing in 1995, and of the Platform for Action 1995, member countries may want to consider further revising the DAC/WID Guiding Principles to address emerging issues of the 21st Century.

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Theme III: WID as a Cross-cutting Issue in Development Aid Evaluation

INTRODUCTION

As we approached the tenth anniversary of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)'s "Guiding Principles to Aid Agencies for Supporting the Role of Women in Development", donors began to re-assess their management of gender issues, reorganize their Women in Development (WID) units and, in some cases, update their gender policies and strategies. This document, which summarizes the findings and conclusions of Theme III Study: "WID as a Cross-cutting Theme in Development Aid Evaluation", constitutes one of these efforts.

Ten years might, at first glance, appear as a long time. Resources have been allocated, projects have been implemented and evaluated and expectations, after all this activity, are doubtlessly high. But, upon closer observation, a different reality emerges. Some donors did not adopt gender policies until the late eighties. It took time to operationalise the policies, to raise the gender awareness of agency staff, to modify existing projects and to design new ones. Most importantly, it takes a long time to understand the cultural significance of gender issues and to develop local partnerships. To successfully integrate women in development requires that innovative approaches be tested and results be fed back to those responsible for implementation. Moreover, the integration of women poses a real challenge to the evaluation process, as gender-sensitive methodologies must be developed and adopted. Struggling to understand gender issues has, in fact, greatly advanced the interest in and the knowledge of the social sector in general.

Thus, considering the complexity of the objectives and of program implementation, ten years is not a long time. Therefore, as far as the integration of gender issues in evaluations is concerned, reasonable progress appears to have been made. Whether development initiatives have resulted in sustainable benefits to women is another matter; one not entirely within the Terms of Reference of this Study. The momentum, nevertheless, is there. Let us hope it does not fade in the face of a premature demand for rapid results.

BACKGROUND

The purpose of Theme III Study was to analyze the subject of Women in Development (WID) or Gender in Development (GAD) as discussed in evaluation reports. The assumption was that the way gender issues were raised in evaluations was a reasonable proxy indicator of the implementation of the WID policy by donor organizations. Due to the constraints of the evaluation process (i.e., the general lack of impact data in the reports), Theme III Study should not be viewed as an assessment of the impact of WID/GAD policies on women.

The methodology employed by Theme III Study included the gathering of quantitative and qualitative data from 1,315 evaluation reports by the sixteen donors which participated in the Study. The evaluation reports covered a five-year time period (1989-1993) which facilitated the analysis of trends in the discussion of gender issues in the reports. It is important to note that, as prescribed by the methodology, the evaluations selected to be included in the Study were those that contained a "direct or indirect discussion of effects on beneficiaries" and could, thus, be reasonably expected to discuss effects on women.

This was the first time that a study of this nature and scope was undertaken and, as such, it has been a learning experience for all the participants. Donors, as independent organizations, with their own constraints and ways of gathering and storing information, had to adapt the recommended methodology to be able to participate in Theme III Study. Nevertheless, given the complexity of the subject matter and of the evaluation process, the researcher believes that the results are valid and reflective of the collective wisdom of the donor community.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The quantitative analysis of the evaluation reports and the qualitative narratives submitted by the participating donors lead to the following findings and conclusions:

1. General Findings and Conclusions

- Quantitatively, a steady progress has been made in the proportion of evaluations which addressed gender; the proportion of evaluations including a "full" discussion of gender issues rose from about 14 in 1989 to about 37 percent in 1993. This increase was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the proportion of evaluations which did "not at all" discuss gender, which dropped from 48 to 25 percent. The proportion of evaluations that contained a "partial" discussion of gender during this time period remained more or less constant around 38-39 percent. Nevertheless, many of these "partial" discussions were judged, by the donors' qualitative analysis, to be superficial.
- The quality and depth of the gender discussion in evaluations still require substantial improvement. For example, the role of women as producers and decision-makers needs to be more frequently addressed by the evaluations and by the projects. Moreover, several donors argued in their individual reports that development may be overburdening women without increasing their ability to make decisions and that projects "give the appearance" of benefiting women when, in fact, the reverse may be true. Thus, it is necessary to improve the systematic assessment of effects and impacts.
- Project evaluation criteria appeared often to be limited by the project's original rationale, rather than guided by broad donor policy objectives. Thus, if gender was not originally included in the project, many donors felt that it was inappropriate to include gender in the evaluation criteria. This approach makes it, in many cases, impossible to test a project's

rationale from a gender perspective and determine whether the original design facilitated, or seriously hindered, the participation of women.

- **The major decisive factor in ensuring the inclusion of gender issues in the evaluation reports was the overall approach taken by the project -- a thorough knowledge and consideration of general socio-economic conditions and the ability to obtain the consistent involvement of the target group in shaping the project.**
- The overall project approach is greatly influenced by the original project rationale, thus, it is essential that a meaningful integration of gender takes place during planning and pre-planning. The simple "consideration" of gender issues is not sufficient.

2. Specific Findings and Conclusions

- There were major sectoral differences in the proportion of evaluations which included a gender discussion. The traditional presence, or relative absence, of women from a sector, greatly influenced their participation in the project and the evaluation reports' ability to "fully" discuss gender issues. Gender strategies to include women in non-traditional areas either were not adopted or did not appear to be very effective.
- As far as short-term effects were discussed in the evaluation reports, women appear to be benefiting from development initiatives. However, the research confirmed that, in most instances, women are largely passive beneficiaries and, even when doing much of the work, their roles as producers and decision-makers are seldom taken into account.
- All of the indicators tracked by the Study (WID/GAD issues in the evaluation Terms of Reference (TORs); WID/GAD experts taking part in the evaluation teams; women taking part in the evaluation teams; the presence of gender-disaggregated data in the evaluation reports; the allocation of a project budget to WID/GAD) showed significant improvement between 1989 and 1993; all contributed to the integration of gender in the evaluation process and to increasing the proportion of evaluation reports containing a "full" discussion of gender. However, it is best not to assume that a strict cause-effect relationship exists between any one particular indicator and the "full" discussion of gender in the reports, as they all reinforce one another. It should be noted, however, that the evaluation TORs possibly have the greatest positive impact on the "full" discussion of gender in the evaluations.
- The presence of WID/GAD experts and women in evaluation missions and the presence of gender-disaggregated data in the evaluation reports dropped slightly between 1992 and 1993. It is not clear why this drop took place; we can only speculate that the state of transition currently experienced by some development organizations -- general reductions in financial resources, the reorganization of WID units within donor organizations, and, perhaps, a peaking of interest in the subject of gender -- have had a temporary impact. However, if the participation of WID/GAD experts in evaluations continues to drop it is possible, in the

opinion of this researcher, that improvements in the gender content of evaluations may not be sustainable.

- Judging from the content of the reports, progress in introducing effective gender strategies in the social sectors has been disappointing. Evaluations of education and training projects, areas of traditional interest to girls and women, usually omitted discussions on the role of women as decision-makers. The supply-driven, health sector projects provided benefits to many women, but a gender perspective was missing from the evaluations as target groups remained largely passive consumers of welfare-oriented, health care delivery services.
- The quantitative results of the Study do not reflect the complexities of gender in the agriculture sector. Until such a time as the assessment of impacts and effects is improved, it will be hard to tell what is the real impact of agriculture sector projects on rural women. Some donors suspect that the net impact of agriculture and other rural development initiatives on women may be a negative one, as men receive a greater proportion of the benefits, and interventions may be further marginalizing women by reinforcing traditional norms and increasing their workload.

RECOMMENDED STRATEGIES

The analysis of the quantitative data and, most importantly, the comments contained in the donor qualitative reports suggest the following general strategies and specific recommendations for the evaluation process, the project cycle and the sectors:

1. General Strategies

a) Gender Programming

- Adopt the concept of **Gender and Development** as a general policy to take the broader social context into account. Several donors made very persuasive arguments in behalf of a Gender and Development (GAD) approach, as compared to Women in Development (WID). It was felt, by these donors, that a GAD approach would broaden the social context of the project and better reflect the reality of women's lives. Nevertheless, there are no magic solutions and judgement must be exercised to select the approach most appropriate to the circumstances. As one of the donors remarked, GAD may not always be appropriate and cultural conditions will determine whether an integrated approach or a women-only approach would be more effective.
- Adopt approaches to project design and implementation that include a thorough knowledge of socio-economic conditions and the **continued involvement of the target group in shaping the project**. Thus, the project's original rationale would better reflect the importance of gender.

b) Evaluation Process

- Improve the general quality of evaluations and the systematic assessment of **effects and impacts**.
- Evaluate the **distribution of benefits** in a gender-disaggregated manner.
- Strengthen the gender content of the evaluation **Terms of Reference** and promote a more focused approach to the evaluation TORs.
- Develop and disseminate gender-sensitive **evaluation guidelines** to improve the quality of the gender discussion in evaluations and introduce gender issues to sectors and projects that may not be addressing them at the present time. Evaluation guidelines should include methodologies to improve the assessment of impacts and effects and the gathering of gender-disaggregated data.

2. Specific Recommendations

a) Gender in the Evaluation Process

- Extend the discussion of gender to a greater proportion of evaluations by including gender in the project's evaluation criteria whether or not the original project framework had gender-specific objectives, as long as WID/GAD is a policy priority.
- Improve the quality of the gender discussion in evaluation reports by taking the following steps:
 - Further specify gender in the evaluation Terms of Reference by requiring that evaluation reports discuss
 - the role of women as decision-makers;
 - the participation of beneficiaries (women and men) in the earliest stages of appraisal and design;
 - the gender strategies that have been adopted by the project;
 - the gender-disaggregated data gathered during the evaluation;
 - sustainability in a gender-disaggregated manner;
 - the impact on women's workload;
 - the constraints to participation faced by women;

- specific recommendations on how to enhance the role of gender within the project.
- Ensure that WID/GAD experts and professionals knowledgeable of local culture and conditions continue to take part in the evaluations.

b) Gender in the Project Cycle

- Specifically identify women as members of the target group.
- Continue to pursue the integration of gender in the earliest phases of the project cycle (i.e., appraisal and design/pre-appraisal and pre/design) and the continued consultation with women (and men) in the target group.
- Provide a specific budget to encourage the adoption of gender and development (GAD) objectives and activities in the project
- Develop specific gender strategies to include women (and men) in implementation in a manner appropriate to the local culture and based on the expressed needs of the target population.
- At the planning, or pre-planning phases of the project or program, specify women's (and men's) productive roles and their role as decision-makers during further planning and implementation.
- Specify the work that women are expected to do in the project and how they may be rewarded for their contribution to the community.
- Make use of local expertise (i.e. local village women animators, professionals, etc.) during project design and implementation.
- Improve the gathering of gender-disaggregated data and baseline data during project implementation.
- Monitor the progress of gender within the project cycle and continue the practice of assigning staff specifically to this task.
- Promote sustainability by implementing long-term development interventions (ten to fifteen years), as social change is unlikely to become sustainable in a short time.

c) Gender in the Sectors

- Continue to promote the participation of women in the traditional and non-traditional sectors by substantially including gender in the project evaluation criteria.

Education/Training

- Adopt a strategy that gives priority to improving the participation of women in education and training projects and programs and improves the discussion of gender issues in evaluation reports in this sector.
- Consider targeting the education/training sector for major improvements in the treatment of gender over the next five years. Training in the traditional, as well as in the non-traditional sectors, could be made available. While it is important to increase the number of women in the non-traditional sectors, it is not necessarily advisable to neglect training in areas where women are traditionally well represented, as these may be the only alternatives available (or acceptable) to them.
- Promote the implementation of projects for the education of girls and young women in non-traditional or traditional areas, as appropriate, in recognition of the strong relationship among improved education, family planning and quality of life.

Health/Population

- Improve the ability of women in the target group to make decisions in the sectors of health and population, as opposed to their predominantly passive role as beneficiaries.
- Encourage the expression of women's own perspective on their health needs and priorities, which may include the threat to mental health caused by family violence; recognize and support women's role as health producers and their ability to look after their own health and that of their families; encourage sustainable and self-reliant, rather than welfare, non-sustainable approaches to the health sector; target programs to working women for the improvement of working environments that may pose significant health risks.

Agriculture

- The challenge in the usually large, agriculture projects is to carve out a decision-making role for the target group (women and men) during planning and implementation. The agriculture sector should receive priority in efforts to (i) gender-disaggregate the distribution of benefits; (ii) assess the impact on workload, and (iii) investigate long-term effects and impacts.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It appears, from the results of Theme III Study, that many donors have put in place measures that, together, effectively encourage the discussion of gender in the evaluation reports. The original assumption of Theme III Study was that "the way gender was discussed in the evaluations was a

reasonable proxy of the implementation of WID policies by donor organizations". Thus, it may be concluded that donors have made a reasonable effort to implement WID policies. It does not necessarily follow, however, that these efforts have been effective in improving the conditions of women, or resulted in sustainable, long-term benefits. The limited discussion of impacts in evaluation reports makes it difficult to say whether sustainable benefits to women have taken place.

It appears, judging from the quantitative analysis of the evaluation reports, that women's participation as beneficiaries -- albeit in a passive role -- has increased. The tone of many of the donor narratives, however, was somewhat negative on whether those benefits were real and sustainable, or whether, as one donor stated, projects "appeared" to provide benefits when, "in fact, they did not". Indeed, the tone of many of the donor narratives cautions against too positive an interpretation of the quantitative data. Donor reservations on the nature of women's participation included the passive role played by women beneficiaries, the failure to gender-disaggregate the distribution of benefits, not taking impact on women's workload into account, and ignoring women's productive role. The general lack of evaluation data on impact was identified as a major general constraint of the evaluation process.

Several donors made strong arguments in favour of a Gender and Development (GAD) approach, as compared to a Women in Development (WID) approach. The researcher was persuaded by these arguments and generally supports the GAD approach as it may tend to enhance the understanding of women's and men's roles at the macro (community) and at the micro (household) levels. The GAD approach may tend to take better account of culture through the involvement of spouses and family, thus gaining a better understanding of the conditions required to make benefits sustainable. More gender-sensitive projects could then lead to more gender-sensitive evaluations.

Although a Gender and Development approach may enhance the integration of gender issues into development initiatives, it will not guarantee success any more than a Women in Development approach has been able to do so. Moreover, the GAD approach may not always be the correct one, and in some cultures and under some circumstances, it may be more appropriate to implement projects solely targeted to women. Judgement must be exercised and an understanding of the local culture needs to be gained before such choices can be made. Moreover, as one of the donors firmly stated, it is the overall approach taken by the project in its design and implementation, and in its willingness to obtain local input that will be critical in addressing gender issues. Thus, the substantial and meaningful integration of gender issues during planning or pre-planning must be a priority.

Several donors expressed concern with the possible imposition of donor values upon Third World women as an example of supply-driven development, an approach which could undermine long-term benefits and increase the risk of unanticipated negative impacts on women. Adopting a GAD strategy and broadening the context of the intervention would, hopefully, highlight the importance of local culture and possibly contribute to minimizing the unintended imposition of donor values. In conclusion, the challenge faced by GAD, or WID, is to promote the integration of women taking culture into account, but without re-enforcing traditional, paternalistic patterns of behaviour.

ASSESSMENT OF DAC MEMBERS' WID POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

The progress made in integrating gender issues in evaluation reports appears to have been substantial, but one must keep in mind that impacts are rarely addressed in evaluations. However, given the financial restraints faced by many donors and the "WID fatigue" possibly experienced by some development organizations, it is advisable to repeat Theme III Study two or three years into the future to, for example, assess the gender content of evaluation reports completed during 1997 or 1998. Thus, the sustainability of efforts to integrate WID/GAD in development programming and in the evaluation process will be confirmed.