



POSITION PAPER

Aid and Gender Equality

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Preface

This position paper on Aid and Gender Equality was prepared by UNU-WIDER under the ReCom programme of Research (Re) and Communication (Com) on foreign aid. It aims to provide a coherent up-to-date overview and guide to a complex issue in the development field: the relation between aid and gender equality. Moreover, the position paper addresses the intricate linkages between aid and gender equality and tries—in a forward looking perspective—to identify existing challenges for future action in development practice and research with a view to increasing aid efficiency.

The position paper relates to the last ReCom results meeting on ‘Aid for Gender Equality’ held in Copenhagen on 16 December 2013 and has benefitted substantially from the deliberations at this meeting. Background research and material on which the UNU-WIDER team has drawn includes: (i) already existing research published in a variety of forms reviewed under the ReCom programme, (ii) background papers prepared for ReCom by members of UNU-WIDER’s global network, including a range of leading specialists in the aid area from both developing and developed countries, and (iii) research by UNU-WIDER staff and others, including a DIIS ReCom study report on land administration, gender equality and development assistance. Further information on background papers, research studies and other outputs from ReCom is available at <http://recom.wider.unu.edu/results>; and in the attached list of references, which are referred to throughout this position paper.

The author and theme leader for the position paper on Aid and Gender Equality is Caren Grown who was assisted by Malokele Nanivazo and Valeria Vargas Sejas. Finn Tarp also provided support throughout. They have worked alongside the UNU-WIDER communication and position paper production support team consisting of: Kennedy Ambang, Dominik Etienne, Heidi Kaila, Anu Laakso, Lena Lindbjerg Sperling, Carl-Gustav Lindén, Susan Servas, James Stewart, Paul Silfvenius, Minna Tokkari, Janis Vehmaan-Kreula, Annett Victorero, Roger Williamson, Tuuli Ylinen, and Lumi Young. UNU-WIDER is grateful for all of the many analytical and other efforts that have enriched the Gender Equality theme under ReCom; and we acknowledge with appreciation significant research contributions from the following professionals: E. Asiedu, M. Balamoune-Lutz, S. Bibler, A. Cornwall, A. Dreher, K. Gehring, J. Gideon, N. Gulrajani, S. Hellsten, N. Holvoet, L. Inberg, S. Klasen, L. Kleman, C. Lauterbach, E. Maïga, E. McGill, L. Ndikumana, M. Nkusu, P. Nunnenkamp, U. Okonkwo Osili, N. Otobe, L. Pickbourn, F. Porter, L. Scott, R. Thiele, A. Torkelsson, S. Wong, E. Zuckerman and others.

Finally, we at UNU-WIDER would like to express our warmest appreciation to Danida and Sida for financial support and collaboration over the past little more than two and a half years. Particular thanks for their efforts go to Tove Degnbol, Henning Nøhr, Anders Granlund, Lena Johansson de Château and Pernilla Sjöquist Rafiqui. It is our hope that this innovative effort in combining research and development practice has provided material that will be of help to our three main audiences, including aid agency staff alongside researchers and

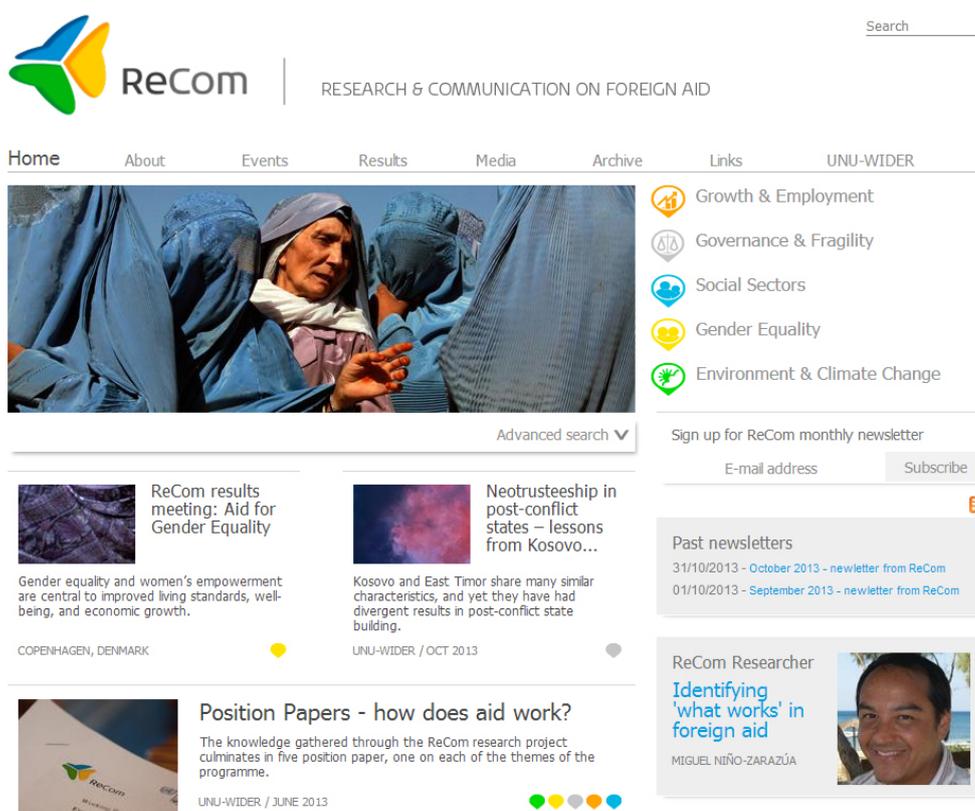
national policy makers, in their combined efforts to further the effectiveness of foreign aid in the years to come.

Finn Tarp
Director, UNU-WIDER
23 April 2014

About ReCom

ReCom—Research and Communication on Foreign Aid is a UNU-WIDER co-ordinated research programme implemented over 2011-2013 in partnership with Danida (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark) and Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency). The Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) and the UNU-WIDER global network of partner institutions and researchers were also involved in ReCom research. The aim of the programme was to research and communicate what works and what can be achieved through development assistance. For this purpose, a specific programme website wider.unu.edu/recom has been created.

IMAGE 1
The ReCom website



Source: <http://www.wider.unu.edu/recom>

Foreign aid is a complex and multi-faceted issue, involving many countries, institutions, and people—researchers, aid officials, policy makers, NGOs, companies and civil society organizations. Currently, the evidence for what works in aid is fragmented and not easily accessible thereby limiting, in particular, the transfer of successful interventions across countries. There is limited evidence for what works on a large scale—understanding this is a key objective if more aid is to be used well, and if challenges such as adaptation to climate change are to be met successfully.

To better understand and improve the effectiveness of aid requires a multi-disciplinary approach—bringing together the best from social sciences, in particular economics and political science, as well as other relevant disciplines. Better understanding can only come from mobilizing a global network of development researchers and practitioners to share their knowledge. No single actor can grasp all of the dimensions of aid, especially when we take into account the number of complex issues—such as conflict, climate change, the emergence of new aid donors—involved in the context that aid is operating in. Many developing economies are growing, a success in part due to aid itself, but immense development challenges remain, not least in adapting to climate change and reducing poverty. It is the power of the network that guarantees ReCom its credibility as a source of knowledge on development and aid when communicating these new trends and challenges, and what they mean for aid practice and for achieving aid effectiveness.

Over 2011-2013, ReCom has been bringing together some 300 social scientists from all parts of the world—in fact from 60 different countries, including 21 African countries—to research and communicate what works, and what could work, in development assistance, including the potential to scale-up and transfer small but successful interventions as larger aid programmes. Some 240 individual studies have been published or are forthcoming, mainly in the WIDER Working Papers series—each of them summarized in a research brief published on the ReCom website (see Appendix 3). An important part of the quality assurance process of ReCom is to publish studies in peer-reviewed fora. A large number of the studies have been submitted to, or have already been published in, internationally refereed journals and as UNU-WIDER books (see Appendix 2).

The thematic focus of the research programme covered five key issues in international development assistance: growth and employment; governance and fragility; social sectors; gender equality; and environment and climate change. Poverty and inequality cuts across all these issues, for there can be no sustained poverty reduction without achievements for aid in each. By these means, ReCom is also helping to shape the debate on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the post-2015 development agenda.

To be of use the new knowledge generated by research must be customized and shared. This is done by effective communication with national policy makers, aid officials, parliamentarians, and other practitioners in NGOs and social movements. Communication has been as important to ReCom's success as research.

ReCom's knowledge-sharing process therefore involved the exchange of information and views. Discussion of the research results set up new questions for further investigation. These exchanges were designed to capture the insights of policy makers and practitioners, which then fed back into further rounds of knowledge creation and sharing. This has been the core of ReCom.

Through more than 75 presentations and seminars, seven ReCom results meetings, and a website (www.wider.unu.edu/recom) dedicated to

communicating the research, ReCom has focused on adding to the existing evidence base and communicating with policy makers as well as the broader audience ‘what aid has done, and what aid can do better in the future’ thereby improving aid practice and policy, ultimately increasing the benefits of aid for recipient countries. Appendix 4 provides a list of all ReCom presentations and seminars that took place during 2011-2013. In addition, social platforms (YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, etc.) and a monthly ReCom newsletter have been used to disseminate the knowledge produced through ReCom.

ReCom results meetings

People-to-people knowledge sharing has been a central part of the overall communication strategy of the co-ordinating partners of ReCom. Especially the ReCom results meetings have been the anchor of the communications activities as they have proven to be an excellent vehicle for bringing researchers, practitioners and policy makers together to exchange knowledge on key development and aid issues, and because the knowledge transferred and communicated in them contained the essential facets of each research theme. During the programme period, the following seven ReCom results meetings took place in Copenhagen and Stockholm:

- ‘Aid, Growth and Macroeconomic Management’, Copenhagen, 27 January 2012
- ‘Democracy and Fragility’, Stockholm, 10 May 2012
- ‘Jobs – Aid at Work’, Copenhagen, 8 October 2012
- ‘Aid and the Social Sectors’, Stockholm, 13 March 2013
- ‘Aid and Our Changing Environment’, Stockholm, 4 June 2013
- ‘Challenges in Fragility and Governance’, Copenhagen, 23 October 2013
- ‘Aid for Gender Equality’, Copenhagen, 16 December 2013

IMAGE 2

ReCom results meeting ‘Aid for Gender Equality’



Source: © UNU-WIDER

The ReCom research findings have been compiled in five substantive position papers, one for each theme, that speak to a broad audience interested in foreign aid and the respective theme. The position papers specifically target policy makers in donor agencies and their partner countries, as well as private foundations and civil society organizations.

This position paper focuses on the effectiveness of development assistance to countries and NGOs that promotes gender equality and empowers women. Donors have been concerned about gender equality and women's empowerment at least since 1975, with the launch of the United Nations Decade for Women. In the intervening 40 years, attention to gender equality and women's rights and empowerment, whether through stand-alone projects for women or through larger efforts to embed gender equality objectives in economic, political, and social development, has ebbed and flowed. These issues are once again at the center of development discourse, as a result of a growing body of research and evidence that firmly ties gender equality to development effectiveness. What has the global community learned over the past four decades about policy, programming and mainstreaming efforts? And, more specifically, what lessons can be culled from research and experience for donors as part of their efforts to improve the effectiveness of focusing foreign assistance?

This position paper distills the evidence from academic studies, commissioned research, and the author's experience. It is organized in five sections, beginning with a summary of research outcomes, continued by a brief background on donor attention to gender equality and female empowerment in assistance efforts in the past forty years. In section four key areas and means of intervention are discussed and section five concludes and provides recommendations for future efforts.

‘...investing in women is not only the right thing to do. It is the smart thing to do. I am deeply convinced that, in women, the world has at its disposal, the most significant and yet largely untapped potential for development and peace.’

Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary General, 8 March 2008

Acronyms and abbreviations

AfDB	African Development Bank
AFR	Africa region
AfT	aid for trade
AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome
CAS	country assistance strategy
CBO	Community-Based Organization (WB)
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against
CODE	Committee on Development Effectiveness (of the World Bank)
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPLs	development policy loans
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAP	East Asia and Pacific region
ECA	Europe and Central Asia region
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGM	female genital mutilation
FP	focal point (Bank staff)
FY	fiscal year
GAD	gender and development
GAP	Gender Action Plan
GBV	gender-based violence
GDB	Gender and Development Board
GDP	gross domestic product
GENTF	Gender Trust Funds
GFATM	Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
GNI	gross national income
GPRG	Growth Policy Reform Grant (WB)

HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
HNP	health, nutrition and population
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association (WB)
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IDP	internally displaced person
IEG	Independent Evaluation Group (of the World Bank)
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFI	International Financial Institution
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Inspection Panel (of the World Bank)
IPCC	Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change
ISRR	Implementation Status and Results Report (WB)
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean region
LDCs	least developed countries
M&E	monitoring and evaluation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDTF	multi-donor trust fund
MENA	Middle-East and North Africa region
MICs	middle-income countries
MPI	multidimensional poverty index
ODA	official development aid
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OP	operational policy
PAD	Project Appraisal Document (WB)
PCR	post-conflict reconstruction
PID	Project Information Document (WB)
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PRH	population and reproductive health
PRMGE	poverty reduction and economic management
PRSC/G	Poverty Reduction Support Credit/Grant

PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PRs	poverty reduction strategies
SALs	structural adjustment loans
SDTF	Single Donor Trust Fund
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SNA	System of National Accounts
SPF	state and peace-building fund
SRH	sexual and reproductive health
SSA	sub-Saharan Africa
SWAP	System-wide Action Plan
STI	sexually-transmitted infections
TVET	Technical Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
UNU-WIDER	United Nations University - World Institute for Development Economics Research
WB	World Bank
WDI	World Development Indicators
WDR	World Development Report (WB)
WEOI	Women's Economic Opportunity Index
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	women in development

Executive summary

Donors have been concerned about gender equality and women's empowerment at least since 1975, with the launch of the United Nations Decade for Women. In the intervening 40 years, attention to gender equality and women's rights and empowerment, whether through stand-alone projects for women or through larger efforts to embed gender equality objectives in economic, political, and social development, has ebbed and flowed. These issues are once again at the center of development discourse, as a result of a growing body of research and evidence that firmly ties gender equality to development effectiveness. What has the global community learned over the past four decades about policy, programming and mainstreaming efforts? And, more specifically, what lessons can be culled from research and experience for donors as part of their efforts to improve the effectiveness of focusing foreign assistance?

The position paper is organized in five sections. Following the Introduction, the second section defines key terminology and provides a snapshot of gender gaps in 2013. It notes that substantial progress toward gender equality and women's empowerment has occurred over the past four decades, but key gaps persist between males and females in all countries, although the domains where such gaps persist may be quite different in different contexts. While development assistance agencies recognize the importance of closing these gaps, only a handful have actually made the closure of most if not all gender gaps central to their core objectives as reflected in their investments, aid modalities, and projects. The section closes with a review of the motivation for investments by foreign donors for gender equality and women's empowerment.

Section three turns to a discussion of how donors have approached gender equality through the strategy referred to as 'mainstreaming' and profiles financial commitments to this objective since 2002. Recent evaluations of gender mainstreaming document that the practice of mainstreaming has been uneven and fraught with difficulties. Contrary to early optimism, mainstreaming has not succeeded in embedding a gender equality orientation in the institutional DNA of most development agencies and gender equality results have been fragmented and too rarely scaled up. The financial profile shows that the gender equality share of development assistance across sectors is low, representing less than 40 percent of sector aid in education and far less than that in other sectors. Moreover, while some sectors show increases in the gender equality share of aid over time, especially between 2003 and 2008, they all show declines in 2009, likely as a result of the economic crisis. While most (but not all) have increased again in 2012, the question is whether these increases will be sustained. The end of section examines new actors in development assistance, and particularly the private sector's role in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment.

Section four is split in two parts. The first reviews the macro evidence on the effectiveness of development assistance in promoting gender equality and empowering women. The conclusion is that aid generally has a positive (but modest) impact on gender equality. Aid in particular sectors – such as education and health- has boosted female enrolment rates and improved health outcomes. The second part of this section evaluates the micro-level and project evaluation literature on what works and what is transferable in education, health, gender-based violence reduction, the economy (through microenterprise development and employment generation), politics and governance at the local and national levels, and peace and security. This section also provides examples of promising interventions in these sectors that have been replicated in different contexts. Section five draws out recommendations for mainstreaming and investing in gender equality. It focuses on leadership, improving technical capacity, designing systems that track resources, and putting in place metrics for accountability. This section also recommends orienting investments, programmes, and projects to results, and stepping up investments in sex-disaggregated data collection, ‘gender-aware’ performance monitoring and impact evaluation.

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1 Introduction and statement of issue

Donors have been concerned about gender equality and women's empowerment at least since 1975, with the launch of the United Nations Decade for Women, but the last five years have witnessed a resurgence of concerted attention. Two recent flagship reports signal this interest. In March 2011, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) issued the first ever State of Food and Agriculture on Women and Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development. It marshals new economic evidence and analysis to argue that one of the key reasons agriculture is underperforming in many developing economies is that women do not have equal access to the resources and opportunities they need to be more productive. And, in September 2011, the World Bank released its first ever World Development Report (WDR) 2012 on Gender Equality and Development with the message that gender equality 'can raise productivity, improve other development outcomes, including prospects for the next generation, and contribute to more representative decision-making in societies' (World Bank 2011).

While these reports make a strong business case for gender equality, they also acknowledge that economic growth is insufficient to improve women's lives and reduce gender gaps. Rapid economic growth has, in some circumstances, even exacerbated inequalities between males and females. The WDR 2012 identifies 'sticky' (i.e. persistent) gaps in health and education, discrimination in the workplace, under-representation of women in governance structures and lack of property rights in many countries. Maternal and child mortality rates remain unacceptably high in countries that have made huge economic progress, such as India and China. Women now represent more than 40 percent of the global workforce, but they are more likely than men to engage in low-productivity and labor intensive activities and to earn less for the same work, even with equivalent education and training. They are also less likely to own or control key assets like land and housing. And they are still largely responsible for the majority of unpaid household work.

Other imbalances persist. Women remain dramatically marginalized in peace processes. The United Nations (UN) has found that women comprise less than 10 percent of peace negotiators and less than three percent of the signatories to peace agreements. That exclusion has had consequences; post-conflict recovery programs, and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs often fail to differentiate between the needs of male and female former combatants in their design and are less successful as a result. Moreover, critical issues are often over-looked; for example, of 300 ceasefire accords, power-sharing arrangements and other peace agreements negotiated since 1989, just 18 of them – only six percent – contain even a passing reference to sexual violence.

Why do these gaps remain? Gender equality advocates and others have for decades been working to alter the distribution of power, opportunity, and outcomes for women and men and calling for a fundamental shift in the approach to development that is based on such transformations. Yet

innovations have proven difficult to translate into practice at the scale required to bring about profound change. In light of the increasingly compelling evidence that donors and partners need to do a better job, how can they improve efforts to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment?

The main audience for this position paper is staff in development assistance agencies and their implementing partners, government agency personnel, and practitioners and advocates working in countries around the world to empower women and men to transform unequal gender norms and reduce gaps between males and females. The paper is organized in five sections. The second section defines key terminology and provides a snapshot of gender gaps in 2013, and reviews the motivation for investments by foreign donors for gender equality and women's empowerment. Section 3 focuses on how donors have approached gender equality through the strategy referred to as 'mainstreaming' and profiles financial commitments to this objective since 2002. The end of the section discusses new actors in development assistance, and particularly the private sector's role in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. Section 4 is divided into two sub-sections; it includes an analysis of the macro evidence on the effectiveness of development assistance in promoting gender equality and empowering women, and it evaluates the micro-level and project evaluation literature on what works and what is transferable. The last section draws out recommendations for mainstreaming and investing in gender equality, and concludes this position paper. Some of the paper's key messages are summarized below.

The key overarching message is that donors can create the enabling conditions for transformation of unequal gender norms and societal values and for women to become empowered, and to build critical consciousness and collective agency. There are no silver bullets or one size fits all approach, but there are a number of domains where donors can develop the critical foundation/infrastructure for transformation, and a number of principles to guide program development.

The paper highlights some domain-specific lessons, detailed in Section 4. In education, scholarships and stipends for secondary education is a proven intervention, while promising but unproven approaches include transportation strategies, boarding schools, and community engagement in girls' education, gender training for teachers, and mentoring, tutoring, and peer support for girls. Evaluations have identified a number of proven interventions to reduce maternal mortality and improve reproductive health within and outside the health sector: strengthening integrated (as opposed to siloed or vertical) health systems and community-based education programs. Similarly, there are a range of proven and promising interventions to reduce gender gaps in asset ownership, entrepreneurship, and wage employment, for instance greater attention to the provision of savings and insurance as well as job training for young women. Quotas and reservations are a proven tool to increase female representation in national and local political bodies, but not sufficient for changing power relations. Promising approaches include leadership training for female politicians, media interventions, and civic education addressing views of female office holders, among others. Promising interventions to respond to

gender-based violence include ‘one stop shops’ that provide legal, health, and economic assistance services, while interventions to prevent intimate partner violence – such as norms change, curbing alcohol abuse, and reducing childhood exposure - are in their infancy, especially in low and mid-income countries.

The paper also suggests a number of changes in the institutional practices of development agencies. Donors should move away from characterizing ‘gender’ as a cross-cutting issue. Describing gender as cross-cutting means it is less likely to be addressed systematically across all the domains where gaps exist between males and females – from economic growth to food security to effective governance to peace and stability. All domains of development assistance need to recognize and close relevant gaps between males and females that affect outcomes. At the same time, the existence of program ‘silos’ lead to huge missed opportunities for concerted action across sectors for gender equality and women’s empowerment, and donors need to have institutional mechanisms for fostering synergies and learnings across sectors and for achieving bigger picture objectives.

Donors and partners need to do a better job of identifying concrete outcomes to realize gender equality as part of core development objectives. Donors need to conduct and use higher quality gender analysis more systematically in policy, program, and project design and implementation. They can invest more resources in impact evaluation and collection of sex-disaggregated data to help understand what works and what doesn’t across contexts. Internal learning processes, geared at strengthening donors’ capacities for analysis and responsiveness, are part of what will be needed for such investment to produce returns to development. They can improve upon and use more systematically a variety of tools to estimate the costs of gender inequality and the financing needs for interventions that promote it within and across various sectors. The following sections elaborate these messages in greater detail.

2 Analytical approach and state of the debate

This section explains the concepts used in this paper, highlights the gaps that continue to exist between males and females in a number of domains, and reviews donor approaches to embedding gender equality in development assistance since the 1970s.

2.1 The context of gender equality

The terminology used by different development actors is subject to wide interpretation and can be confusing, even within agencies that have gender equality policies, so it is worthwhile to begin by defining terms. Like race and ethnicity, gender is a social construct. The innate biological differences between females and males form the basis of social norms in all societies that define ‘appropriate’ behaviors and the roles, rights, responsibilities, and obligations of each sex.¹ Although the specific nature and degree of differences between males and females vary from one society to another, institutionalized gender norms typically favor males, creating imbalances in power and inequalities in status, resources and opportunities that operate to the disadvantage of females in most countries worldwide.

Most donor policies seek to promote gender equality as a goal of development cooperation. In 1999, the OECD-DAC defined gender equality as:

Gender equality requires equal enjoyment by women and men of socially-valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards. Gender equality does not mean that men and women become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances are equal. The emphasis on gender equality and women’s empowerment does not presume a particular model of gender equality for all societies and cultures, but reflects a concern that women and men have equal opportunities to make choices about what gender equality means and work in partnership to achieve it. Because of current disparities, equal treatment of women and men is insufficient as a strategy for gender equality. Equal treatment in the context of inequalities can mean the perpetuation of disparities. Achieving gender equality will require changes in institutional practices and social relations through which disparities are reinforced and sustained. It also requires a strong voice for women in shaping their societies (OECD-DAC 1999).

In the early 2000s, as part of efforts to broaden and operationalize Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 3, the World Bank, various bilateral donors, and UN agencies laid out three priority domains of equality between males and females to strive for: 1) *human capabilities* both in *health* and *education*; 2) access to *economic opportunities* and *resources*, including in labor markets, in ownership and

control over physical and financial assets, and in access to productive services and technologies, and *political opportunities*, characterized by the ability to exercise voice and agency in political participation and civic life; and 3) *human security*, including reduced vulnerability to *interpersonal violence* and conflict and equal participation in *peace and security* and post-conflict development² (World Bank 2003; Grown et al. 2005; UN Women 2013). These three domains are not mutually exclusive, and progress in one domain can often - but not always - trigger progress in other domains. While this three-domain framework is a chapeau for policy documents, in practice donors do not always recognize this multi-dimensionality or give equivalent attention to all domains in their programming and investments.

The concept of female empowerment is related to gender equality but distinct from it. The core of empowerment is the notion of *agency* or women's ability to use their capabilities and opportunities to expand their choices and ability to control their own destiny (Sen 1999). Empowerment is a process that involves change over time, and sustained support may be necessary for that change to be realized. The notion of agency applies to the individual level (to males and females), but also to the collective level (for instance, voice in parliaments, business associations, and so forth). Similar to the way in which gender equality is operationalized, donors do not systematically encourage female agency throughout their programs and investments.

As noted, many donor institutions' policy documents recognize the multi-dimensionality of gender equality and women's empowerment, but it has been hard to operationalize these concepts systematically and comprehensively in development programming. In practice, gender is often seen to be synonymous with women or understood to be simply about the numbers of men and women who are participants in or beneficiaries of development assistance. A more sophisticated approach aimed at understanding the relational context or the ways in which gender norms are embedded in institutions, market forces, and cultural interactions is infrequently found in country programs and project documents. We will return to this issue in Section 4 below.

2.2 The state of gender equality in 2013

Substantial progress toward gender equality and women's empowerment has occurred over the past four decades, but key gaps persist between males and females in all countries, although the domains where such gaps persist may be quite different in different contexts. In the capability domain, enormous progress has been made across all developing regions in reducing gaps between girls and boys in primary school enrollment and completion, but advances in secondary enrollment and completion have been slower in regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab States. In other regions, such as Latin America and the Caribbean and Europe and Eurasia, girls have higher attendance at secondary schools than boys, leading to a reverse gender gap. Although the reproductive health of women and girls has improved in some respects over the past few decades, more than 127 million women in Sub-

Saharan Africa and South Central Asia in 2010 still had an unmet need for modern contraceptives (215 million across all developing countries). Maternal mortality remains especially high in Sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia. In some regions, females are more vulnerable than males to sexually transmitted infections, particularly HIV/AIDS; women and girls make up almost half the infected population ages 15–49 worldwide, and in Sub-Saharan Africa the rate is close to 60 percent.

Gaps between males and females are greater in the opportunity than in the capability domain. Women continue to lag behind men in political participation at national and local levels. At the end of 2012, the global average of women in parliament stood at 20.3 percent, with regional averages ranging from 13.8 percent for the Arab states to 42.0 percent in the Nordic countries (with Sweden at the top with 44.7 percent) (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2013). Women are more likely than men to be in low productivity activities, be unpaid family workers, work in informal employment, and transition more frequently between informal employment and being out of the labor force (World Bank 2011). Within paid employment, women and men tend to be clustered in ‘male’ and ‘female’ occupations and in no country do women earn the same as their male counterparts even with equivalent education and experience. The WDR 2012 reports that the gender wage gap varies from 20 percent in Mozambique and Pakistan to more than 80 percent in Côte d’Ivoire, Jordan, Latvia, and the Slovak Republic (World Bank 2011).³ In most countries, gender inequalities tend to be greater among the poor than the rich, especially for inequalities in education, health, and economic opportunities (Duflo 2011; World Bank 2011). And, in the security domain, violence against women and girls is a serious problem, with the latest data showing that that more than one-third of women worldwide have experienced either physical or sexual violence (WHO 2013).

There continue to be gaps in women’s rights and empowerment. Hallward-Driemeier et al. (2013) track the evolution of key constraints to women’s and girls’ equal rights to property and restrictions on their legal capacity over the past 50 years across 100 countries and find that over half of the constraints that were on the books in the 1960s were removed by 2010. Of the 75 countries with some initial inequalities, all but 18 countries had closed at least one legal gender gap. Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, which had a higher rate of constraints than any other region, have removed more than half of the constraints that had been on the books, East Asian countries have halved the number of constraints, but progress has been much slower in the Middle East and North Africa and South Asia.

Development assistance agencies recognize the importance of closing these gaps, but only a handful have actually made the closure of most if not all gender gaps central to their core objectives as reflected in their investments, aid modalities, and projects. We turn to this issue next.

2.3 The case for donor support for gender equality and women's empowerment

Donor support for gender equality and women's empowerment dates back to the 1970s, when economists like Ester Boserup (1970) called attention to the role of women as productive agents in developing economies, and feminist movements began to advocate for women's rights. In 1995, the United Nations organized a World Conference for International Women's Year in Mexico City and established the UN Decade for Women (1975-85) with a mandate to increase women's participation in development. Bilateral and multilateral development assistance agencies began to set aside special budget allocations for this purpose. As Razavi (1997) points out, donors were motivated early on by several criteria, including equality and rights-based concerns, need based on women's perceived poverty and efficiency arguments.

While most development assistance policies contain language recognizing women's rights, and the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women is one of the tools donors use when assessing government commitments, the efficiency arguments have over time come to dominate the operational discourse on gender equality.⁴ The efficiency argument emphasizes the adverse consequences to productivity when women are excluded and the economic gains that could accrue if women were empowered (Buvinić 1986). In early incarnations, the evidence base for the efficiency claims was thin, and traction within and across agencies was limited.⁵ Since the mid-1990s, a large body of literature has developed that bolsters the efficiency arguments.

As noted, in 2011 FAO released the first ever State of Food and Agriculture (SOFA) on *Women and Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development*. It marshals economic evidence to argue that one of the key reasons agriculture is underperforming in many developing economies is because women do not have equal access to the resources and opportunities (e.g., land ownership, inputs, new technology, and so forth) they need to be more productive. Closing this resource gap, the report argues, will increase agricultural output in developing countries between 2.5 and 4 percent and reduce the number of undernourished people in the world by 12-16 percent (FAO 2011).⁶

Also in 2011, the World Bank issued its first ever *World Development Report 2012* on Gender Equality and Development.⁷ Similar to the SOFA report, it builds on the Bank's recent policy framework that investing in women and girls is 'smart economics.' The business case is clear: increased women's labor force participation and earnings are associated with reduced poverty and faster growth; women will benefit from their economic empowerment, but so too will men, children and society as a whole. Women's lack of economic empowerment, on the other hand, not only imperils growth and poverty reduction, but has a host of other negative impacts, including less favorable education and health outcomes for children and a more rapid spread of HIV/AIDS.

The efficiency arguments have been criticized for subordinating women's rights to instrumentalist concerns (Razavi 1997; **Gideon and Porter 2014**). This critique has been well elaborated by others and won't be pursued here. What is equally relevant for this discussion is that efficiency claims are often overblown in light of the more nuanced empirical evidence that is available. For instance, various econometric studies investigate the relationship between two gender gaps - in education and employment - on the level and rate of economic growth.⁸ While the empirical findings for the effects of increases in women's education on economic growth are quite robust and confirmed for a variety of specifications, data, time periods and country groupings (Kabeer and Natali 2013), the empirical findings for the effects of increases in women's employment on economic growth are less robust and related to the measure of gender equality in employment that is used.

Klasen (1999) and Klasen and Lamanna (2009) investigate the effect of gender gaps in education and employment on economic growth over the period 1960–2000. They find that the combined costs' of education and employment gaps in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and South Asia amount respectively to 0.9–1.7 and 0.1–1.6 percentage point differences in growth compared to East Asia. The relationship works through several channels. For education, gender gaps reduce the average amount of human capital in a society and thus harm economic performance. Promoting female education also reduces fertility and child mortality and increases investments in children, which has been an important rationale for investing in population and family planning. Gender inequality in education lowers the quality of the future labor supply and long-run productivity growth.⁹

Similarly, employment gaps can artificially reduce the pool of talent from which employers draw, reducing the average ability of the workforce which leads to lower average productivity. Employment gaps can also reduce growth through demographic effects such as higher fertility, which reduce growth by influencing the female labor supply. Indeed, Klasen (1999) found that increases in female labor force participation and formal-sector employment were associated with higher growth in a cross-country context.¹⁰ But not all studies come to the same conclusion. Studies exploring other domains of gender inequality in employment – such as gender wage gaps – find the opposite. For instance, Seguino's research on semi-industrialized economies suggests that gender wage inequality was a key stimulus to investment and export sector growth, which in turn raised economic growth in those economies (Seguino 2000). Yet, this finding is rarely referenced in donor documents.

While focusing attention on women's economic potential, the broad efficiency claims need to be subjected to deeper analysis for them to be useful to donor programming. The pathways through which gender inequalities in education and employment affect economic growth need to be disentangled in any given context. As Kabeer and Natali (2013: 35) point out, the effect of increases in women's education on growth depends on the extent to which their education translates into employment opportunities and on the kind of employment opportunities available to them. 'If markets are weak or missing, if the only form of work that women can find is unproductive and poorly paid, or indeed

not paid at all, then women's education may not translate into the type of employment that counts for very much in the GNP'.

The empirical literature is more nuanced on the type of education that may matter most in particular contexts. In low income, primarily agrarian economies, remedying gender gaps in primary education ought to be the priority given the short term impacts of girls education on fertility and health-seeking behavior, but in low middle income economies where markets have developed and operate more efficiently, the focus ought to be on a more diversified range of educational options, including secondary and higher education, as well as vocational training and skills development (Kabeer and Natali 2013). This nuance is often missing in donor strategies that focus on girls' education.

The macro literature and micro evidence are less determinate about what type of employment interventions work for women and stimulate economic growth; this too depends on economic structure and a range of familial and social norms at work in different communities.

The efficiency arguments based on the sectoral literature provide better guidance for targeting investments in specific sectors such as agriculture and entrepreneurship (Goldstein and Udry 2004). These sector studies highlight the importance of gender gaps in access to productive inputs (such as land or credit) that lower household or sector-wide productivity. One of the earliest studies by Saito et al. (1994) found that if women farmers had the same access to fertilizers and other inputs as men, maize yields in Malawi and Ghana would increase by almost 16 percent. Similarly, in Kenya, these researchers found that women could increase crop yields by about 20 percent if they had equal access to the same resources as men. In Nepal, Allendorf (2007) found that children of women who own land are twice as likely to be adequately nourished as children in households where women work on family land they do not own, or children growing up in landless households. Mothers who own land are better able to provide more nutritious food to their children and ensure their health and wellbeing. More recently, Kumar and Quisumbing (2013) find that strengthening women's land rights is associated with adoption of soil conservation techniques in Ethiopia and lower probability of reporting that one experienced a food price shock. Given the results of these studies, it is surprising that more investment has not been channeled to women's land rights (see Section 4).

Less research has been done in manufacturing and services, but evidence from the World Bank suggests that eliminating discrimination against female workers and managers could increase productivity per worker by 25–40 percent, depending on the type and degree of exclusion from the labor force and the managerial pool. As will be seen below, this evidence has somewhat influenced investments to support women farmers and entrepreneurship but has not infiltrated larger macroeconomic policy discussions or made much dent in donor economic growth programs.

The instrumental case has also been made to invest in women's empowerment as a poverty reduction strategy. Poverty incidence tends to be lower in countries with greater gender equality. Moreover, a large literature establishes that income in the hands of women – either through their own earnings or through cash transfers - improves the chances of the next generation to attend school, have better nutrition and health, and have better survival outcomes, which is an important route out of poverty.¹¹ These arguments have been effective for targeting conditional cash transfers specifically to females (see Section 4 below).

Inadequate evidence has hampered development of the instrumental rationale for investing in women's political participation. But recent studies reinforce the findings of the economic literature on gender equality and growth that women's rights and women's political participation affect democracy and governance. Wyndow et al. (2013) investigates the relationship between female empowerment and democratic development from 1980 to 2005 for countries that began the period as nondemocratic, using as measures of female empowerment female educational attainment, fertility rates, and female labor force participation.¹² Improvements in female empowerment were found to be associated with democratic development over this period, with female education and female labor force participation having significant positive effects. The magnitude of the effect of female education increased with lags of 5 and 10 years, suggesting that democracy is more likely to occur in countries with a history of educating girls and possibly a longer experience of the social and economic conditions that have occurred because of this investment. Moreover, it appears that all three empowerment indicators were requisites for democracy to occur, with deficits in any area hindering democratic development. Increases in male education together with high levels of female empowerment were also important, but in countries where men are highly educated *and* where women's lives have also improved, political progress is greater.

Relatedly, Hallward-Driemeier et al. (2013) find that increased participation of women at a national level (25 percent and above) can have a significant positive effect on the removal of discriminatory laws, especially those that inhibit equal property rights for married women. The presence of women in national parliament also has a significant positive impact on all restrictions on agency and mobility for married women, with the exception of permission to pursue a profession or seek employment. Female political participation makes it more likely for a country to recognize adult married women as head of households, in the same way as an adult married man.

Finally, an instrumental case for reducing violence against women has developed that reinforces the rights based rationales for donor agencies to take action on this issue (along with strong pressure outside by women's organizations). Several studies provide that gender-based violence is a constraint to individual and societal development and has high human and economic costs. For instance, women who experience violence from their partners are less likely to earn a living and less able to care for their families. Children who witness violence are significantly more at risk for health

problems, anxiety disorder, poor school performance and violent behavior, which has intergenerational costs. The economic effects of violence against women include increased absenteeism; decreased labor market participation; reduced productivity; lower earnings, investment, and savings; and lower intergenerational productivity.¹³ In Chile domestic violence reduced women's earnings by \$1.56 billion in 1996, or more than 2 percent of GDP; in Nicaragua earnings were reduced by \$29.5 million, or 1.6 percent of GDP (Morrison and Biehl 1999). More recently, Duvvury et al. (2012) estimated that domestic violence towards women represents a significant cost for Vietnam – loss of productivity representing about 1.78 per cent of GDP.

While there is much more to be learned about the relationship between gender equality and broader development outcomes in different domains, the collective findings reviewed here have motivated donor investments, especially the priority accorded to girls' education and to micro-finance. Investment in other areas, such as violence against women and in fragile and conflict-affected states, has lagged until recently, but is now moving toward center stage. The question moving forward is whether this evidence, as it accumulates, will be strong enough to change donor practices to deliver more meaningful results than in past decades. And, can these efficiency claims be balanced with a rights-respecting approach to achieve more durable development outcomes?

3 Donor approaches

Early in the 1970s, the predominant approach followed by donors involved investing in projects targeted to women, especially in the sectors of education and health. More recently, donors have moved to a twin-track approach: supporting direct investments in activities for women, and ‘mainstreaming’ a gender perspective in all donor policies and programs.

3.1 Donor mainstreaming

At the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, governments endorsed the strategy of gender mainstreaming, embodied in the Platform for Action (Strategic Objective H.2) which called for various actions to more systematically ‘integrate gender perspectives in legislation, public policies, programs and projects.’¹⁴ Following the conference, nearly every multilateral and bilateral donor agency adopted gender mainstreaming, with mainstreaming defined as an orientation toward gender equality in all aspects of the organization: themes, sectors, activities, and business practices. In her recent review of the implementation of donor policies, Brouwers (2013) observes that while policies emphasize mainstreaming, most donors continue to follow a twin-track approach, a combination of mainstreaming with support to women and girls directly through stand-alone projects.

Experts agree that successful mainstreaming rests on five key elements:

- Political commitment by and mobilization of a large group of change agents at different levels within institutions. Both male and female leaders and champions are essential for success and to convince people that gender equality is not a zero sum game but in the broader interest of all society.
- Technical capacity to implement change. Expertise in gender analysis, rooted within a technical sector or field, is needed to lay out a course of action for planning and project implementation. Once a course of action has been determined in line with an agency’s broader operational goals, further expertise is often necessary to provide hands-on technical assistance on the ‘how to’ of mainstreaming in program/project execution and the design of monitoring and evaluation systems to document outcomes.
- Incentives, indicators, practices, and other mechanisms for mainstreaming that are firmly embedded in an organization’s regular business processes.
- Adequate financial resources. There is no agreed upon target level of resources for effective mainstreaming, and there are few analyses ex-post to help determine what is an adequate allocation. The most important principle is that resources are available to fund activities deemed vital for the success of mainstreaming in larger program budgets.

- Accountability and monitoring systems that have ‘bite,’ in other words provide the right balance of incentives and sanctions to encourage staff to implement policies on gender equality and take corrective action if they don’t.

A voluminous literature now exists on gender mainstreaming in donor agencies.¹⁵ Recent evaluations conclude that the practice of gender mainstreaming has been uneven and fraught with difficulties. Contrary to early optimism, mainstreaming has not succeeded in embedding a gender equality orientation in the institutional DNA of most development agencies and gender equality results have been fragmented and too rarely scaled up. This has led Ogden et al. (2008) to coin the term ‘gender as usual,’ referring to making commitments to address gender equality without follow-through to build staff capacity, allocate adequate financing, and monitor and evaluate results. Part of the reason has to do with ‘organizational plaque’ – the notion that institutions are ‘thickly encrusted with traditional (usually male dominated) values, relationships, and methods of work,’ which makes it difficult to deliver gender equality through gender mainstreaming (Sen and Östlin 2010). On a more technocratic note, the African Development Bank (2011) identifies the lack of an appropriate results orientation, and inadequate resources and incentive structures to encourage *consistent* implementation of gender equality policies; as a result, mainstreaming is process oriented and focuses on inputs and outputs rather than on outcomes.

Part of the problem lies with the multi-dimensional nature of gender equality, which does not neatly align with most program categories or sectors where donors typically work. That in turn requires specialists with both expertise in gender analysis and sector-specific or context/country-specific skills - which varies considerably across agencies. The multi-dimensionality of gender equality also makes it difficult to track systematically in the routines of resource allocation, so many agencies may not even be aware of whether their allocations are sufficient to match their policy commitments. We will return to these issues in Section 5.

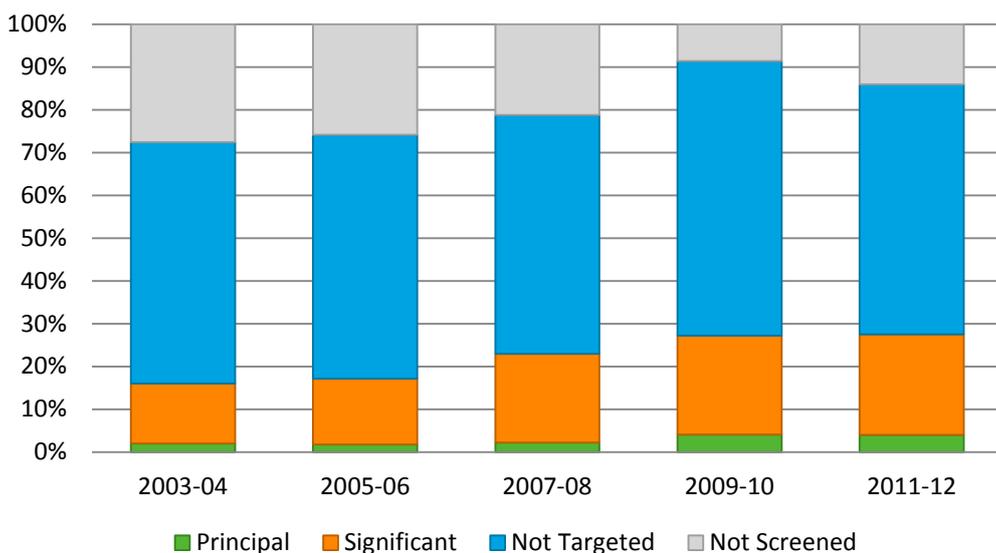
3.2 Trends in donor financing: attributions lag policy commitments

Since 1991, the OECD-DAC has been tracking member countries’ commitments to gender equality/female empowerment using a policy marker that screens commitments according to whether their principal objective is to promote gender equality/women’s empowerment or whether the promotion of these objective figures as a significant component within a larger program. This designation follows the two track strategy discussed above, with the principal objective category likely reflecting stand-alone projects targeting women and girls and the significant category reflecting gender mainstreaming, (e.g., interventions within a larger sector program such as education, health, rural development, urban development, water and sanitation, energy, among

others). For example, agriculture projects may include special components to recruit and train women extension workers or education programs include special subsidies for girls to attend school.

Data based on the policy marker do not allow exact quantification of aid allocated or spent on gender equality and women’s empowerment but give an indication of aid flows in support of gender equality and the extent to which donors support gender equality. All 24 DAC members now use the marker when they report their aid statistics. Given differences in how each donor collects and reports data, it is not always clear what the data reflect.¹⁶ In interpreting the data, the OECD-DAC (2012: 4) also cautions analysts to take into account the proportion of aid which is screened with the marker, since ‘a high percentage of gender equality focused aid alone does not mean that aid is well aligned with the gender equality policy objective; such a conclusion would only be valid for a donor with 100 percent coverage.’ In 2011, approximately 80 percent of commitments were screened for the marker (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1
Coverage on reporting on the gender equality marker, 2003-12 (excluding the US)

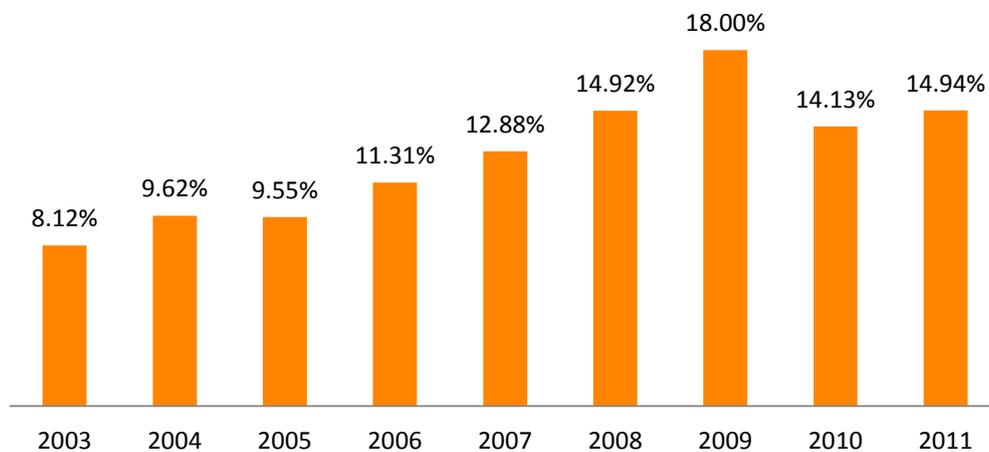


Source: OECD-DAC (2012)

Figure 2 shows that in 2011-2012 approximately 15 percent of screened aid can be attributed to the promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment, an increase from 8 percent in 2003 but lower than the 18 percent high in 2009. Donor attributions for gender equality and women’s empowerment in specific sectors will be described below. Given the multi-dimensionality of gender equality and women’s empowerment and imperfect coding systems in donor agencies, it is highly likely that these data underestimate the actual attributions of various donors (see Brouwers 2013). At the same time, Figure 2 shows that the financing attributed by donors to gender equality and women’s empowerment does not come close to matching their policy commitments.

While there is no agreed upon financing target for mainstreamed interventions, 15 percent is arguably inadequate for achieving results. In a review of available evidence, Grown et al. (2005) found that sufficient funds are rarely allocated for gender equality interventions and that most such interventions are financed off-budget, primarily from contributions from bilateral and multilateral donors, rather than from a country's domestic resources. There is also evidence that promising policy initiatives for gender equality and women's empowerment founder because insufficient resources are allocated to implement them at larger scale (Grown et al. 2008). The shift of emphasis from women-specific projects to gender mainstreaming is thought to have exacerbated this problem because mainstreaming has not been linked to flows of funding across all sectors in donor agencies and in government budgets (Grown et al. 2008).

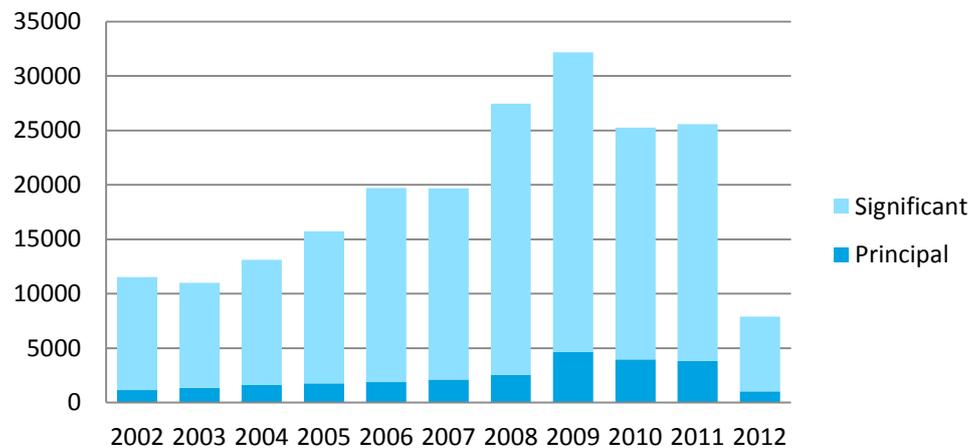
FIGURE 2
Gender focused aid as a share of total aid (constant 2011 US\$)



Source: Authors' calculations, OECD-DAC (2012)

The absolute amount committed to gender equality and female empowerment is shown in Figure 3. This figure highlights two important pieces of information. First it shows the amount of money that is likely going to stand-alone projects for women and girls (principal) and the amount of money going for gender mainstreaming (significant). It also shows that funding for stand-alone projects for women and girls is far below funding for activities in which gender objectives are mainstreamed. Again, there are no agreed upon targets for stand-alone or mainstreamed projects but if mainstreaming is the dominant strategy one would expect to see this pattern. This pattern also seems to track what Grown et al. (2008) found in a review of financing for interventions to achieve the MDGs.

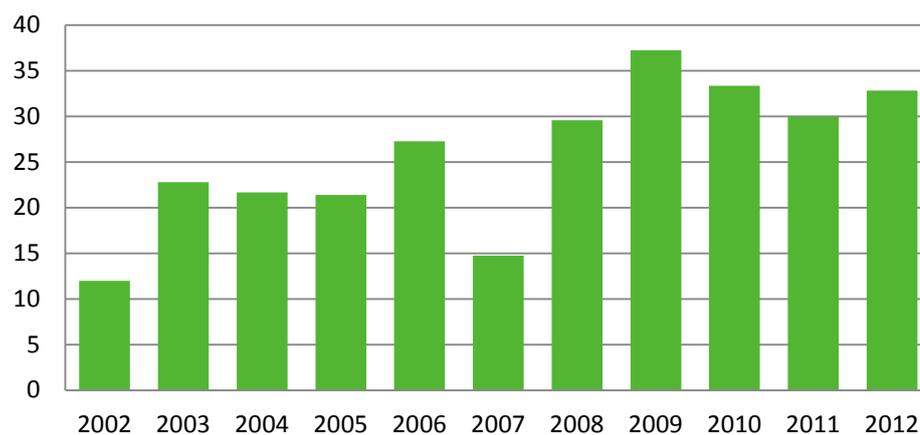
FIGURE 3
Overall donors commitment gender equality and women's empowerment
(millions in constant 2011 US\$)



Source: Authors' calculations, OECD-DAC (2012)

Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 chart donor attributions to gender equality and women's empowerment in key sectors – education, health, productive and economic activities and agriculture/rural development, and in conflict countries. Scanning these charts shows that the share of bilateral aid that targets gender equality and women's empowerment is higher in education than in other sectors: 30 percent or higher in recent years. In education, the largest share of aid targeting gender equality goes toward basic and secondary levels, and one third is committed through scholarships and student costs in donor rather than partner countries (OECD-DAC 2012).

FIGURE 4
Gender-focused education aid as a percent of total education aid (constant 2011 US\$)



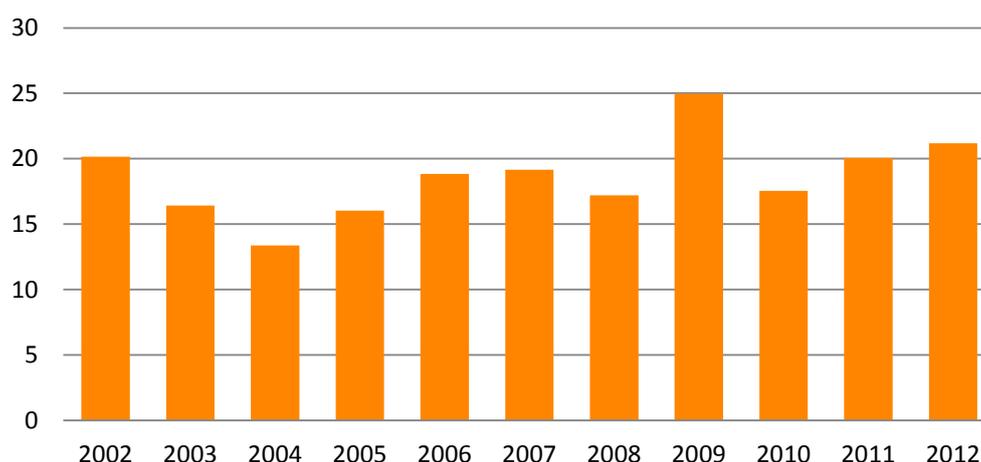
Source: Authors' calculations, OECD-DAC (2012)

In terms of aid modalities, one quarter of all gender equality focused aid to the education sector was allocated through project-type interventions, and nearly

one fifth through pooled donor programs and funds. Another fifth of the gender equality focused education aid comprised funding of ‘experts and other technical assistance,’ a category which includes training and research in recipient countries, collaborative research with universities and organisations, exchange visits and workshops. Only 4 percent of the gender equality focused aid in the education sector was committed through budget support (OECD-DAC 2013).

DAC member spending on gender equality in the health sector is shown in Figure 5. More than one third of assistance focused on gender equality is in ‘basic health’ – including primary health care programs, health infrastructure and health education. Support for family planning and reproductive health care make up a very small share of total gender equality focused aid in the health sector, although it has increased in recent years (Hsu et al. 2012).¹⁷ And, funding for maternal health continues to be insufficient. Sub-Saharan Africa received more than half (64%) of all aid targeting gender equality in the health sector.

FIGURE 5
Gender-focused health aid as a percent of total health aid (constant 2011 US\$)



Source: Authors’ calculations, OECD-DAC (2012)

As noted, aid for family planning is relatively small. This may reflect the ideological swings toward family planning assistance (FPA) in the US as a result of the Mexico City Policy (MCP) enacted by President Reagan in 1984. The MCP directs the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to withhold funds from international non-governmental organizations that provide abortion-related services.¹⁸ The US is the largest contributor of family planning assistance, and overall US support is greater than the contributions provided by all other 21 Development Assistance Committee countries. While the objective of the MCP is to restrict US aid to international NGOs that offer abortion-related services, **Asiedu et al. (2013)** explore whether the effect of the policy was broader and specifically, whether it had a causal influence on keeping family planning aid low, controlling for other important determinants of that aid, such as fertility rates, country size (measured by population), and

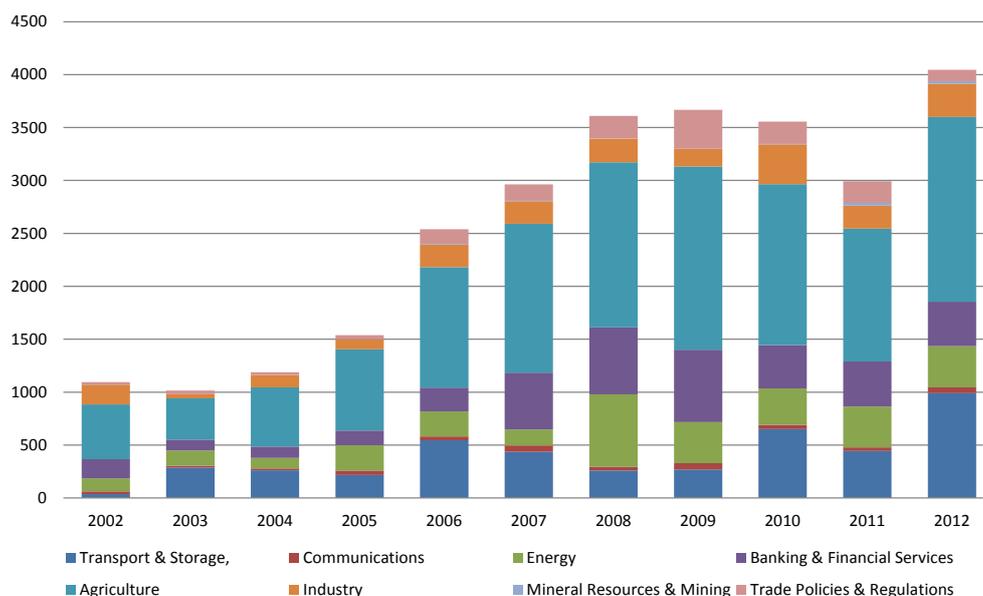
aid intensity. They find that, all else equal, MCP has had an adverse effect on family planning assistance, and that during the years the MCP is implemented, total FPA is reduced by about 3–6 per cent.

In recent years, maternal health has become more of a priority for several of the world’s largest donors, with both the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and USAID leading the bilateral effort, and the Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM) and the World Bank dominating multilateral funding (Greco et al. 2008). It is also a field where large private philanthropies – such as the Gates Foundation- are playing a growing role.

Taylor et al. (2013) note that donors deploy a range of aid modalities for maternal and reproductive health. Many European donors provide aid to strengthen the broad institutional, policy and financial framework, known as sector-wide or systems strengthening, which is widely recognized to improving maternal health outcomes (Freedman et al. 2005). Other global health initiatives, such as the GFATM and the US President’s Emergency Fund for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), have tended to target single health issues, e.g., malaria rather than broad primary healthcare and to prioritize project-style aid, which focuses on more narrowly defined and managed activities (Taylor et al. 2013).

The OECD-DAC tracks aid to ‘economic and productive’ activities, including transport and storage, communications, energy, banking and business, agriculture and rural development, industry, mining and construction, and trade. Figure 6 shows the relatively small share of gender equality focused aid in these sectors, which has not changed all that much (with the exception of agriculture) since 2002.

FIGURE 6
Gender-focused aid by economic and productive sector (millions in constant 2011 US\$)

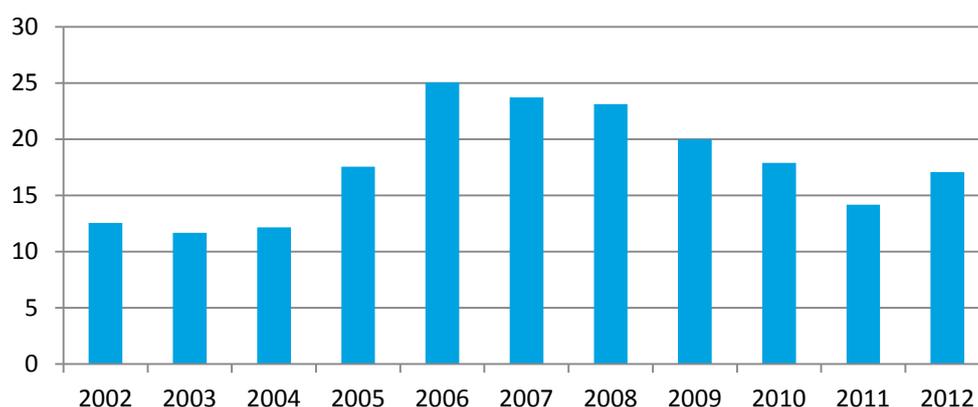


Source: Authors’ calculations, OECD-DAC (2012)

Gender equality focused aid in agriculture has consistently dominated the other productive sectors. Yet, as seen in Figure 7, the share of gender equality focused aid in agriculture stagnated from 2002-2004, reinforcing a trend identified by Ransom and Bain (2011), who found that between the late 1990s and 2003, assistance for women/gender in agriculture declined relative to all agricultural aid. As is apparent from Figure 7, the trend reversed after 2006, when the share of gender-focused funding again started dipping although it reverted upward in subsequent years.

A review by Farnworth (2010) of agricultural aid deployed through multiple modalities found that projects and sector-based approaches are mutually reinforcing strategies. While SWAPs offer strategic entry-points for policy dialogue activities on gender equality, projects seem to be the most effective instrument to kick-start innovative approaches for reaching and empowering women at the field level, which can then feed into the Government strategies and actions.

FIGURE 7
Gender-focused agriculture aid as percent of total agriculture aid (constant 2011 US\$)



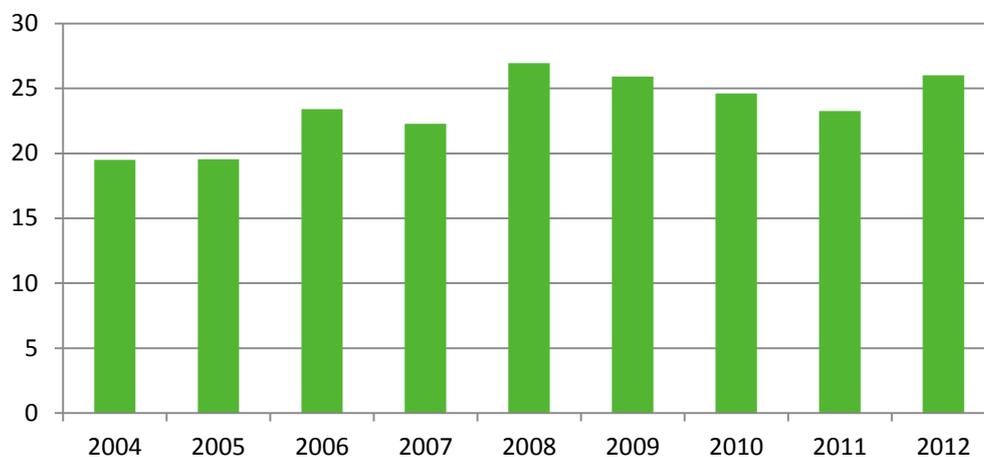
Source: Authors' calculations, OECD-DAC (2012)

Finally, Figure 8 shows the share of gender-equality focused aid in fragile states. On average, one-third of DAC members' aid to fragile states targets gender equality as a principal or significant objective. This is similar to the share for all developing countries combined (31 percent). The share of aid in the peace and security sector that targets gender equality in fragile states is particularly low (only 10 percent) for security system management and reform initiatives. More than half of donors' interventions in the education and health sectors in fragile states, and one-third of aid in the water sector, target gender equality. About 80 percent of aid to population policy and reproductive health in fragile states targets gender equality, compared to such aid to all developing countries where the shares are lower by more than ten percentage points. Similarly, 38 percent of aid allocated to the governance sector in fragile states addresses gender equality, although this is low in comparison to the average in all developing countries combined (44 percent), suggesting that international commitments on women, peace and security which call for increased

participation and representation of women at all levels of decision-making are not being implemented.

FIGURE 8

Gender focused governance aid as a percent of total governance aid (constant 2011 US\$)



Source: Authors' calculations, OECD-DAC (2012)

In summary, these figures show that the gender equality share of development assistance is low, representing less than 40 percent of sector aid in education and far less than that in other sectors. Moreover, aid to some key issues that are important to gender equality and women's empowerment is not tracked, for instance aid given to prevent and respond to gender-based violence or assistance to increase women's political participation at national and local levels. If tracked, the share of aid given to gender equality and women's empowerment may well increase. The time trends are a bit more encouraging: while some sectors show increases in the gender equality share of aid over time, especially between 2003 and 2008, they also show declines in 2009, likely as a result of the economic crisis. By 2012, aid for gender equality increased in most (but not all) sectors, and the question remains whether these increases will be sustained in future years.

The publication of donor data on commitments is an important part of aid effectiveness, representing what O'Neill calls 'transparency in action' and may be a stimulus to donors doing more. A recent review by O'Neill (2012) suggests that the marker has had some effect. Three recent OECD-DAC peer reviews of member countries scrutinized the data on the marker, (most recently in France). One peer review found that a member country which had played a political leadership role promoting women's economic empowerment actually committed less than the average of all DAC donors to gender equality focused aid in the economic sectors. Prior to joining the DAC, another donor screened all its aid against the gender equality marker. When it discovered how little focus its assistance had on gender equality, it made gender equality a priority area in the legislation for its aid program.

The data collected by the OECD-DAC on the gender equality marker has also been used by several researchers who participated in the ReCom programme to answer a number of questions relevant to aid effectiveness. For instance, **(Dreher et al. 2013)** use the data to assess whether donors give more aid to countries with larger gender gaps (‘need’) in education, health, employment, or women’s rights, or rather reward improvements in those indicators (‘merit’). Another paper by **Pickbourn and Ndikumana (2013)** use the donor data to assess the sectoral allocation of aid, and specifically whether aid in education and health reduces maternal mortality (yes) and the female/male gap in youth literacy (also yes).

It will be important to refine the gender equality marker data in coming years – improving coding, harmonizing reporting across countries, covering new areas such as the share of aid for interventions to prevent and respond to violence against women, and improving attributions by aid modality. At the same time, it is important to be cautionary about the marker - it is not a tool that can be used to determine the impact of funding on reducing gaps between males and females, or even whether increases in the share of aid going toward gender equality improves development outcomes – for instance, economic growth, food security, effective governance, and so forth.

3.3 New actors in development assistance for gender equality

Beyond traditional bilateral and multilateral agencies, the last few decades have witnessed the growth of private sector actors in development assistance along with a rise in partnerships between public sector agencies and the private sector (PPPs). Many of these corporate initiatives seek directly to increase women’s economic status; among others, the more high profile private sector initiatives include ‘10,000 Women’, started by Goldman-Sachs in 2008 and currently working in 43 countries, the Coca-Cola 5x20 Program, now in more than 12 countries, and the Wal-Mart Women’s Economic Empowerment Program. Corporations and foundation donors often have different motives and constraints in their funding of gender issues in developing countries. Corporations, for instance, may seek to expand their markets or advance their corporate social responsibility objectives (Moir and Taffler 2004; Pharoah 2011). Private foundations, such as Rockefeller, Ford or Gates, on the other hand, may be more interested in advancing social goals (Katz 2007; Lew and Wojcik 2009) and fund a wide range of activities for women’s empowerment and gender equality.

Private sector activity is especially prominent in the health sector. Private foundations – including the Gates and Rockefeller Foundations - spent approximately \$22.5 billion on health care in 2009, which disproportionately benefitted women’s and children’s health (Desai and Kharas 2010). A number of these actors have helped launch public private partnerships in the health sector, embodied in new funding modalities such as the Global Fund to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM) and the Global Alliance for

Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI), which have scaled up from less than 1 percent of ODA each in 2002 to 8.3 percent and 4.2 percent, respectively, in 2007 (**Osili 2013**) The Gates Foundation is perhaps the central corporate player in the global health field, with a budget equal to that of the WHO in 2007” (McCoy et al. 2009).

Beyond the growth of private sector actors, public sector agencies are increasingly turning to the use of ‘Challenge Funds,’ a new aid modality to bring together businesses and donors to achieve development results. Challenge Funds direct public aid monies to business, most commonly by outsourcing fund administration and management. No estimates exist on the proportion of development assistance that is being channeled to this aid modality. **Gulrajani (2013)** provides an interesting reflection on how gender equality issues are being incorporated into two donor funds, the Business Innovation Facility supported by DFID and the Innovations Against Poverty facility supported by Sida. Although her assessment is exploratory, she concludes that ‘both CFs pay some attention to gender issues, albeit not to any significant degree, featuring more in project selection than in implementation and results’ (Gulrajani 2013: 17). She suggests a number of potential modifications to make these modalities more effective, including paying greater attention to the manner in which their gender policies are embedded within their markets for poverty reduction strategies.

Few private sector interventions have been subject to rigorous third-party evaluation, but those that exist will be examined in conjunction with the review of evidence of what works in donor assistance to promote gender equality and female empowerment in specific sectors. We turn to that next.

4 Key areas and means of intervention

Foreign aid could help reduce gender gaps or improve outcomes for women if such aid is channeled to the social and physical infrastructure that enables both males and females to develop their capabilities, access decent work, and support care; alternatively, aid could potentially impede the achievement of gender equality if the resources provided by these interventions exacerbate existing inequalities between men and women. This section reviews the literature examining aid effectiveness and gender equality, profiling first the macro-level quantitative evidence. This is followed by an analysis of micro-level quantitative and qualitative evidence derived largely from the project evaluation literature.

The cross-country studies commissioned by the ReCom programme reinforce the findings of a small earlier literature that aid generally has a positive (but modest) impact on gender equality. There are several qualifications to this conclusion. Much of the literature is partial, focusing disproportionately on gender gaps in education and less on gender equality generally or on other dimensions of gender equality such as economic outcomes (whether women's employment or earnings has increased relative to men's) or political outcomes (have participation gaps closed between males and females in national or local elected bodies). This is partly a result of the lack of consistent sex-disaggregated time-series data but also a reflection of donor's disproportionate investments in girls' education (relative to other dimensions of inequality). Second, the results should be interpreted in light of the criticisms leveled at cross-country regression methodologies, including issues of measurement error, omitted variables and endogeneity, among others, so should be taken as suggestive and complementary to other evidence.

The literature can be grouped into two main questions: first, whether aid has reduced gender inequality generally and in specific sectors; and second, whether aid for gender equality, generally or in specific sectors, is need-based or performance-based. In other words, do the level and type of gender equality influence the allocation of aid (need) or do donors reward countries that close gender gaps overall or in particular sectors (performance)?

Pickbourn and Ndikumana (2013) answer the first question. They explore whether an increase in the volume of total foreign aid helps improve human development outcomes at the country level and whether the sectoral composition of aid affects various measures of gender equality. The authors use total aid and aid by sector for a sample of 141 recipient countries over the period 1973 to 2010. The outcomes of interest include the UN Human Development Index (HDI), the UNDP health index, the UNDP education index, the UN Gender Inequality Index, the maternal mortality ratio, and the gender gap in youth literacy. For all of these outcomes, the impact of total aid on human development depends on the initial level of human development as well as initial per capita GDP. In other words, aid for countries that start out with higher levels of human development and per capita income outperforms aid in those countries with lower initial levels of human development and per

capita income. With respect to the variables for gender equality, the authors find that public expenditures on health and education are important in lowering maternal mortality and the gender gap in youth literacy. Initial conditions still matter: countries with high initial human development and GDP per capita have lower gender inequality relative to other countries. The authors also find that gender inequality persists over time which suggests that countries may be caught in a ‘gender inequality trap’.

Baliamoune-Lutz (2013) asks whether ODA to women’s equality organizations and institutions (ODA_WEO) is effective in promoting women’s political empowerment. She finds that the independent effect of ODA_WEO is between 0.015 and 0.02, suggesting that a US\$200 increase in ODA (per 1,000 people; or US\$0.20 per capita, per year) to women’s equality organizations and institutions increases the proportion of seats held by women by about 3 points. This is important to the extent that when women have significant political participation—a critical mass in national parliaments—there is a stronger push for gender equality. In this case, foreign aid to women’s equality organizations and institutions can play a crucial role in enhancing women’s role in shaping policies and laws in their countries. Indeed, the question of ‘critical mass’ is key since only with much higher levels of parliamentary participation than currently exist in most MENA countries will women be able to affect major policies and laws.

Shukrala and Allan (2011) offer a contrary example. They examine whether women’s involvement in politics helps curtail corruption. If one major reason for foreign aid’s ineffectiveness is corruption, then foreign aid may be more effective in those countries with larger participation of women in politics. However, neither aid nor the percentage of women in parliament affects perceived corruption in a significant way. Moreover, the impact of aid on corruption does not seem to be affected by the share of women in Parliament.

At the sectoral level, **Maiga (2014)** finds that total education aid has a positive and strongly significant effect on gender parity in enrollment at all levels of education combined in low and middle income countries, but not necessarily for specific levels of education. For instance, foreign aid is not associated with gender parity in enrollment in primary education, which could be partly explained by the fact that most countries have reached or are near perfect parity in enrolment at the primary level. At the secondary level, an increase of aid to education negatively impacts gender parity in secondary school enrollment rates, suggesting that the more aggregate education aid a country receives, the lower its secondary school gender parity index. **Maiga (2014)** attributes this negative effect to the heterogeneity of aid recipients. Indeed, the higher the income of an aid-receiving country the higher the impact of education aid on gender parity at the secondary education level. Similar results are observed for aid to tertiary education.

Regarding the second question on whether aid for gender equality is need-based or performance based, Dreher et al. (2013) investigate whether overall aid commitments and aid to specific sectors by OECD-DAC donors are higher to countries where gender inequality is particularly severe and whether and

how donors respond to changes in gender gaps over the period 1982 to 2011. The indicators measure outcomes of women relative to men as well as levels of absolute outcomes for women in five domains: women's rights, life expectancy, education, employment and political participation. In addition to total aid, they explore sectoral aid to health and reproductive health, education, population policies, and civil societies. The results suggest that gender gaps in education and health affect the allocation of aid overall and in the relevant sectors.¹⁹ Higher female political representation and a better protection of women's rights are correlated with higher aid flows overall and in some sectors, while gender gaps in employment do not seem to affect the allocation of aid. If a recipient country provides good legal conditions for women, but large inequality persists, donors are more likely to increase aid. However, the quantitative effects of the statistically significant variables are rather modest, and differ by donor groups and characteristics. France, Germany, and the UK, and donors with female development ministers and/or higher female representation in parliament, provide more aid than other donors in response to gender gaps in education and employment and to improvements in women's rights and political representation.

Another study by Breuning (2006) estimates whether four large donors (Britain, France, Japan, the US) take differences in gender equality into account when allocating aid to African countries. She finds that aid recipients with a higher male-female literacy gap have received a larger share of the overall aid these donors have given to Africa from 1993-2003. A related more recent study by **Kleemann et al. (2014)** assesses the hypothesis that gender inequality in education in recipient countries (represented by indicators for gender gaps in education) was more likely to shape the allocation behavior of donor countries which are more gender aware, proxied by female leadership of the ministry that carries the principal responsibility for the allocation of aid, from 1995-2011. Women were on average politically responsible for the allocation of aid in roughly a third of the 17 years under consideration. The authors find no evidence for a needs-based allocation of aid. Rather, recipient countries where gender-neutral and gender-specific indicators reveal greater need are typically *less* likely to be selected, and selected countries receive *less* aid for education, controlling for economic conditions, suggesting that donors have moved away from need-based aid to performance-based aid. On the other hand, the study finds that female leaders of the relevant ministries behaved as their male counterparts in selecting recipients of aid for education, but were more generous than male leaders in the subsequent step of deciding on the amount of aid for education granted to eligible countries.

The macro findings generally lend support to the view that overall and sectoral aid can be effective in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. However, the results are more inconclusive about whether donor aid is need or performance-based. The number of studies examining these questions is small, and further research is warranted. Nor does this literature answer specific questions about what works and why. For that we turn to the micro literature.

4.1 Micro level evidence: what works, what is scalable and what does not work

Over the years, many attempts have been made to identify what approaches work best for gender equality and women's empowerment. This is no small challenge, given data limitations and lack of impact evaluation that ask similar questions across contexts. Nonetheless, much has been learned about various approaches, some of which are 'proven' and far more than others that are 'promising.' There is also ample evidence about what does not work, some of which is discussed below.²⁰

It is important to preface the discussion below with four observations. First, the existence of development/program 'silos' lead to huge missed opportunities for concerted action across the domains of capability, opportunity and security for gender equality and women's empowerment. While on paper, donor agency programs commonly refer to increasing women's economic status as a pathway to improving reproductive health outcomes, most health programs in practice focus on the biomedical aspects of reproductive health within the context of health strengthening. Evaluations rarely discuss the extent of linkages and coordination between those programs and donor assistance on the economic side. Interventions that combine economic and reproductive health are fewer and difficult to implement, so coordinating across sectors becomes all the more important.

Second, so sensible that it is almost trite to state it here, there are no silver bullets or easy panaceas for the pervasive and persistent problems of gender inequality within and across countries. As Sen and Östlin (2010) have noted, the devil is often in the details of governance structures and organizational processes, in social norms and in market dynamics. That is why diagnosis is so important in upfront programming and planning. Diagnosis involves not just information gathering and analysis of data, but also consultation with local actors to tailor approaches to specific context. Many good ideas go awry, or remain unimplemented or unknown as a result of inadequate analysis, which again represents many missed opportunities.

Third, achieving gender equality and women's empowerment involves a collective effort of men and boys, women and girls. While there may be need to target females or males specifically in the context of a specific program, or need for separate spaces for males and females, overall strategies for gender equality must engage men and boys. Sexual violence will not disappear until male allies, perpetrators, and victims are partners in solving the problem. Women's experience, perspectives and priorities will not be respected and heard unless and until their male counterparts in societies and communities value and seek their views. Projects to promote women's economic well-being through employment and small business development will have the greatest durable, positive results when structured so that men see the benefits to themselves and their household's well-being. Education programs will best engage meaningfully new students when cognizant that young boys have fallen

behind in some places, but women must be involved in helping to address male dropouts (Koppell and Grown 2012). This is inclusive development.

Finally, all the approaches (interventions) described below represent in the words of Kabeer:

‘a range of possibilities, rather than a predetermined set of outcomes. Which of these possibilities are realized in practice will be influenced by a host of factors, including the philosophy that governs their delivery, the extent to which they are tailored to the needs and interests of those they are intended to reach, the nature of the relationships which govern their delivery and – that most elusive of all developmental inputs – the caliber and commitment of the people who are responsible for delivery.’ (Kabeer 2005: 4709)

Ideally development assistance agencies would organize their programming using the gender equality framework discussed above – promoting capabilities, expanding opportunities, and ensuring security. However, more often than not, assistance is provided through specific sectors or delineated programs. The following sub-sections are therefore organized in that way, starting with interventions in education, and followed by interventions in health, gender-based violence reduction, the economy (through microenterprise development and employment generation), politics and governance at the local and national levels, and peace and security. These sectors do map broadly into capabilities (education and health), opportunities (economic and political voice), and security (reduction of gender-based violence) but sector silos, as noted above, prevent a more holistic approach.

Because interventions in each sector likely have knock-on effects in other sectors, the evaluation evidence discussed below often understates overall impacts. For instance, it is common to read in the health literature that interventions to increase women’s assets or income can potentially also reduce women’s risk of contracting HIV/AIDS because economic resources increase their power to negotiate safer sex. Similarly, female secondary education is a powerful determinant of both lower fertility and mortality. The literature does not always reflect outcomes in other sectors.

4.1.1 Education

Donor supported interventions in the education sector are demand and supply driven. Actions on the demand-side are primarily designed to increase enrollment and retention in school while actions on the supply-side are designed primarily to enhance learning outcomes. Demand-side strategies include the provision of scholarships and stipends, transportation and boarding, community engagement in girls’ education, safety policies and training, codes of conduct, toilets and provision of sanitary supplies; supply side interventions encompass creation of non-formal educational programs, recruitment/training of female teachers, para-teachers, and other educators, gender training for teachers, mentoring, tutoring, and peer support, life

skills/literacy training and livelihoods/vocational training. Both demand and supply side strategies can have spillover effects: supply-side strategies can affect enrollment and retention, and demand-side strategies can improve learning outcomes. Box 1, adapted from Lloyd and Young (2009), describes the effectiveness of demand and supply side interventions.

Box 1: Evidence on the effectiveness of alternative approaches to addressing the educational needs of adolescent girls

Demand-side strategies to support adolescent girls in school:

Scholarships and stipends – PROVEN SUCCESSFUL

Transportation and boarding – PROMISING BUT UNPROVEN

Advocacy or community engagement in girls' education – PROMISING BUT UNPROVEN

Toilets and provision of sanitary supplies – UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED

Supply-side strategies to enhance educational access, the learning environment, and curricular relevance for adolescent girls:

The creation of non-formal educational programs, either complementary or alternative – PROMISING BUT UNPROVEN

Recruitment/training of female teachers, para-teachers, and other educators – PROVEN SUCCESSFUL

Gender training for teachers – PROMISING BUT UNPROVEN

Mentoring, tutoring, and peer support – PROMISING BUT UNPROVEN

Life skills/literacy training – PROMISING BUT UNPROVEN

Livelihoods/vocational training – PROMISING BUT UNPROVEN

Source: Lloyd and Young (2009)

The studies converge in their findings that scholarships and stipends, and recruitment and training of female teachers have led to increased enrollment and retention of adolescent females in secondary school. Most other interventions appear promising but unproven.²¹

Making schools affordable. There are two ways to make school affordable for poor families: by eliminating user fees and other school fees to reduce direct costs and by providing incentives to families to send their girls to school, for instance, through conditional cash transfers (CCTs), scholarships, take-home rations programs, or other means. Numerous evaluations find that CCTs have been effective for enrolling and keeping girls, especially those from poor households, in primary and secondary school in Latin America, including Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Nicaragua, with the effects being greater in many countries at the secondary level. Similar results are emerging in Africa, where cash transfer programs have also been found to be effective in giving out-of-school girls incentives to resume their studies. In Malawi, for instance, the effects of a small cash transfer on reenrollment were large, with the reenrollment rate for girls who had dropped out before the program increasing two and a half times (Baird et al. 2009).

Scholarship programs have also been effective in boosting adolescent girls' enrollment and retention rates but some have not fared well by other measures. The largest and best-known girls' secondary school scholarship scheme began in 1991 in Bangladesh. It boosted enrollment rates and delayed the marriage of girls from the poorest families in low-literacy areas (Shamsuddin 2013), but the impact on completion rates was disappointing. Further, questions have been raised as to whether targeting mechanisms were effective, since many of the benefits of the program actually accrued to girls from better-off families (Khandker et al. 2003). Other large-scale girls-only scholarship schemes were launched in Cambodia with Japanese funding and in Punjab, Pakistan, with World Bank funding in 2004. Ex-post evaluations found that, in Cambodia, enrollment and attendance rates were approximately 30 percent higher than they would have been in the absence of the program (Filmer and Schady 2008), and in Pakistan, female enrollment increased by 9 percent over two years in stipend-eligible middle schools (grades 6–8) (Chaudhury and Parajuli 2006).

Training Female Teachers. One consistent finding across the evaluation literature is the positive effects of the presence of female teachers and/or other female staff on girls' enrollment and learning. In Bangladesh, having female teachers in local schools was found to increase girls' enrollment (Khandker 1996 cited in Glick 2008) increase the percent of correct answers in secondary-level mathematics (Asadullah et al. 2006), and be associated with more positive attitudes towards working women and higher education for girls (Asadullah and Chaudhury 2009). Similar results were found in Mozambique, but only if the female teachers were trained (Handa 2002). A recent multi-level analysis of primary school enrollment in 30 developing countries linking household- and district-level data found that girls' enrollment, but not boys', was positively associated with the percent of female teachers in the district (Huisman and Smits 2009). Even more importantly, in a five-country African study, fifth-grade girls' knowledge gains were larger when taught by a female teacher, whereas boys benefited more from a male teacher (Michaelowa 2001).

Location Interventions: Building Schools Close to Girls' Homes. There are fewer impact evaluations of interventions that build schools closer to girls' homes. One exception is a random-control evaluation of the Burkinabé Response to Improve Girls' Chances to Succeed (BRIGHT) program in Burkina Faso, supported by the US and other donors that located relatively well-resourced schools close to 132 villages (Kazianga et al. 2013). The schools included many amenities that are not common in public schools in Burkina Faso, such as multiple classrooms, housing for teachers, separate latrines for boys and girls, and a borehole equipped with a manual pump that served as a source of clean water. Girls were also eligible for take-home rations conditional on 90 percent attendance each month. The schools were successful at targeting the enrollment of girls, increasing it by 5 percentage points more than boys, confirmed in qualitative research with parents who affirmed that having a school nearby was one of the main motivations for sending their girls to school. Beyond the location effects, the additional 'girl-friendly' amenities

increased enrollment by 13 percentage points above the 27 percentage point effect of a regular school that did not provide them.

Of the other location interventions reviewed by Krishnaratne et al. (2013), all new school projects had a greater impact on girls than on boys, including when there was no explicit gender focus. For example, the increase in enrollment in Burkina Faso was 23 percent for girls compared to 18 percent for boys. Girls may respond more positively to new schools since their initial enrollment is lower, giving more room for improvement. But it is also possible that girls are more sensitive to distance. In Afghanistan, boys and girls are equally likely to attend a school that is nearby. But once children have to travel more than 1.5 km, girls are ten percent less likely to go to school than boys.

Box 2: Botswana's Diphilana initiative

This initiative shows how an integrated approach across social sectors – health, education and social welfare – can address the needs of pregnant schoolgirls. Unlike many other areas where pregnancy for a schoolgirl can lead to her dropping out because it is too difficult for her to combine multiple roles and because of legal restrictions, this initiative explicitly has worked to tackle such barriers. ‘Pregnant schoolgirls at Pekenene School are allowed to return to school after giving birth, for as long as they wish...During maternity leave, schoolwork and other resources are sent to girls’ homes, and the school has developed a curriculum with some distance education modules that can be followed at this time. When girls are certified fit to return to school by a doctor, they return with their babies. The school has crèche facilities, which can take babies as young as four months, and nappies and milk are provided. At break and lunchtimes the young mothers breastfeed their children. The Diphilana project requires that the father, if he is at school, share the responsibility of looking after the baby at break and lunch times.’ (UN Millennium Project 2005). There are now a number of well-working initiatives, such as the above, that improve girls’ enrolment and retention rates.

In contrast to the interventions discussed above, another popular approach - the provision of toilets and sanitary supplies - while benefitting adolescent girls, did not have any effect on enrollment or materially alter other school-related outcomes (Oster and Thornton 2009).

4.1.2 Health

This section focuses on what works to improve women’s maternal and reproductive health, both within and outside the health sector. The domains of maternal and reproductive health were chosen because they are where donor funding has largely concentrated. Nonetheless, analysts agree on the need to strengthen health systems with capacity to address the broader range of health issues that affect women in line with the local disease burden and trends and in ways that redress the fragmentation of care that has built up around priority programs such as family planning and HIV/AIDS. The WHO (2009), for instance, notes that the growing threat of non-communicable diseases and

mental health problems in women (and sometimes men) is neglected in many settings.

The emergence of PPPs in the health sector may be contributing to this trend. Gideon and Porter (2014) argue that women's health needs have been narrowed to small set of goals and targets which can curtail potential gains in health more broadly and which can sometimes trounce government human rights commitments. While advocates welcome the increased funding brought by the Gates Family Planning Initiative, they also express concerns that the initiative may 'distort the delivery of services...[to] restrict women's choice...it gives more strength to people who want to promote certain kinds of contraceptives over others, often the more long-term forms over which women have less control' (cited in Shiffman and Quissell 2012: 9).

Nonetheless, the large micro-level literature generally suggests that aid in the health sector has contributed to reductions in maternal mortality, improvements in women's access to contraceptives, and reductions in new HIV/AIDS infections in several countries. There is also emerging literature evaluating the impact of different aid modalities in delivering health interventions. A recent systematic review finds that aid interventions, whether delivered using the Paris Principles or not, are generally associated with some positive outcomes (Taylor et al. 2013). More specifically, aid delivered under the Paris aid effectiveness principles for training birth attendants, transport for hemorrhaging women, and other improvements in maternal/reproductive health services was positively associated with lower maternal mortality ratios, a higher proportion of births attended by skilled personnel, higher rates of contraceptive use and family planning, and higher uptake for ante-natal care.²² The findings of impacts on reproductive and maternal health provided through general aid were also positive but somewhat more varied, so drawing conclusive results about the extent to which aid modality matters is difficult.

Strengthening health systems to reduce maternal mortality and improve reproductive health:

Reducing maternal mortality: According to Sen and Östlin (2010), providing basic maternal health care and reducing maternal deaths and morbidity is neither costly nor very complex. The literature has converged on an essential packet of interventions: high quality delivery care comprised of a skilled attendant at delivery, access to emergency obstetric care, and a functional referral system, with the latter being the core of the package. These three interventions are all aimed at reducing delays in reaching a facility and improving the provision of care after reaching a facility. Indeed, a recent systematic review of interventions to reduce maternal mortality concludes that referral systems are the key element among a package of interventions to improve decision-making, adequacy of care and improvement of treatment modalities (Hussein et al. 2011).

A number of examples can be cited from countries that used integrated health systems approaches based on these three elements to bring down maternal mortality rates in a relatively short period of time. In 1996-98, with sustained pressure and input from civil society, and support from various donors,

Bangladesh redesigned its national population policy to become a reproductive health policy and gave significant attention to building essential obstetric care capacity. Maternal mortality began to fall in the next five years (Jahan 2003; Jahan and Germain 2004; Jahan in press). Similar rapid declines took place in Malaysia and Sri Lanka (UNFPA 2005). The WDR 2012 (p. 25) notes that health programs in both countries

‘exploited synergistic interactions of health care with basic education, water and sanitation, malaria control, and integrated rural development—including building rural roads, which helped deal with obstetric emergencies. Financial, geographic, and cultural barriers to maternal care were addressed by ensuring a front line of competent, professional midwives widely available in rural areas, providing them with a steady supply of drugs and equipment, linking them to back-up services, and improving communication and transportation. Simultaneously, facilities were strengthened to provide obstetric care and deal with complications. Better organizational management improved the supervision and accountability of providers. Area specific mortality data were provided through monitoring systems so that empowered communities could hold political leaders accountable, and national and subnational actors were forced to recognize the unacceptability of *every* maternal death. Finally, both countries were strongly committed to improving the status of women: women gained voting rights before or soon after national independence, and female education received special attention.’

Improving reproductive health: Access to quality family planning services that provide women and men with a range of contraceptive options and informed choices helps reduce high-risk pregnancies associated with multiple pregnancies and helps women avoid unwanted and unsafe abortions (Lule et al. 2007). Donor support for family planning, which began in the 1960s, have had a controversial history (beyond the issues associated with the Mexico City policy noted earlier), and much has been learned about the importance of providing high quality, voluntary services to both women and men. The overarching strategy for family planning services is to offer clients easy access to a wide range of affordable contraceptive methods through multiple service delivery channels in a good-quality, reliable fashion that also respects the rights of the individual clients (Bongaarts et al. 2012). Family planning programs now commonly include education, counseling, and contraception for sexually active young people, family planning for women and men with disabilities, treatment for infertility, safe abortion where it is legal and post-abortion care wherever abortion is conducted, services to meet the reproductive health needs of perimenopausal women and those requiring hysterectomies, and advocacy related to eliminating practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM) and gender-based and sexual violence. Most family planning programs in developing countries target women, but men are increasingly included as clients, partners, and opinion leaders. New services have been the slowest to emerge in the area

of sexuality and sex education, reflecting political and ideological concerns about public discussion of sex and family planning.

Family planning services are best understood as an integral part of health systems, but they have not yet been sustainably integrated and scaled up in many countries. Implementation research is necessary to guide expansion of proven integration models so that service integration becomes the norm and is sustainable, including identifying and communicating lessons learned from existing experiences of expanding effective and sustainable models of integration, building country capacity to generate and use research evidence by increasing investment in southern research institutes and training for southern-based researchers, and strengthening and computerizing national health management information systems, which are weak at monitoring family planning services and do not generally track client characteristics, quality of care, or services provided through the private sector (see Box 3 for an example in Rwanda) (Bongaarts et al. 2012).

Box 3: Fertility decline in Rwanda

Rwanda's fertility was above 6 births per woman until 2005 (DHS), when the government, with help from international donors, renewed its commitment to family planning and increased access to contraceptive methods throughout the country. In addition, the president and other government officials spoke out about the need to reduce fertility; a country-wide information, education, and communications program followed. Evaluations show that the use of modern methods of contraception rose from 10 percent in 2005 to 45 percent in 2011 and fertility dropped to 4.6 births per woman (National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda 2012). Rapid change with a renewed investment in family planning programs has also occurred in Ethiopia and Malawi (Bongaarts et al. 2012).

Norms and Behavioral Change. Ending maternal mortality and morbidity, and girls' and women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, as well as improving reproductive health and rights require significant and sustained interventions to change norms and behavior surrounding rape, sexual coercion, violence against women, child marriage, and female genital mutilation, among other issues. Box 4 profiles two widely recognized interventions to change norms in order to reduce the risk of HIV/AIDS and violence against women.

Box 4: The Stepping Stones and Tostan programs

Stepping Stones, originally designed to address the HIV epidemic in Uganda in the mid-1990s, is now among the most widely emulated HIV/AIDS prevention interventions around the world, having been used in over 40 countries, adapted for at least 17 settings, and translated into at least 13 languages (Wallace 2006). Stepping Stones uses participatory learning approaches to build knowledge of sexual health, awareness of risks and the consequences of risk taking and communication skills, and provide opportunities for facilitated self-reflection on sexual behavior in order to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and reduce violence against women (Jewkes et al. 2007).

Stepping Stones have been subject to rigorous evaluation in South Africa and elsewhere; documented successes include reducing sexually transmitted infections in women, changing men's sexual risk taking behavior, and reducing men's use of violence against women (Jewkes et al. 2007).

Tostan's goal is to help communities, especially women, improve living and health conditions, and to mobilize villages to hold public declarations supporting the abandonment of harmful practices, particularly female genital cutting (FGC) and child marriage. Tostan seeks to empower people to make informed decisions for the benefit of their personal and community development. The educational program includes modules on human rights, problem solving, environmental hygiene, and women's health. Through participatory educational methods for communication of technical information, discussion of human rights issues, and development of strategies for social transformation, the NGO hopes to improve the confidence and self-determination of women. The model, which started in Senegal, is being adopted in Guinea, Burkina Faso, Mali and Somalia.

One subset of interventions to change norms and behavior involves working with boys and men. Boys and men who oppose inequitable gender norms can be found in every society (Barker 2006). These male champions are critical allies in improving gender equality and women's empowerment. Reviewing the literature on 57 interventions with men and boys in the areas of sexual and reproductive health, gender-based violence, maternal and child health, and HIV/AIDS prevention, Barker and his colleagues found that programs that tackled inequitable gender norms – with an array of messages in staff training, educational sessions and campaigns with men and boys – were more likely than programs without these components to show an impact in changing attitudes and behavior (Barker et al. 2007).

More general interventions engaging men and boys have been less rigorously evaluated but several are promising. Examples of success include the approach developed in Senegal by the NGO Tostan (described in Box 4) that is now a regional model endorsed by UNICEF to reduce female genital cutting. Its success involves working with public declaration of intent to abandon the practice and slow but steady human rights education which encourages villagers to make up their own minds about the practice. Effective programs typically have the following features:

- including men in interventions which attempt to change attitudes;
- careful selection of the 'right' group leaders/facilitators for projects, and agreement on criteria for selecting participants;
- reproductive health and rights education classes that lift the taboo on discussing health problems associated with FGM;
- collaboration with the community to design an alternative rite of passage;
- and ensuring that FGM education includes broader discussions of rights, health and development.

Interventions outside the health sector: The demand for health services that meet women's needs often comes from organizations working with women or with women's groups at the community level, and one effective strategy for donors is support to women's and community organizations. In Nepal a community-based participatory intervention involving women's groups to identify local birthing problems and formulate strategies to address them was effective in reducing maternal and neonatal mortality in a rural population (Sen and Östlin 2010). Community participation has also been successful in organizing transport to health facilities for delivery. In the examples of Malaysia and Sri Lanka cited earlier, skilled attendants working with community organizations served as the basis for expanding services in rural areas (Levine 2007; Sen and Östlin 2010). Similarly, research conducted in Bangladesh, India, Malawi, and Nepal found that women's groups that employed participatory strategies which acknowledged how many health problems are rooted in powerlessness and then worked towards social and political empowerment achieved positive results in terms of reducing maternal mortality results (Prost et al. 2013, cited in Gideon and Porter 2014).

4.1.3 Reducing violence against women

Evaluations of the effectiveness of aid in reducing violence against women were practically non-existent until 2012-2013 with the publication of several studies that synthesized the available evidence of impact for various programmatic interventions. These studies note that few evaluations of interventions document measurable impact on prevalence rates, but it is important to note that focusing on prevalence rates alone is problematic since those often increase with greater reporting, greater awareness, and greater coverage of information and services. As a result, many evaluations also track other intermediate outcomes such as changes in norms and passage of laws.

For instance, donor support to women's organizations and movements has helped transform legal frameworks that apply to rape, domestic violence and sexual harassment around the world (Cooper et al. 2009; Heise 2011b) so that by 2011, 125 countries had passed legislation on domestic violence, including nearly all Latin America and Caribbean countries. (Two-thirds of all countries have also taken steps to make workplaces and public places safer for women through laws prohibiting sexual harassment.) By the end of 2011, 18 of 37 Asian countries and 21 of 48 sub-Saharan African countries had passed specific domestic violence laws (Heise 2011b). Weldon and Htun (2013) find that the strength of a country's women's movement is the single best predictor of legislative reforms, which implies that donors could do more to strengthen autonomous women's organizations. On the other hand, while legal reforms may positively affect intermediate outcomes such as increased reporting levels and raising the number of convictions, it is not clear how changes in laws affect the behavior of perpetrators or the level of partner violence in the overall population (Heise 2011b). Moreover, several monitoring studies highlight the difficulties of changing judicial and security systems and enhancing the system's capacity to respond (Morrison et al. 2007; Ghosh and Choudhuri 2011).

Approaches to reducing violence against women have focused on both prevention and response, including as stand-alone, single or multi-component activities as well as single or multi-sector activities incorporated within other sectors such as education, micro-enterprise and access to justice. As Heise (2011b) notes, interventions to prevent intimate partner violence are in their infancy, especially in low and mid-income countries. While the field has benefitted from several decades of practice-based learning that has been systematized in best practice documents, rigorous evaluations of what works and what is effective are lacking. Moreover, the evidence is highly skewed to upper income countries or in countries with research capacity such as India, Bangladesh, South Africa and Brazil. This section summarizes Heise's classification of interventions that have been tried and evaluated on their own and in combination with other interventions (such as microfinance).

Changing Norms. Two types of strategies to shift gender norms, attitudes and beliefs have been rigorously evaluated: 1) small group, participatory workshops that challenge entrenched norms of masculinity and femininity and build cooperation skills and encourage collective action; and 2) larger-scale 'edutainment' efforts such as street theatre, discussion groups, cultivation of 'change agents' and print materials that reinforce positive social change messages. Heise's review concludes that both strategies have achieved modest changes in reported attitudes and beliefs and, in some cases, reductions in reported rates of partner violence. Two successful programs in South Africa (Stepping Stones and Sisters for Life) and one program in Burundi have been evaluated using the gold standard of community randomized trials. The results for the Sisters for Life curriculum, a component added to an existing microfinance program, were impressive, reducing intimate partner violence by 51 percent over two years. Heise (2011b) notes that other programs measuring knowledge, attitudes and practices before and after the intervention using a comparison community have promising results.

A recent approach in the violence prevention field that has begun to attract donor support is to work specifically with men and boys. These programs have not yet been rigorously assessed; evaluations have tended to rely on men's self-reports of reduced violence to discern impact. Program H (see Box 5) is an example of a successful scalable intervention.

Box 5: Program H

An innovative educational program first pioneered by Latin American NGOs and now being replicated in parts of Asia and Latin America, Program H (which stands for “homens/hombres” or men in Portuguese/Spanish) creates safe spaces for young men to question manhood norms and learn alternatives through group activities and processes. A highly visible part of the program is social marketing involving young men to create positive messages about gender-sensitive men. A ‘cool’ or ‘hip’ young man is portrayed by popular and well-known youth icons as non-violent and sensitive. Evaluations of the program in Brazil indicate that improvements in gender norm scale scores were associated with changes in at least one key HIV/STI risk outcome (e.g., STI symptoms, condom use) and reduction in the degree of agreement with inequitable gender norms. An evaluation of the Program H replication in Mumbai, *Yaari Dosti*, showed similar gender outcomes, with significantly more men supporting gender equitable norms.

Reducing childhood exposure: Research has documented the link between childhood exposure and violence, but the mechanisms through which early exposure increases the risk of future perpetration are not as clear. The *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* published a systematic review of reviews, primarily from developed countries, of interventions to reduce maltreatment in childhood, and found that parenting education showed great promise. The positive findings regarding parenting interventions were reaffirmed in a recent review of 12 randomized or otherwise controlled studies evaluating parenting interventions in low- and middle-income countries.

Curbing alcohol abuse: Research has consistently shown a link between intimate partner violence and male drinking in countries around the world. A host of strategies to reduce the harmful consequences of drinking, including brief counseling interventions implemented by health workers, self-help support groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous, and reducing the general availability of alcohol by increasing taxation, passing and enforcing laws restricting sale and purchase, and regulating the density of outlets where alcohol can be obtained, have been shown to be effective. Similar to interventions focused on breaking the cycle of violence in childhood, the majority of evaluations have been conducted on programs in developed countries (United States, Greenland, and Australia), although replications of the ‘brief counseling intervention’ by health workers in South Africa and India are promising.

Empowering women through economic interventions reduce risk: Heise (2011b) notes that the role of economic empowerment in reducing women’s risk of violence is complex, context-specific and contingent on other factors such as partner’s employment or education. In some cases, increasing women’s income has increased the incidence of partner violence, at least in the short term, especially in the context of male un- or underemployment. Evaluations of interventions that transfer loans or cash to women suggest that transfers can have either a positive or negative effect on a woman’s risk of partner violence, depending on other aspects of her situation such as the family context. More promising are economic interventions that incorporate education/training on intimate partner violence (see Box 6 for an example of a successful blended program).

Box 6: IMAGE ‘Sisters in Life’ program

The Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) program combines microfinance with a participatory learning program called Sisters-for-Life to understand HIV infection, gender norms, domestic violence, and sexuality. In the IMAGE intervention, a participatory learning program called Sisters-for-Life was developed and integrated into loan center meetings. An evaluation of IMAGE was conducted between September 2001 and March 2005 in South Africa’s rural Limpopo province. Outcome measures included the experience of intimate partner violence over the past year and 9 indicators of women’s empowerment. Qualitative data about changes occurring within intimate relationships, loan groups, and the community were also collected. After two years, the risk of past-year physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner was reduced by more than half, and all 9 indicators of empowerment had improved. Reductions in violence resulted from a range of responses enabling women to challenge the acceptability of violence, expect and receive better treatment from partners, leave abusive relationships, and raise public awareness about intimate partner violence (Kim et al. 2007).

Law and justice reform: Legal reforms to prevent and respond to intimate partner violence are popular around the world, but evaluations documenting their impact are largely absent, with the exception of evaluations in the policing system.²³ Evaluating interventions that are embedded in complex systems — such as the justice system — is notoriously difficult, and methodological challenges may complicate efforts to show effects.

Nonetheless, based on evidence from some countries, one promising approach is women’s police stations, which are intended to facilitate women’s access to justice. A comprehensive evaluation of women’s police stations in Brazil, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Peru (Willman and Corman 2013) concludes that the stations have contributed to making violence against women visible a public, collective, and punishable matter; furthermore, they offer women new opportunities to defend their rights. They have successfully increased the visibility of gender-based violence and helped increase reporting. Another strategy is a ‘whole system’ approach, in which all police, male and female, receive pre-service and in-service training on how to treat cases of gender-based violence. Though still uncommon, they have had impressive results in Nicaragua, improving the quality of police services for women survivors of violence. El Salvador has also advanced toward a whole system approach in police training (Jubb and Izumino 2003). Some studies, however, show that women frequently arrive at these stations seeking emergency shelter, guidance, support and legal advice, but most stations are not set up to handle such requests, suggesting the need for multi-pronged interventions. Multi-pronged approaches and one-stop shops are now being tested in El Salvador and South Africa. While improving the scale and quality of services for survivors, policing interventions do not necessarily contribute to reducing violence or guaranteeing access to justice for women.

Other approaches also show some promise, at least in terms of visibility. Jamaica launched a Violence Observatory in 2011 (funded by the Japan Social

Development Fund) which, for the first time, allowed for disaggregation of data on homicide and injuries due to violence by gender. The Observatory is based on similar interventions in Latin America and involves convening stakeholders from various sectors at regular meetings to share and compare data on violence. In 2013, 18 government and private actors - including health, police, actors from the private sector, and non-profits active on the issue – signed an official Memorandum of Understanding to consolidate the work of the Observatory and its connection to national and municipal-level policy. The fact that data was disaggregated by gender for the first time has allowed for a more focused look at differences in how men and women experience violence, and has informed policy dialogue about how to address this.

Many communities have begun to experiment with non-formal ways to sanction perpetrators and increase rights awareness. Some communities in India, for example, use public shaming in front of the homes of abusive men. In Nepal, paralegal committees of trained local women provide frontline support for victims, educate them about their rights and challenge the culture of silence. Restorative or alternative justice approaches are also being employed in different contexts. A recent evaluation of South African’s victim-offender mediation program finds high levels of satisfaction among female victims. Like all interventions, these in particular need to be extra sensitive to context.

Multi-pronged community interventions: Multi-component interventions may be the next frontier for preventing partner violence, but little is known about what could be achieved through programming that seeks to address multiple drivers within a single coherent program (Heise 2011b). Components of multi-pronged programs combine some or all of the interventions discussed above. Box 7 describes two multi-pronged interventions.

Box 7: Integrated programs in Egypt and Honduras

The Ishraq Program for out-of-school girls age 13-15 in rural Upper Egypt is an integrated program that creates safe spaces for girls within their communities, provides literacy and life skills training, and sports activities. Girls meet several times a week in groups of about 25 with a ‘promoter’ (a female secondary school graduate) who leads the group. The program also endeavors to influence girls’ environments by working with parents, brothers, and community leaders. A pre-test, post-test evaluation with matched controls was conducted during the pilot phase of the program between 2001 and 2004. The evaluation showed that participants in Ishraq appeared to be more likely to have experienced verbal harassment than girls in the control group, which researchers attributed to their challenging of social norms. There was no detectable difference between the groups in experience of domestic violence but there was an improvement in girls’ tolerance towards violence. For example, 93 percent of girls in the control group agreed at endline that a girl should be beaten if she disobeyed her brother compared to 64 percent of Ishraq participants (Brady et al. 2007). The program has been scaled up to reach approximately 1800 girls.

In Honduras, the Barrio Ciudad project included a strong participatory component that resulted in empowering female leaders to take a stronger role in neighborhood improvement projects, including projects focused on community safety. The project included elements of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) - an approach that aims to reduce situational opportunities for violence via infrastructure improvements - to support interventions including upgrading public spaces, improving street lighting, widening streets, and the construction of soccer fields and sports centers. A midterm evaluation found improved perceptions of safety and enhanced trust in the project communities compared to the baseline.

4.1.4 Economic empowerment

A number of options exist in theory to enhance women's economic status, including provision of loans and equity capital for business development, vocational training, direct income generation schemes, services to help the transition from school to work, and activities to improve labor standards and conditions of work, among others, but donors have tended to focus on microcredit and enterprise development (Buvinić 1986; Kabeer 2005). Donors, both public and private, have poured billions of dollars into such interventions since the 1970s.²⁴ By 2010 over 200 million people were served by thousands of microfinance institutions (Maes and Reed 2012). The early emphasis on providing small loans to the poor has expanded over the years to include micro-leasing (the lending of productive assets), savings facilities and, most recently, micro-insurance and the use of mobile technology to facilitate financial transactions. Historically, the majority of micro-finance borrowers have been women, and the focus on women has been a prominent part of all micro-finance lending.

The impact of microfinance has been evaluated on several outcomes at the individual level, the enterprise level, and the community level. At the individual level, studies have examined impacts on women's power within their households, including increasing their control over expenditures, making decisions over their own health, increasing their mobility, reducing intimate partner violence, and exerting greater influence over children's outcomes (although this latter outcome may be as much a reflection of women's social roles as empowerment). At the enterprise level, outcome measures include business viability, sales/profits, and employment growth. At the community level, studies have examined whether microfinance has increased women's voice and participation in a range of community organizations (Kabeer 2005; Stewart et al. 2012).

The early evaluations suggested that microfinance interventions were promising, but recent evidence based on a number of randomized controlled trials provide more mixed results.²⁵ The impact of microcredit on different domains of women's empowerment varies across domain and context. While there is evidence that microfinance can improve women's role in household decision-making, that has not occurred evenly in all contexts or in all areas of decision-making (Kabeer 2005; Stewart et al. 2012). In contrast, evaluations of

microsavings in the Philippines, Kenya and elsewhere, have been found to increase women's decision-making regarding the level and composition of household expenditures and on savings behavior (Ashfar 2009; Buvinic et al. 2013a).

The impacts of various microfinance interventions on business viability and success, as well as community level empowerment, are mixed. Overall, (Stewart et al. 2012: 104) conclude the evidence they reviewed on the range of microfinance instruments is 'unable to answer the questions about which interventions work better for women, particularly female-headed micro-enterprises, or to establish whether interventions which specifically target women are more successful than those that do not.' However, this finding should be tempered - it is not unusual for systematic reviews to find an absence of evidence on a particular issue; it is possible that targeting women is the right course of action, it is just that the evidence is absent (Stewart et al. 2012). On the other hand, more recent evaluations (although limited) of micro savings find positive impacts on a range of business outcomes, including profits and investment (Buvinic et al. 2013a).

In recent years, donors have moved beyond microcredit/microenterprise and now look at CCTs as another means of empowering women. The evidence from qualitative studies of CCT programs in Latin America shows some positive results, but the more limited quantitative data is far less conclusive. Adato (2000) qualitative review of Mexico's PROGRESA/Oportunidades and Nicaragua's Red de Protección Social showed that these programs increased women's control over resources, provided them with opportunities to leave their homes, and gave government recognition to the importance of women, all of which had positive impacts on women's self-esteem and sense of self. On the other hand, reviewing Mexico's Oportunidades program, Molyneux (2006) argues that while CCTs can increase women's self-esteem and social status, they risk marginalizing fathers and 're-traditionaliz[ing] gender roles and identities [by confirming] mothering as women's primary social role' (Molyneux 2006: 440). A quantitative analysis on the impact of Brazil's Bolsa Familia on women's decision-making power carried out by de De Brauw et al. (2013) demonstrated that, in urban areas, the program significantly increased women's voice in the household, particularly for decisions regarding use of contraception. In rural areas, however, Bolsa Família was found to cause no significant increases and possible reductions in women's decision-making power.

Comparatively less evidence exists on the impact of unconditional cash transfers on women's empowerment, but three studies, based on programs in Ecuador and Kenya, suggest small positive impacts on women's decision-making but increases in tensions between spouses and the risk of emotional violence.

Beyond microfinance and CCTs, the evidence base on what works and what is scalable among a broader range of interventions to enhance women's economic status and power is weak. A recent review by (Buvinic et al. 2013a), funded by the Exxon-Mobil Foundation for private sector donors and public-

private partnerships, provides the first systematic look at a broader range of economic interventions for different groups of women in different country scenarios. The ‘Roadmap’ covers entrepreneurship, agriculture, wage employment and young women’s employment; it measures empowerment as increases in women’s productivity and earnings based on a database of 136 published empirical evaluations of policies and programs. The findings are grouped into proven interventions, those with promise, and those with high potential.

Entrepreneurship and self-employment: The Roadmap notes that entrepreneurship is a fundamental driver of economic growth and a significant source of women’s economic opportunity, especially in agrarian and urbanizing economies where wage employment opportunities for women are scarce. Entrepreneurship can cover a wide range of activities—from income-generating projects that poor women undertake in their homes, to selling products on the street and in open markets by individual producers, to owning or managing a business in a fixed location with one or more employees.

Buvinic et al. (2013a) identify a number of proven solutions to reduce the gender gap in entrepreneurship. First, a supportive policy environment is a key factor; importantly for donors, policy reforms need not be women or gender-specific to help boost entrepreneurship among women. Policies that strengthen the rule of law by clamping down on corrupt practices such as bribery payments, or those that encourage the formalization of businesses by simplifying the paperwork required for business registration, benefit both males and females. However, additional policy reforms targeted to women are often required, including changing legislation to give women equal property and other legal rights to put them on an equal playing field with men when investing in, starting and managing a business.

Beyond support for policy and regulatory changes, Buvinic et al. (2013a) include in the category of proven program interventions credit and business management training targeted to women-owned small and medium enterprises (SMEs), as opposed to subsistence-level enterprises; and bundled services, including capital, and income generation training and follow-up technical visits, for women-owned micro firms that operate at a subsistence level. For very poor women, they note that capital alone, as a small loan or a grant, is not enough; rather, a relatively large capital transfer, if paired with income generation training and follow-up technical visits, can transform the occupational choices of very poor women; it is also cost-effective. Capital alone can work if it is delivered in-kind (e.g., as inventory) to more successful women with larger-sized businesses. In-kind capital seems to ‘nudge’ both women micro and small business owners to keep the money invested in their businesses. Business training improves business practices but has few measurable effects on the growth of women-owned subsistence-level firms. Finally, the impact of business training may be improved by increasing the quality and duration of the training, combining training with customized technical visits or expert advice to the firm, and targeting women running larger sized firms.

Private sector efforts to promote women's economic empowerment are popular but few have been evaluated. The 10,000 Women Initiative, which aims to provide 10,000 'underserved' women from developing countries, with practical business and management education, is one exception, having contracted with the International Center for Research on Women to assess its program in India. That evaluation found positive results: about half of the graduate scholars doubled their business revenue and increased the number of employees from six to 10 on average 18 months after completion of the program (Prügl and True 2014).

Box 8: BRAC ultra poor

BRAC's ultra-poor program started in 2007 and consists of two main components: it targets the poorest women in rural areas to receive productive assets, such as cows, goats, poultry or seeds for vegetable cultivation, and intensive, long-term skills training specific to the type of asset provided. By 2011, the program was reaching more than 600,000 women throughout Bangladesh. A rigorous random-controlled evaluation by Bandiera et al. (2013) of the first few years of the program found that the program transformed the occupational choices of poor women by inducing them to spend more time in self-employment and less in seasonal wage employment, leading to a 36% increase in annual income on average. Moreover, the program led to an increase in wages at the village level and the effects spilled over to other poor women who also increase their labor supply and income. Four years out, women continued in self-employment, had kept and added to their cows, and probably most importantly, with their additional earnings, had also bought land.

Savings: Beyond credit, and similar to the Karlan and Appel (2011) findings reported above, Buvinic et al. (2013a) note that designing and marketing appropriate savings vehicles are proven interventions for all women. Financial services delivered through mobile phones are less costly and may be more effective than other delivery mechanisms in increasing women's business investments. As noted above, savings interventions increase women's business earnings, and women seek savings vehicles as a means to invest in their businesses.

Wage employment: Wage employment is the main channel through which women around the world derive income. Most women in developed economies work in formal employment while women in low- and lower-middle income countries predominate in informal employment, which is often low-skilled, irregular, and precarious. What interventions work to increase formal wage employment for women? (Buvinic et al. 2013a) found that skills training, job search assistance, internships, and wage subsidies introduced to cope with economic shocks increase formal employment levels of adult women, but do not raise wages. Access to childcare increases women's formal wage employment levels and earnings (in most but not all studies), but less is known about the design and delivery of quality, affordable and cost-effective care interventions in different settings.

Buvinic et al. (2013a) observe that demand-oriented skills training combined with on-the-job training and wage subsidies increase young women's employability and earnings if social restrictions against hiring young women are not binding. Cash grants with no conditions may increase young women's employment and income and have sizeable social benefits. Livelihood programs that combine reproductive health education with income and asset-building hold promise for young women, especially in low-income, socially conservative settings. Other high potential interventions to help women access decent work include job information for young women, firm certification programs, and non-traditional female skills training for women wage workers. They also include business associations and networks for entrepreneurs, as well as mentors and role models for young women. Few of these, however, have been rigorously evaluated.

Agriculture employment and self-employment: Agriculture is one of the most important sectors in many poor countries. Buvinic et al. (2013a) conclude that an integrated suite of services, which target both production and marketing and address social constraints through the provision of modern agricultural inputs, knowledge transfer, and financial services, is the key feature in agricultural projects that raise the productivity of small-scale women farmers. Disseminating harvesting, processing, and storage technologies and communicating extension messages in simple ways also work. For women with larger size farms and more assets, single agricultural services, rather than a full suite, may be enough to increase productivity. Formal ownership and control over farmland, either through groups or land rental markets, improves women's productivity and economic security Quisumbing and Pandolfelli (2009). But the success of land tenure interventions depends on paying attention to social and local context (see below).

The empirical literature confirms that there are significant economic benefits to women operating in groups, even in the context of restrictive gender norms. Farmer groups and collectives can provide individual women producers with access to markets and help overcome constraints in meeting demands of agricultural supply chains. Baden (2012) conducted in-depth qualitative and quantitative research on women's collective action in agricultural markets in Mali, Tanzania and Ethiopia. She found that women belonging to farmer groups earned 68 percent more from total sales than non-members in Tanzania, and 81 percent more than non-members in Mali and Ethiopia. Moreover, in Tanzania, the monetary value of vegetables produced per acre by women group members was 95 percent higher than that produced by non-members. Smallholder women's experience in informal groups had spillover effects, allowing them to develop the leadership skills necessary for effective leadership in formal (or formalized) groups.

Land reforms: A recent review of more than 15 empirical studies from different regions finds that granting women land rights is strongly associated with increases in the productivity of women farmers and their economic security and autonomy (Menon et al. 2013). Donors have influenced the formulation and implementation of the new wave of land reforms in partner countries in numerous ways. Many agencies have assisted (to various degrees) efforts to

amend and harmonize statutory and customary laws and promote legal literacy, and supported organizations that can help women make land claims, as well as reforms that give women individual or joint title to land. A recent evaluation by **Spichiger et al. (2013)** of reforms in fifteen countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia, with a deeper focus on Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Nicaragua, finds that donor support has at times been ambiguous, supporting advocacy of gender equality on the one hand, while supporting titling projects where only men benefited on the other hand. They argue this is due to the often too weak mainstreaming of gender by donors, as well as to the fact that donors do not always put into practice the commitments they have made in policies. But it is also because supporting legislative reforms is easier than supporting implementation and enforcement which requires constant attention to the ways in which rights are negotiated, claimed and contested – or concerted and cemented. So while titling has been effective in some contexts (for instance in Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Vietnam), it is equally important to ensure women’s access to the institutions that can help enforce women’s claims to land.²⁶ Other elements are needed to help enable women to acquire and keep land, as well as to be able to make use of it such as through women’s legal literacy, as well as their access to organization, information and economic resources. More impact evaluation is needed on the various efforts in this area.

Infrastructure interventions: Access to electricity increases rural women’s productivity and earnings (Buvinic et al. 2013a). Access can be increased by providing targeted loans or subsidies for connection costs to existing grids. Mobile phones help increase earnings of women farmers and rural entrepreneurs by providing access to market information. Finally, a number of reviews have found that female autonomy is an important determinant of rural women’s earnings and influences the success of interventions targeting women farmers and rural entrepreneurs, a factor which donors may need to pay more attention to in agricultural programs.

4.1.5 Political empowerment

Many donors embed interventions to increase women’s participation and effectiveness in formal and informal decision-making in national and local governments in larger governance programs. Approaches include support to political parties to recruit and train females, leadership training for female politicians, quotas and reservations, support for election monitoring and outreach to female voters, media interventions to provide access to female candidates, and civic education addressing views of female office holders, among others. With the exception of quotas and reservations, the effectiveness of these various approaches to increase women’s political empowerment has not been well evaluated.

Gender quotas and reservations, now used in more than 100 countries, have been found to increase women’s representation in political bodies at the national and local level across countries (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2004; Bhavnani 2009; Beaman et al. 2010). On average, female representation among

legislators stands at 22 percent among countries with any type of gender quota versus 13 percent in countries without a quota (Rohini and Ford 2011). The strongest evidence comes from India, where political reservations have been in effect since 1993 and implementation has permitted rigorous evaluation (Rohini and Ford 2011). Beyond increasing female representation over a fairly rapid period of time, quotas and reservations are associated (in varying degrees) with a number of other outcomes, including increased legislative responsiveness to female concerns, targeting of public goods, better governance, and changed girls' aspirations and educational attainment (Beath et al. 2013).

Quotas can be statutory or voluntary. Statutory gender quotas require that political parties field a minimum number or percentage of female candidates in legislative elections (30 percent is an aspirational target although many countries have stipulated a lower threshold). Legislated candidate quotas have been the least successful in guaranteeing a target increase in female political representation, as enforcing placement of women on candidate lists does not necessarily guarantee that they will get elected, and their success often depends on the type of electoral system (Rohini and Ford 2011). Voluntary party quotas are the most common type of quota, in place in 51 countries which constitutes 61 percent of all countries with any type of gender quota (Rohini and Ford 2011). Voluntary quotas have been associated with changed public attitudes towards women and party commitment to gender equality. Reservations or reserved seats are mechanisms to set aside a percentage of legislative seats for women, which may be filled through competitive election or by appointment. Reservations for women are effective in increasing the proportion of female legislators and also with changing attitudes towards female legislators (Rohini and Ford 2011).

As many commentators note, the existence of quotas do not automatically ensure women's equal representation in legislative bodies, and there is strong evidence that the *design* of quotas is important in allowing women to succeed in obtaining seats. Grown et al. (2005) highlight four lessons about the conditions under which quotas effectively enhance women's representation. The first lesson is that a country's electoral system strongly influences the impact of quotas (Htun and Piscopo 2010; Weldon and Htun 2013). Quotas work best in closed-list, proportional representation systems with placement mandates and where electoral districts are large, e.g., where many candidates are elected from each electoral district and parties can expect several candidates running in the district to gain a seat. Second, placement mandates are critical to the success of quotas in closed-list proportional representation electoral systems. Because candidates are elected from party lists in the order in which they appear, placement on the list determines the chances of being elected. Placement mandates require parties to place women in high or 'electable' positions on party lists (for example, by alternations of women's positions with men's on the party list). Third, quota laws must specify details of implementation. Vague laws leave too much discretion to political parties to apply—or fail to apply—quotas as they see fit. Finally, sanctions for noncompliance must be in place. The strongest sanction is to have a party's list of candidates declared invalid

and for the party to be forbidden from contesting the election. For these sanctions to work, judges must be able to monitor party compliance and groups must be able to challenge noncompliant lists in court.

These lessons are important for women gaining access to political bodies, but they do not say much about improving women's ability to govern once they are in elected office.²⁷ Although less well evaluated, several approaches have been identified as promising for increasing the effectiveness of female legislators and getting gender equality issues onto key legislative agendas. First, women's wings, caucuses, and committees of political parties can be effective in mobilizing gender equality within the legislative agenda. The International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics (iKNOW 2010) illustrated how the advocacy efforts of the Women's League of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa led to the ANC resolution that one third of its representatives in Parliament must be women, which had a far reaching effect in transforming the newly-elected democratic Parliament of South Africa (iKNOW 2010). The Handbook of International IDEA lists 95 best practices for the participation of women in Latin American political parties, including recruitment, training, financing, media, and inter-party agreements, and the role of men, among others. Donor agencies can do much more to invest in rigorous impact evaluation of these practices to learn about what has worked and why, especially on leadership training and voter education programs, where evidence on females versus males is sparse.²⁸

4.1.6 National women's machineries

National women's machineries, which take a variety of forms including ministries, administrative offices, executive and parliamentary commissions, advisory commissions, institutes and Ombuds offices, have been established in more than 160 countries since 1995. Many donors have invested in such entities over the years as a vehicle to help countries develop, finance, and implement national plans for gender equality and women's empowerment. There have been few rigorous evaluations of national women's machineries.²⁹ Nonetheless, most studies, with a few exceptions, conclude that these entities are not very effective, finding that they are not always well placed to influence government policy, often do not have clear mandates and functional responsibilities, are led by inadequately qualified or politically-connected women, are understaffed and resourced, and are not always well-linked to civil society and women's organizations (McBride and Mazur 2013).³⁰ Tsikata's (2001: para 8) review of national machineries for women in eight African countries is particularly critical of their dependence on donors (an essential supplement for an inadequate resource base), which she states 'leaves national machineries vulnerable to questions about who is driving their agendas. Functions that have not attracted donor support, *e.g.* policy work, are neglected. In some cases, the nature of donor support has robbed national programs of coherence, continuity and sustainability.'

Of the countries that have been studied, Haas (2010) and Franceschet (2003) argue that the National Women's Machinery in Chile, SERNAM, stands out.

Even though it is considered a low-status Ministry with a correspondingly small budget (provided by the government and subsidized by UN and other agencies),³¹ its executive status has allowed it to introduce important legislation that criminalizes domestic violence, expands women's rights within the family, protects women from losing their jobs, and protects pregnant teenagers from being expelled from school. Because its staff includes strong technical experts in employment, health, and the law, SERNAM has had the capacity to devise several ambitious programs to inform women of their legal rights and address the gender-specific sources of poverty and unemployment. It has also provided an important framework to link up previously dispersed women's groups and organize them around common agendas. Despite these positive attributes, SERNAM is characterized by some of the same weaknesses of other national machineries, notably political leadership with weak links to women's organizations and reluctance to tackle some controversial policy issues (like the legalization of abortion).

4.1.7 Fragile states and countries in conflict

Ideally, donors would approach gender equality and women's empowerment in fragile states and countries in conflict and post-conflict transition in a holistic way and across the 'cycle' of prevention, conflict, and recovery. Unfortunately that is rarely the case, and interventions are siloed in particular sectors. Many of the approaches described in previous sections – microfinance to help women's engage in economic activity, quotas to enhance women's participation in political institutions, health interventions for women survivors of sexual violence - have been followed in fragile states and countries recovering from conflict. Yet, the implementation is often very different given the context.

Donors increasingly recognize that gender inequality increases likelihood that a state will experience internal conflict (Caprioli 2003); women play important (often overlooked) roles in conflict prevention; vulnerability increases during conflicts, including the risk of gender-based violence; women's participation positively influences peace agreements; and transitions offer unique opportunities to further gender equality. The following paragraphs describe approaches with which donors are experimenting – none have been rigorously evaluated.

In some countries, donors have supported networks and organizations of women to help resolve conflict. For instance, donors helped Christian and Muslim women come together to pressure violent warlords and the Charles Taylor regime to end the Liberian civil war in 2003. By creating a diverse coalition that crossed religious and other divides, the women compelled the parties to move the stalled peace process forward. In Mozambique, women played roles in preventing a return to violence particularly as ex-combatants active in community peacebuilding and resettling male ex-combatants after the accords were signed (Murdock and Zunzuga 2010). And, among the Naga in northeastern India, women have capitalized on cultural traditions of women's

peace activism in helping maintain a fragile ceasefire since 1997 (Manchanda 2005).

Women's participation can enhance the scope of peace agreements. Over half of all peace agreements fail within the first 10 years of signature (Licklider 2001). Preliminary research indicates that peace agreements are more durable when women formally participate in their negotiation (Hudson et al. 2013). Women can broaden the perspective on issues of peace and security (Bouta et al. 2005). For instance, while security is typically defined as the termination of active fighting, women are more likely to suggest a view of security that includes living without fear of violence or sexual assault inside and outside of their homes (Shepherd 2010). This can lead to more durable and widely-accepted peace agreements (Hudson et al. 2013). In Darfur, women helped insert physical security and protection of vulnerable and displaced persons into talks with negotiators. And, in Uganda, women spotlighted during negotiations the need for compensation funds for victims of violence, and health and education for former combatants (US Government 2011). New approaches being tried by donors include more systematically helping women get onto or provide input into donor conferences that negotiate the conditions for peace, for instance, the London and Tokyo conferences for Afghanistan reconstruction, which resulted in important provisions in the country's new constitution, and the May 2008 Oslo Donor Consortium to review progress on the implementation of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which resulted in attention to sexual violence (Koppell and O'Neill 2011).

Post-conflict periods offer unique opportunities to further gender equality. In conflict environments, women frequently take on roles traditionally assigned to men such as providing for family welfare and security (Petesch 2011). Women participate more actively in labor markets during and immediately after conflict. Research shows that women's labor force participation in conflict-affected areas is in some cases associated with increases in overall household and community welfare (Narayan and Petesch 2010). Building on these transformations while supporting men's contributions to the family is a way to rebuild the family unit after conflict. Finally, peace processes often provide a unique opportunity to renegotiate the political settlement. The establishment of quotas for female parliamentarians in post-conflict Rwanda, Afghanistan, Iraq and South Sudan opened a dialogue on women's roles in political decision-making (Greenberg and Zuckerman 2006).

At the highest level, donors supporting constitution drafting processes should push for the strongest possible commitments on women's rights, as this provides the enabling framework within which women can demand reform. Donor support to raise awareness about constitutional rights and support the development of women's rights campaigns is also critical, as in Sierra Leone (Cornwall and Goetz 2005). However, the example of Northern Sudan illustrates the dilemmas donors can face when women activists are divided, with some demanding a secular state and others behind Sharia law. In these situations, donors can sometimes help parties find common ground.

Finding opportunities to enhance women's agency is an important focus for donors in conflict and post-conflict settings. Donor support for women's civil society organizations creates 'new democratic spaces' in which women can pressure the policy process from outside formal political institutions. It is especially important because women's rights are often caught up in the broader political issues and the rights that get 'traded' away. Supporting women's organizations is not a technical exercise but involves navigating through the messy world of politics and complex social and cultural norms, being extremely sensitive to context, and understanding the commonalities and differences across different groups of women (Cornwall and Goetz 2005). Donors need to decide whether their aim is to support a range of women's voices to be heard, or only those who espouse a normative approach to women's rights. Negotiating these dilemmas requires donors to engage with a range of women's movements and to understand the political interests behind them.

UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 offers donors and national governments a framework for actions aimed at gender equality and empowering women. UNSCR has led to worldwide action with financial support not only nationally, but also from the North to the South, and wide impact on related legislation, regulations, policies and practices in various countries (**Hellsten 2013**). In many Western countries, in the European Union (EU) as well as the UN programs and missions, the number of women in security sector has also increased (police, military personnel and peace keeping).

North-South cooperation in implementing the SCR 1325 has been widening recently. It is not based only on financial support to the governments or CSOs of conflict prone countries, but includes also so called 'twinning processes'. This means identifying country-to-country partnership such as between Liberia, Timor Leste, and Ireland; and most recently between Kenya and Finland. The twinning strategy entails exchange of experiences, lessons learned and strategies during the action planning processes in the partnering countries.³² These efforts may not have very high costs. For example, the Finnish initial investment for the twinning process was only 500,000 euros for the first year. While not yet rigorously evaluated, institutional case studies (Hellsten 2012) suggest this model is promising.

5 Conclusion

Much of what has been covered in this position paper has been known for several decades, but it has been difficult to translate this knowledge into development assistance at the scale necessary to bring about a fundamental transformation in the distribution of power, opportunity, and outcomes for both women and men. The post-2015 development framework provides another window of opportunity. Donors can help create the enabling environment to make transformation possible; it is hoped that the recommendations in this paper will pave the way.

5.1 Recommendations for improving gender mainstreaming

Section 3 noted five ingredients for successful mainstreaming. This section focuses on how to improve the practice of mainstreaming in light of those five elements.

Leadership and political commitment: All studies of gender mainstreaming note that consistent leadership at the top of an organization and in senior management positions is critical to implementation. Championing gender equality and women's rights is a key function for top leadership. An equally important role for top leadership is to hold senior managers accountable for their staff's implementation of gender equality policies and results. Mechanisms for making senior management accountable include individual-level performance objectives in performance reviews and portfolio-level criteria that contain hard or soft targets for managers and staff to meet. Stationing senior gender coordinators in front offices or in policy bureaus is important for constituting a strong leadership team; it gives management the big picture perspective, enables them to identify gaps and entry points for programming across regions and program areas, and help agency staff to move beyond sector-specific and program-specific silos.

McGill (2013) notes that in Australia between 2010-2013, AusAID substantially increased its leadership, staffing, and funding commitments for gender equality. Its senior leadership included Australia's global ambassador for women and girls, and within AusAID, its deputy director general (who also served as gender advocate), its chief economist, and its principal sector specialist on gender equality who sat on several key committees. An expanded Gender Equality Policy Section was located in the Policy and Sector Division, and a gender equality career stream was developed. Senior leadership was a key factor, for instance, in the adoption and implementation of strong gender equality policies by USAID in 2012 and IDB in 2010.

Technical capacity: Technical capacity refers to sufficient staff with requisite skills and experience in conducting gender analysis and translating the findings of such analyses into policy and programmatic activities. There is debate in the

literature and among practitioners what skills are necessary for gender specialists. This depends, to some extent, on where gender specialists sit within an organization's structure. For instance, in a technical sector – such as water/sanitation, transport, environment, economic growth - gender experts should have the “technical” expertise (e.g., in engineering, planning, environmental science, economics, etc.) to be credible, as well as skills in gender analysis. The skill set of a staff in a gender unit could be more varied but it is important to have a mix of staff with strong social science diagnostics, planning, and budgeting skills – all key functions in development agencies.

Technical capacity also encompasses various tools (checklists, diagnostic frameworks, audits, and so forth), tailored to the specific institutional context, to guide agency staff in policy and program planning, design, implementation and monitoring. Gender analysis is among the key tools for project design. It is a social science tool used to identify, understand, and explain gaps between males and females in different domains and to identify the relevance of gender norms and power relations in specific contexts (e.g., country, geographic, cultural, institutional, economic, etc.). It is often, though not always, required by donor agencies to inform the design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation of activities to be supported. Various studies show that in practice, gender analyses are not always conducted as part of project design, and when they are done, the quality is frequently sub-standard and sometimes too general to inform projects in particular sectors. Moreover, the findings are most often used in program/project design but not carried through in project activities and monitoring and evaluation and plans.³³ More often than not, gender analyses help staff identify activities that increase the female share of project beneficiaries rather than activities that can transform norms, reduce gaps in resources, remove biases in policies, and address other issues necessary for gender equality as part of the project outcome.

One of the problems is that gender analysis is carried out by ‘generic’ gender experts as opposed to experts who have both the sector-specific knowledge and expertise in gender analysis. As noted earlier, development agencies are often organized around technical areas. Gender analysis is most effective when carried out by experts who have sector specific or technical knowledge. Gender expertise that is delinked from specific technical areas is less effective at producing robust analyses and mainstreaming the findings of the analyses in project designs, execution and monitoring systems.

An area where gender specialists can improve is in clarifying concepts and terminology. As noted earlier, the word ‘gender’ has widely varying interpretations in practice. Rather than using the generic terminology of gender (e.g., integrate a ‘gender perspective’ into or this ‘project should address gender concerns’), gender specialists should help their colleagues clarify the specific gap between males and females that hinders outcomes in a particular sector or the specific norm or bias that is embedded in the policy that donors address with governments in routine dialogs.³⁴ For instance, youth employment programs should explicitly recognize and take steps to address occupational sex segregation and gender earnings gaps. This may not involve a frontal assault on gender norms. An innovative approach used by the World Bank in a

youth employment project involved providing salary information in different occupations; when girls learned about the higher salaries in non-traditional occupations, many switched their training courses. Another improvement would be to develop sector-specific training products that become part of the ‘business’ process of the agency and to institute mechanisms, for instance in the form of practice/learning communities whereby learning across fields, countries and sectors can be shared and aggregated.

A recent good practice implemented by USAID is to identify in strategic planning and project design at the country or sub-national level specific results that have associated targets and indicators for tracking progress. For instance, in agricultural programs aimed at increasing food security, USAID Feed the Future missions are directed to operationalize targets such as ‘reduce the gap between female and male farmers’ access to productive inputs and services (credit, seeds, new technology, and agricultural extension)’ by an appropriate percentage, based on a country-or area-level gender analysis. Indicators are fashioned to track reductions in male and female farmers’ access to credit, the take up of seeds and technology, and so forth to track results in different country contexts. Another innovation was the development of the Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture (WEAI) as a performance monitoring and evaluation tool used in 19 Feed the Future countries (Alkire et al. 2013).

Embedding mainstreaming in business practices: To be successful, the practice of mainstreaming needs to be embedded in regular institutional business practices – the day-to-day work of agency staff – and therefore designed in the context of each institution’s culture using the relevant mix of carrots and sticks (incentives and mandates). Incentives include both direct and tangible benefits, such as pay level and promotion, and less tangible factors, such as professional recognition and increased budgets for activities seen to promote gender mainstreaming and gender equality results. Incentives can be at the level of an individual, a team, or a division.

Good practices do exist. They include spelling out roles and responsibilities for program divisions/sectors as well as for different categories of staff, e.g., managers, technical advisors, etc. (USAID’s recent gender equality policy provides an example); setting standards for gender analysis (DFID); and linking accountability to the implementation of measures to support gender equality (AusAid), among others.

Resources: One area for improvement is developing – as part of an institution’s budgeting process – tools to estimate the costs of gender inequality and the financing needs for interventions that promote it across the multiple domains discussed in this paper. Reporting on the OECD-DAC gender equality marker is a good start, but donors could do better by putting in place tracking systems that can identify commitments both to direct investments in women’s empowerment as well as gender mainstreaming in administrative and program budgets, by regularly reporting on commitments and disbursements to the OECD-DAC, and through national open-government dashboards and other vehicles. Improving coding within agencies is also important for harmonization of the data.

Accountability: This is the weakest area of development assistance. Even when indicators for mainstreaming and project results are in place, they are often uninformative. Unfortunately, current practice is about ‘bean-counting’ the numbers of project beneficiaries or the number of people who participated in an activity. Even when data is available, people-level indicators are often not disaggregated by sex. Beyond data and reporting indicators, few donors (with a few exceptions, e.g., the World Bank’s Gender Innovation Lab, DFID’s Evaluation Department) systematically invest in rigorous impact evaluations to learn what works to close gaps between males and females, and just as importantly to assess whether and how closing gaps between males and females leads to more successful and sustainable development outcomes – generally and in particular sectors. DFID has recently begun commissioning systematic reviews of evidence on what works- and these are useful documents for the larger development assistance community.

Success begets success: As Mehra and Rao Gupta (2006) point out, it is important to achieve results on the ground. Success based on demonstrable results contributes to learning and can serve as a model for replication within and across sectors. Success is also motivating, and is a means to lower organizational resistance if such exists. Further, all the organizational pieces discussed above do not need to be in place for gender mainstreaming at the operational level to succeed.

Being strategic: Adopting a pragmatic approach that responds to strategic operational opportunities can lead to positive results. Koppell and Grown (2012) point out that, contrary to the dictum that a gender perspective needs to be incorporated into all policies and programs, an alternative approach is to be *strategic* at all stages of the policy-planning-project process. This implies working on high priority development issues, such as poverty reduction or violence prevention. A significant advantage of this approach is that the issue already has relevance to multiple stakeholders and can be a win-win.

In the end, successful mainstreaming is ultimately about good development practice. To echo the African Development Bank (2011), the test of whether gender equality has been embedded in the mainstream of an organization is the degree to which it is seen as contributing to rather than competing with the drive for more effective aid and other priorities. This last point cannot be emphasized strongly enough. Mainstreaming is *not* an add-on to existing programs – it is fundamentally about making societies and institutions work better for society as a whole.

How can development assistance agencies pivot toward better practice? Economic growth and poverty reduction programs must ensure that benefits accrue to men and women in ways that promote long-term, broad based, inclusive sustainable development. Health programs will only reach men and women if they are designed with an awareness of the different schedules and clinical needs of males and females, among other issues. Elections will only enfranchise men and women if they are planned and carried out in ways that reach potential voters using the different communications technologies men and women can access and if polling places are situated in places accessible to

men and women given their habits, schedules, and norms that may restrict mobility. Many more examples can be provided for specific sectors. This is not rocket science but rather putting on a different set of lenses to see problems and solutions.

5.2 Recommendations to improve development effectiveness

Beyond the suggestions to improve mainstreaming discussed in the previous section, three other shifts in development assistance can be helpful. First, it is important to orient country strategies, programs, and projects to concrete results in partner countries. Too often, strategies, programs and projects are vague about the outcomes they seek to achieve for men and women, the gender biases that need to be addressed, and the gaps and inequalities between men and women that need to be reduced for better outcomes. Such outcomes should reflect the commitments countries have made under CEDAW and MDG 3 and reflected in national action plans.

Second, in policy dialogs, donors can encourage partner countries to allocate greater domestic resources for gender equality and women's empowerment outcomes across line ministries, so that in the longer run partner countries can sustain the agenda for change. In the interim, external financing is necessary to fill current financing gaps and to jumpstart increases in domestic allocations. Grown et al. (2005) provide a number of recommendations for a government costing methodology, which could be part of a country finance exercise or an aggregation of costing exercises in different sectors. In countries where they exist, gender responsive budget exercises represent a natural entry point for jump-starting the development and implementation of costing work. In other countries, Ministries of Finance might be encouraged to be a lead agency in coordination with civil society organizations (see Budlender 2000; Holvoet 2006).

Third, development assistance agencies need to step up investments in sex-disaggregated data collection, and 'gender-aware' performance monitoring and impact evaluation. Considerable improvements have been made in gender statistics over the last decade. Data users know much more today about differences in women's and men's situations. Furthermore, users of data are asking more questions and demanding high-quality statistics. Yet, cross-country data are still lacking on many topics that are important for assessing inequalities between women and men within and across countries. While globally close to 80 percent of countries regularly produce sex disaggregated statistics on mortality, education and training, less than a third of countries produce gender statistics on informal employment, entrepreneurship, violence against women and unpaid work (Buvinic et al. 2013b).

Because data is a public good and underfinanced, development agencies can play a key role to help countries and the international system fill key gender data gaps. Buvinic et al. (2013b) recently identified data gaps in all domains of

gender equality discussed in this paper that need to be filled. At the same time, there exist promising initiatives in all domains where progress can be accelerated. They include:

- *Health:* Vital registration data is needed to gather accurate information on live births, deaths by age, and causes of death. Registering girls at birth and recording their marriages provides a legal backing against early and forced marriage. While the quality of information on maternal mortality has improved, the data are estimates and inadequate for accurate monitoring. Additional important data gaps in women's health are data on violence against women. More reliable data on women's utilization of maternal and non-maternal health services would go a long way towards the design of better health interventions for girls and women.
- *Education:* Improving educational outcomes ensures that male and female students reap the returns to education and have a multiplier effect on enrollment. Future investments are needed in internationally comparable measures of learning outcomes disaggregated by sex. Collecting data on adolescent girls' and boys' transition from education to the workforce is also critical for targeted policymaking to improve the relevance of schooling for the most disadvantaged girls in the educational system and to help with their incorporation into the workforce.
- *Economic Opportunities:* Quality sex disaggregated data on informal work and informal enterprises are sorely needed. This can be provided through labor force and enterprise surveys, which also need to include more detailed information on wages and earnings. Time use data are another source of critical information on both male and female paid and unpaid work and other activities. Multi-purpose household surveys need to include a few individual level questions to uncover gender asset gaps in land, housing, non-farm businesses, and financial assets. Finally, agricultural censuses and other surveys need to collect information on women's participation in on-farm activities and conditions in agricultural informal employment.
- *Political Participation:* There are many gender data gaps on political and civic participation. A high priority is to close the gap on sex-disaggregated birth registrations at the national level and concomitantly provide national identity documentation, which can also be used to track voter registration (and turnout) by sex. Tracking women's political representation at sub-national levels and their leadership roles in grassroots organizations and in key professions is another data priority, especially when information on representation is paired with other data to study the dynamics and outcomes of women's leadership. Finally, there is also scant data on women's participation, particularly in leadership roles, in peace and security efforts, while this information is basic to adequately monitor the implementation of UNSCR 1325 at national levels.

- *Human Security*: Very limited data exists on the gender aspects of conflict, so better data collection overall in this area, including sex-disaggregated data on war-related mortality and morbidity, forcible displacement, adaptive responses to conflict, and conflict-related violence, is key.

Development assistance agencies can help fill gender data gaps by providing support to build country data collection capacity and help country-level analysts mine existing household and administrative data sets (which are often woefully underutilized). They can help countries to supplement existing databases by adding specific modules with new questions and sampling frames or provide support for pilots for new surveys where data are lacking. Another promising area for donor investment and partnerships is big data, an umbrella term covering transactional and crowdsourcing data from mobile phones and the internet, including online search and social network feeds, as well as global remote sensing data from satellites. Big data provide a new source of information to better understand women's mobility, opinions about conditions that affect them, and their perceptions about policy; they can complement more standard program evaluation data by offering the perceptions and opinions of women clients and beneficiaries; and they can capture information that is difficult to elicit through regular surveys due to response bias or limited access to respondents (Buvinic et al. 2013b).

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Notes

- ¹ *Gender identity* is an individual's personal sense of gender — which may or may not align with norms attached to birth-assigned sex (male or female). This paper does not deal with the complex topic of the many different gender identities that exist in countries around the world, but focuses on the socially defined set of roles, rights, responsibilities, entitlements and obligations of females and males in societies.
- ² The latest iteration on this framework, proposed by UN Women as priority target areas for a stand-alone gender goal in the post-2015 framework, is: 1) freedom from violence against women and girls, 2) gender equality in capabilities and resources, and 3) gender equality in decision-making power in public and private institutions (UN Women, 2013).
- ³ Ñopo et al. (2011) notes that 'one of the first patterns that arises is that economic development does not mean narrower gender differences.' No study has found a consistent and robust relationship between economic growth and the narrowing of gender wage gaps.
- ⁴ Razavi (1997: 112) points out 'This selective up-take of gender presents useful insights into the way development institutions work. It also hints at the political dilemmas facing feminist advocates: entering the mainstream entails making alliances and compromises, and modifying one's agenda and language.'
- ⁵ Many early efforts were focused on women's roles as mothers and involving women in small income-generating activities.
- ⁶ A number of recent studies published by IFPRI support the conclusions of the FAO report; see <http://www.ifpri.org/publications>.
- ⁷ The World Bank has published other reports making the efficiency case for investments in women throughout the years. The 1994 (p. 22) report titled, *Enhancing Women's Participation in Economic Development*, laid the groundwork for the smart economics approach, stating that: 'Investing in women is critical for poverty reduction. It speeds economic development by raising productivity and promoting the more efficient use of resources; it produces significant social returns, improving child survival and reducing fertility, and it has considerable inter-generational pay-offs.'
- ⁸ Other studies include: Dollar and Gatti (1999), Seguino (2000a and b), Knowles et al. (2002), and Balamoune-Lutz and McGillivray (2009).
- ⁹ It has also been found that female education is most beneficial to women in settings which are already less patriarchal, where women have access to services, options and opportunities, and where market and social conditions favor positive returns. This suggests that investments in education often need to be accompanied by investments in improving the

enabling conditions within which schooling has the greatest payoff for girls and women, for instance, simultaneously improving provision of services and opportunities shifting social and economic structures and gender norms (Malhotra et al. 2003).

- ¹⁰ These findings should be treated cautiously as they may suffer from reverse causality. In other words, high growth induces women into the labor force (rather than increasing female participation promoting economic growth).
- ¹¹ Two influential papers are: Thomas, Duncan, (1997), 'Income, Expenditure and Health Outcomes: Evidence on Intrahousehold Resource Allocation,' and Hoddinott, John, and Lawrence Haddad, (1995), 'Does Female Income Share Influence Household Expenditures? Evidence from Côte d'Ivoire'.
- ¹² A dynamic panel model with a System Generalized Method of Moments (GMM) estimator is employed to account for the possibility that the relationship between female empowerment and democratic development is influenced by endogeneity and autocorrelation.
- ¹³ Andrew Morrison and Maria Beatriz Orlando, *The Costs and Impacts of Gender-Based Violence in Developing Countries: Methodological Considerations as New Evidence* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, November 2004).
- ¹⁴ According to AfDB (2011), 'mainstreaming suggests changes in the established procedures and cultures of organizations, so that the old mainstream is transformed as new concepts and ways of doing business are accepted.' The origins of gender mainstreaming predate the Beijing Conference. Brouwers (2013) notes that the Dutch Ministry for Development Cooperation adopted mainstreaming in the early 1980s but did not use that terminology.
- ¹⁵ Two excellent recent reviews are African Development Bank (2011) and Brouwers (2013).
- ¹⁶ In addition, there are coding issues that affect the quality of the reported data. For instance, in a recent quality check, SIDA has found that up to 40 percent of the data was inaccurately coded.
- ¹⁷ In 2012, at a summit convened by the UK and the Gates Foundation, donors pledged an additional \$2.6 billion for family planning. An analysis of family planning aid by Hsu et al. (2012) found that disbursements to reproductive health in 2009-2010 were relatively constant, but masked changes from individual donors. Absolute increases came from the US, Australia and Germany, and the Gates Foundation, which offset absolute decreases from the Netherlands, Norway, and Spain, and the World Bank.
- ¹⁸ Over the years, the Mexico City Policy has been rescinded by democratic administrations and reinstated by Republican ones.

- ¹⁹ This result reaffirms the findings in Breitwieser and Wick (2013) who examine the impact of aggregate aid commitments on the female to male ratio in primary and secondary school among other outcomes. They found that total aid commitments positively affect the ratio.
- ²⁰ This is the subject for another paper.
- ²¹ The studies do not examine impact by aid modality.
- ²² Reports on attended births from three causal and six correlation studies consistently reported higher proportions of attended births, and a few studies found lower maternal mortality ratios. Four causal studies demonstrated mixed results from aid-funded interventions aimed at increasing contraceptive use but seven correlation studies generally showed greater contraceptive use.
- ²³ As Heise (2011a: xi) reminds us, ‘Absence of evidence, however, is not evidence of absence.’
- ²⁴ A study supported by the Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP) in 2007 estimated that bilateral and multilateral agencies commit \$800 million - \$1 billion annually to microfinance.
- ²⁵ Stewart et al. (2012: xx) note that microfinance is ‘a particularly challenging area to evaluate using rigorous research designs...Challenges included the complexity of microfinance itself, as well as the difficulties of evaluating a social intervention across varied development contexts.’ The authors identified over 14,000 citations but only 17 were judged to be of good enough quality for inclusion in their review.
- ²⁶ Buvinic et al. (2013a) cite several studies showing that land registration programs that recorded titles in women’s names or jointly with their spouses in Ethiopia, Rwanda, Vietnam, and India, had large positive effects on land investments and farm yields.
- ²⁷ Women may be blocked from key committees, from holding leadership positions, and be sidelined in other ways. Other times, parties may field candidates (male and female) that are uninterested in pursuing a gender equality agenda or in challenging leadership to do so.
- ²⁸ Pang et al. (2011) is the exception. This paper tests whether women and village leaders’ knowledge about women’s voting rights affects women’s voting behavior, using a randomized controlled trial involving 700 women in China’s Fujian and Liaoning Provinces. The study finds that after women received training, their scores on a test of voting knowledge increased and they more fully exercised their voting rights. When only village leaders were trained, test scores and voting behaviors were not statistically different from the control villages.

- ²⁹ McBride and Mazur (2013) found that the majority of research on machineries treats them as a secondary focus as part of a larger study on women's movements and relies on secondary source material, often from international agencies, rather than primary source data.
- ³⁰ Rai (2003) presents a framework that has been used to evaluate the potential effectiveness of national women's machineries, in terms of whether they are located at a high level within the decision-making hierarchy [and authority] to influence government policy, whether they have clarity of mandate and functional responsibility, their links with civil society groups supportive of the advancement of women's rights and enhancement of women's status, the level of their human and financial resources, and the accountability of the national machinery itself. The exceptions are Sernam in Chile (see Franceschet 2003).
- ³¹ Haas (2010) notes that SERNAM's budget was initially low, even by global standards, so it relied heavily on international donors, but has increased over time. Under Michelle Bachelet's first administration, SERNAM's budget increased by 30 percent, although the increase has not been enough to free the agency from soliciting support from elsewhere.
- ³² Twinning generally involves partnerships between resource-rich countries and resource-poor countries and can involve the development of NAPs on very different bases. Finland has not been at war for 66 years, but is an important provider of peacekeeping troops. Finland's NAP was created to provide services to countries coming out of conflict. Although Kenya also provides troops for peacekeeping missions, it experienced conflict following its general election. Thus, its NAP will need to address situations of armed conflict within its own borders as well as integrate UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions into its peacekeeping missions. See on twinning http://www.realizingrights.org/pdf/Working_Paper_on_NAPs_Twinning_and_Regional_Action_Plans_Final.pdf and on the implementation http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/10year_impact_study_1325.pdf
- ³³ The African Development Bank reviewed 26 recent evaluations of mainstreaming in donor agencies and found inconsistent use of gender analysis in the project cycle and across sectors that in 22 of the 26 agencies.
- ³⁴ For instance, tax policy is seen to be gender-neutral. Yet, recent research shows they contain both explicit and implicit gender biases. Explicit gender bias occurs when the tax legislation contains specific provisions that treat men and women differently; or instance in Argentina, income from jointly owned assets is allocated to the husband; in Morocco, dependents are defined to include a male taxpayer's wife and children but not a female taxpayer's husband or children; and in India, where in an effort to promote gender equality, the tax threshold for women is higher than that for men. Implicit biases are also present; e.g., because gender norms assign household and childcare responsibilities to women, women tend to spend a

larger portion of their income on basic goods such as food and clothing. Systems that tax basic goods may therefore place a heavier tax burden on women.

Appendix 1: Commissioned papers

The following inventory summarizes the results from the various background papers commissioned under the gender equality theme. It is divided into three sections:

- 1 Foreign aid and gender equality: flows, allocations, and effectiveness;
- 2 Aid and sectoral issues; and
- 3 Actors in foreign aid

A1.1 Foreign aid and gender equality: flows, allocations, effectiveness, and big pictures outcomes

Pickbourn, L. and L. Ndikumana (2013). 'Impact of sectoral allocation of foreign aid on gender equity and human development'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/066 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Pickbourn and Ndikumana (2013) explore whether an increase in the volume of foreign aid helps improve human development outcomes at the country level and whether the sectoral composition of aid affects various measures of gender equality. The authors use total aid by recipient country and aid by sector for a sample of 141 recipient countries over the period 1973 to 2010. The outcomes of interest include the UN Human Development Index (HDI), the UNDP health index, the UNDP education index, the UN Gender Inequality Index, the maternal mortality ratio, and youth literacy.

The impact of total aid on human development depends on the initial level of human development as well as initial per capita GDP. Accordingly, countries that start out with higher levels of human development and per capita income out-perform those with lower initial levels of human development and per capita income. South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa appear to lag behind other regions whereas LAC has seen improvements in human development. By contrast, controlling for the initial level of human development, an increase in foreign assistance is associated with lower human development. The results for the impact at the sector level track these aggregate results: In the absence of controls for initial conditions, an increase in foreign aid is associated with improvements in the health and education indices but the relation is reversed once controls are introduced for initial human development or income.

With respect to the impact of foreign assistance on specific gender equality outcomes, total aid reduces gender inequality in the absence of controls for initial conditions, but the effect disappears once initial

conditions are controlled for. Increases in aid to the health sector are associated with a reduction in maternal mortality, and increases in aid to the education sector are also strongly associated with reductions in the gender youth literacy gap. Evidence also suggests that women and girls in developing countries are likely to reap substantial benefits from increased targeted allocation of foreign aid to infrastructure, especially clean drinking water and improved sanitation.

Dreher, A., K. Gehring, and S. Klasen (2013). 'Gesture politics or real commitment? Gender inequality and the allocation of aid'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/079. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Dreher et al. (2013) investigate whether overall aid commitments and aid to specific sectors by OECD-DAC donors are higher to countries where gender inequality is particularly severe and whether and how donors respond to changes in gender inequality indicators over the period 1982 to 2011. The authors use indicators measuring outcomes of women relative to men and absolute outcomes for women in five domains: women's rights, life expectancy, education, employment and political participation. In addition to total aid, they explore aid to health and reproductive health, education, population policies, and civil societies.

The authors find that donors provide more aid, especially for basic and secondary education when female tertiary enrolment rates are low. Total aid and aid for health also increases when women's life expectancy is low relative to men's. However, improvements in education and female life expectancy are followed by considerable reductions in aid. Donors seem to 'reward' countries with more aid when women have higher representation in parliament and greater attention to women's rights, but the quantitative effects are modest. Labor market outcomes are unrelated to aid allocation.

Because the overall results mask differences between donors, the authors conducted specific tests focusing on specific groups of donors, sector totals, and total aid. The results differ among different donor groups. The EU3 – France, Germany, and the UK – and donors with female development ministers and/or higher female representation in parliament provide aid along the lines reported in the previous paragraph. In contrast to the general findings, the EU3 and the World Bank seem to react to gender imbalances or female need in terms of vulnerable employment or low female employment rates.

Kleemann, L., P. Nunnenkamp, and R. Thiele (Forthcoming). 'Aid for Education'. WIDER Working Paper. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Kleemann et al. (2013) examine whether the degree of gender equality in donor countries shapes the allocation behaviour of those donors in systematic ways. They perform an empirical study on the allocation of aid for education using data from 23 DAC donors – the Czech Republic and Iceland are excluded as they only recently became DAC members – and 123 recipient countries between 1995-2011 using female leadership of the ministry that is responsible for the allocation of aid as the indicator of gender awareness in donor countries. While in some countries (such as Australia and Belgium) men were responsible for allocating aid over the entire period, in other countries (such as Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Germany and the UK), women were responsible for development cooperation for more than half the sample period so that on average across countries women were responsible for allocating aid in roughly one-third of the 17 years under consideration.

The empirical results show that female leaders of the relevant ministries behaved as their male counterparts in selecting recipients of aid for education. Both female and male leaders are more likely to select larger and poorer recipient countries with better governance as recipients of overall aid for education – and typically also as recipients of aid for distinct levels of education. However, female leaders appear to be more generous than male leaders in deciding on the amount of aid for education granted to eligible countries. And, the poverty orientation of female leaders appears to be significantly stronger than that of male leaders when deciding on eligibility to aid for primary education. Female leaders reward higher average years of post-secondary schooling more strongly than do male leaders when deciding on aid for post-secondary education, but male leaders allocate aid for post-secondary education more frequently than female leaders on the basis of good educational performance.

A1.2 Aid and sectoral issues

A1.2.1 Women's political participation

Baliamoune-Lutz, M. (2013). 'The effectiveness of foreign aid to women's equality organizations in the MENA: Does aid promote women's political participation?'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/074 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Women held 19.8 percent of seats in national parliaments worldwide in 2011 while making up almost half of the world population, 40 percent of the labour force, and 31 percent of students enrolled in tertiary education. Although more than 180 countries have ratified and

endorsed the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), as well as Millennium Development Goal 3, which includes the target of at least 30 percent of women in national parliament, women's integration in national politics has been slow.

In the MENA region, **Baliamoune-Lutz (2013)** notes that, as of April 2013 only in Algeria did women hold at least 30 percent (31.6 per cent) of the seats in the lower house. The proportion of seats held by women is between 20- 27 percent in five countries (Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Mauritania, Iraq, and Tunisia), while women in eight MENA countries hold between 10-17 percent of parliamentary seats. The proportion is 3.1 percent or lower in Iran, Lebanon, Egypt (2 percent), Oman, (1.2 percent), and Yemen (0.3 percent).

Baliamoune-Lutz (2013) addresses the question of whether foreign aid promotes women's political participation in the MENA region through the channel of support to Women's Equality Organizations and Institutions (ODA_WEOI). The author uses a sample of 13 MENA countries from 2002-10, and finds that ODA to women's equality organizations and institutions has a positive effect on women's political empowerment, leading her to recommend increasing the allocation of ODA_WEOI. In addition, she argues that this evidence could be used to convince private donors to target women's equality organizations and institutions, especially at community and non-governmental levels.

A1.2.2 Transitional Justice

Hellsten, S.K. (2013). 'The ideal of gender justice and the UNSCR 1325: Two case studies: Kenya and the Democratic Republic of Congo'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/137. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Hellsten (2013) examines why the efforts to promote gender justice by development aid have not succeeded in dealing with deeply-rooted structural injustices which prevent the realization of social justice and gender equality. As a case study, the paper explores the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya. The author argues that while women and men became more aware of transitional justice and the redress of gender-based violence, the promise of 1325 has yet to be realized in either country. In the DRC, in spite of wide international political and financial support for the SCR 1325 and the substantive humanitarian assistance, peace in the DRC has been elusive. Neither has the agenda for gender justice moved forward significantly. Eternal support was critical to the process of making the National Action Plan (NAP) for Women, Peace, and Security and launching it, but government promises to support its implementation have not been realized. Government funding has not been forthcoming, and donor fatigue seems to have set in. In Kenya, by contrast, the development

and launch of the National Action Plan was led by local actors. Implementation, however, was sidelined by other ongoing reform processes, and the NAP became a parallel process. On the donor side, the lobbying for SCR 1325 has also calmed down; the gender sector donors appear to be waiting the government to take the next step.

Bacon, L. (2013). 'Liberia's gender-sensitive police reform: Starting from scratch? Improving representation and responsiveness '. WIDER Working Paper 2013/114. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Bacon (2013)ⁱ provides a case study of efforts to restore security following the civil war, examining Liberia's innovative efforts to create a more gender-sensitive police service. With support from international donors, Liberia's National Police embarked on an effort to recruit female police officers and train a specialized unit to address gender-related crimes. These efforts brought more women on board, but the related fast-track program was neither in-depth nor monitored enough to be effective and had some negative side effects for women. The specialized unit increased awareness about and response to gender-based violence. Factors that contributed to the elements of success of both projects included the timing (post-conflict window of opportunity), the context (momentum for gender-sensitive reforms, local ownership, and a supportive president), and the nature of the aid (problem-driven interventions and iterative learning, vast financial and technical support, including dedicated and continuous support from the United Nations). An especially important factor was that Liberian leaders and international donors engaged in an iterative process of identifying problems and devising solutions—a gradual process that continued throughout the years of reforms. However, the sustainability of projects' successes remained uncertain, given Liberia's extremely low technical capacity—especially its weak rule of law—as well as certain flaws in the program design.

A1.2.3 Education

Maiga, E. (Forthcoming). 'Does Foreign Aid in Education Foster Gender Equality in Developing Countries?'. WIDER Working Paper. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Maiga (2013) investigates whether aid to education impacts gender parity, defined as the ratio of female to male enrolment (GPI) at a given level of education, and whether this impact differs for low and middle income countries and by level of education in a sample of 142 developing countries over the period 2002 to 2011. The results show that total education aid has a positive and significant effect on gender parity in enrolment at all levels of education combined in both low and middle income countries. The disaggregated results show that foreign aid does not impact gender parity in primary enrolment in low and

middle income countries, largely because most countries have reached or are near parity in primary school enrolment. At the secondary level, an increase of aid to education negatively impacts the ratio of female to male enrolment, which Maïga attributes to the fungibility of foreign aid. The heterogeneity of aid recipients also matters, since the higher the income of an aid-receiving country, the higher the impact of education aid on gender parity at the secondary education level. Similar results are observed for aid to tertiary education (Maïga 2013).

Holvoet, N. and L. Inberg (2013). 'Multiple pathways to gender-sensitive budget support in the education sector: Analysing the effectiveness of sex-disaggregated indicators in performance assessment frameworks and gender working groups in (education) budget support to Sub-Saharan Africa countries'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/105 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Holvoet and Inberg (2013) examine the effectiveness of joint donor gender working groups and the integration of sex-disaggregated targets and indicators in Performance Assessment Frameworks (PAFs) in education sector budget support (SBS) and general budget support (GBS) in 17 sub-Saharan African countries using a technique called Qualitative Comparative Analysis. The authors find that the inclusion of sex-disaggregated net enrolment indicators (NER) in Performance Assessment Frameworks and/or the presence of a gender working group contributed to increasing female net enrolment. In countries with a supportive context, such as free education in combination with relatively low gender discrimination and/or high aid dependency, e.g., in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Malawi), the presence of a gender working group has helped to increase female enrolment, while in countries with a less supportive context (no free education, e.g., Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger), the inclusion of sex-disaggregated net enrolment rate indicators has been necessary to increase female enrolment rates. The author argues that donors can promote the inclusion of a gender dimension in national policies and systems in these countries could be the setting up of a gender (sector) working group. In fact, providing neutral spaces for discussion among actors from various settings (inside and outside government) and with different comparative advantages also neatly matches the donor's function of brokerage between state and citizens which is particularly critical in countries where relations between state and society are weak or do not exist.

A1.2.4 Family Planning

Asiedu, E., M. Nanivazo, and M. Nkusu (2013). 'Determinants of foreign aid in family planning: How relevant is the Mexico City Policy?'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/118 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Asiedu et al. (2013) analyse the determinants of aid for family planning (FPA) and the extent to which the United States (U.S.) foreign policy on family planning affects the allocation of FPA to developing countries. The authors focus on the Mexico City Policy (MCP), originally enacted by President Reagan in 1984, that directed USAID to withhold funds from international NGOs that use non-USAID funds to provide abortion related services, including advice, counselling, or information regarding abortion, or lobbying a foreign government to legalize or make abortion available. Subsequently the MCP was in place during Republican presidencies (1984-92, 2001-2009) and eliminated during democratic administrations (1993-2001; 2009-present).

Utilizing a panel dataset of 151 Least Developed Countries (LDCs) over the period 1988-2010, the authors find that, all else equal, when the MCP is enacted, family planning aid is reduced by about 3%-6% annually. The fertility rate also has a positive but diminishing effect on family planning aid. Sub-Saharan African countries receive significantly higher family planning aid (Asiedu et al. 2013). This finding has important policy implications. While the objective of the MCP was to restrict US aid to international NGOs that offer abortion-related services, it was not intended to reduce aid for family planning. Thus, the reduction in FPA may be viewed as an unintended consequence of the MCP.

A1.2.5 Anti-Poverty Programs

Shepherd, A. and S. Bishop (2013). 'Aid and poverty: Why does aid not address poverty (much)?'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/020 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Shepherd and Bishop (2013)ⁱⁱ examine the extent to which aid has helped reduce poverty, including the composition of those considered poor. The disaggregation of poverty has received little systematic attention from donors except for a somewhat random 'adoption' of vulnerable groups, which many agencies have done. The most widespread focus was on women and gender relationships, but in anti-poverty programs, many development agencies failed to draw gender distinctions; rather they only identified it as a cross-cutting theme.

A1.2.6 Agriculture and Land Reform

Torkelsson, Å. (Forthcoming). 'Using Evidence and Operational Responses to Accelerate Gender Equality in Kenya'. WIDER Working Paper. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Torkelsson (2013) provides a case study of how well the Kenya Agricultural Productivity and Agribusiness Project (KAPAP), funded by the WB Kenya and the Government of Kenya (GoK), integrated the objective of reducing gender gaps in agriculture into project design. KAPAP represents an example of good practice, since one of its activities was to design and implement a robust national gender-disaggregated baseline survey, which was subsequently used to engage in an evidence-based gender policy dialogue in the sector, identify appropriate project activities, and to allow measurement of future gender-related project impacts. Contrary to usual practice, the survey design elicited information from both the primary and a second household member of the opposite sex than the primary farmer. It revealed that men's income was about four times higher women's income; most male respondents owned land individually, whereas only few women did; and women have increasingly been left to manage farms on their own, as men have migrated for off-farm work. These findings informed the drafting of the National Agricultural Sector Gender Policy and were used by various Ministries to revise and reform their sector plans and allocations.

A mid-term review (MTR) in 2013 noted satisfactory progress on implementation, including enhanced participation - 53% men and 47% female membership within the project area; increased participation of women in decision making through adoption of one-third gender rule in the establishment of farmer structures; identification of a basket of priority value chain options that attracted the participation of various categories of farmers; and enhanced collection and documentation of gender disaggregated data. However, progress was uneven; gender-related differences were observed both in some regions and value chains.

Nyysölä, M., J. Pirttilä, and S. Sandström (2012). 'Evidence from a Group-Based Aid Project in Mozambique'. WIDER Working Paper 2012/088 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Nyysölä, Pirttilä, and Sandström (2012)ⁱⁱⁱ explore the impacts of a set of activities that aim to make farming practices more effective in the Gaza area of rural Mozambique. The activities seek to facilitate the adoption of improved technologies available to the government of Mozambique, but which are not reaching the farmers. The specific intervention, implemented by Lutheran World Federation (LWF), was targeted specifically to women who make up the majority of farmers in the two project villages. The results reveal that there were some

immediate gains from the aid intervention. Fertilizer use increased by 20 percent among programme participants and the participating households used almost one new improved variety of seeds. The results related to households' livelihoods are mixed: while food consumption scores did not improve, the participating households moved to use more sustainable coping strategies. However, the effectiveness of the programme on farming outcomes (unlike food security) declined during its second year. This can be due to a serious drought that also hit the treatment villages more severely than the control villages. In addition, there were delays in delivering the aid after the first year of intervention. One of the lessons of the analysis is that obtaining permanent improvements in livelihoods in these adverse conditions probably requires constant and long-term presence of aid (Nyssölä et al. 2012).

Spichiger, R., R. Brandt Broegaard, R. Hundsbæk Pedersen, and H.M. Ravnborg (2013). 'Land administration, gender equality and development cooperation: Lessons learned and challenges ahead'. DIIS Report 2013:30. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.

Spichiger et al. (2013) review land reforms supported by donors in fifteen countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia, with a special focus on Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Nicaragua, from 1990-2009. Donors have played an important role in land law reforms but also in related legal reforms such as succession and marriage laws, which have an important impact on women's access to and ownership of land. Early attempts at tackling women's land rights plateaued and then picked up again over the last ten years. Rather than constituting the main focus, the concern with 'gender equality' is more commonly one among other concerns addressed in aid activities. In the more recent projects, gender is often associated with projects on land rights and certification. This is a new development and is found in Ethiopia, Cambodia, Mali, Ghana, Mozambique, Uganda and Zambia. Donors have also focused on creating legislative change, and guarantees of gender equality in constitutions, land laws, and marriage and succession laws, are now present, albeit in different degrees, in most countries in the study. However, implementation of these legislative frameworks often lags due to a range of factors, including socially or geographically inaccessible institutions dispute settlement mechanisms, lack of awareness, and costs, among others. To address this problem, donors have also supported interventions to strengthen the justice sector and provided support to civil-society organizations and NGOs to train paralegals and raise legal awareness, although impact has been mixed since in practice rights are negotiated and gains can be hard to institutionalize.

Scott, L. (2012). 'Contested Relationships: Women's Economic and Social Empowerment, Insights from the Transfer of Material Assets in Bangladesh'. WIDER Working Paper 2012/002. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Scott (2012) examined the impacts of the first phase (2004-2010) of the Char Montaz Livelihood Program in Bangladesh, funded by the UK government's Department for International Development (DFID). The program's central activity was the transfer of approximately £100s' worth of investment capital to targeted extremely poor households. This investment capital was given specifically to a woman within that household and the majority of these female beneficiaries used it to purchase cattle. Based on in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and participant observation, the author finds that these asset transfers contribute to women's empowerment beyond the economic realm, including in terms of changing intra-household relationships and increasing women's self-esteem. The additional assets participants acquired have made them less dependent on richer households for wage labor (as maid-servants), food loans and credit more generally, thus beginning to change these power relationships.

A1.2.7 Social Protection and Conditional Cash Transfer Programs

Nanivazo, M. (2013). 'Social transfer programmes and school enrolment in Malawi: A micro-simulation'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/115 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Nanivazo (2013) investigates how conditional and unconditional cash transfer programs (CCTs and UCTs) can contribute to increasing children's school enrollment and reducing child labor in Malawi. The author utilizes a micro-simulation approach that predicts how children's behaviors respond to changes in selected parameters of the intervention. Both CCTs and UCTs increase school enrolment but the conditional program scenarios seem to have a greater impact on school enrolment than the unconditional scenarios. With an unconditional transfer, girls' enrolment increases to 70.38 percent, compared to 76.76 percent for boys. With a conditional transfer that is the same amount for boys and girls, school enrolment increases by 30.69 for boys but 35.95 percentage points for girls.

Based on these results, the author concludes there is a scope for donor involvement to help Malawi scale up these programs, which are currently supported by Germany, the EU, and UNICEF. Beyond financial support, donors can provide technical support, capacity building, and institutional strengthening through partnerships with countries such as Brazil and Mexico that have successfully scaled up their CCT programs.

A1.3 Actors of foreign aid

A1.3.1 Bilateral Donors

Nanivazo, M. and L. Scott (2012). 'Gender Mainstreaming in Nordic Development Agencies: Seventeen years after the Beijing Conference'. WIDER Working Paper 2012/091. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Nanivazo and Scott (2012) assess the gender-mainstreaming strategies of three Nordic development agencies: the Danish International Development Agency (Danida), the development department of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (FMFA), and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). They first examine strategies, operations, and structures at the headquarter level, and then focus on implementation and interventions for gender equality carried out at the embassy level. All three donor countries have acquired extensive experience in gender mainstreaming over at least two decades and all three have recently reviewed their strategies. All three agencies follow a twin-track approach – integration of gender equality objectives in all operations and support for targeted interventions to reduce gaps between males and females or promote women's empowerment. Budget allocations largely follow this approach: Gender equality is the principal objective in six per cent and a significant objective in 71 per cent of all Sida interventions initiated between January 2008 and March 2010.

For Danida, 18 per cent of total development aid in 2011, the equivalent of DKK 3 billion, was allocated to gender, both for mainstreaming and for special intervention. Danida's advisers note that it is likely that the same amount will be allocated in the next budget cycle. Meanwhile, the OECD gender marker shows that around 54 percent of Finland's aid budget currently goes towards gender issues.

McGill, E. (2013). 'Asian donor support for gender equality and women's empowerment: Comparative experience, challenges, and opportunities'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/138. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

McGill (2013) examines the gender mainstreaming experience of Australia, Japan, New Zealand, and the Republic of Korea (Korea), as well as the Asian Development Bank (ADB), complemented by a case study of the harmonized work of these agencies in the Philippines, and concluding with lessons for the future. Similar to the Nordic agencies, each of these Asian donors have made explicit policy commitments to promote gender equality and women's empowerment, but their policy commitment to gender equality has been influenced over time by a combination of external and internal factors, including the strength of their domestic women's movements and domestic equality reforms in

each country as well as the degree of strategic advocacy and capacity building by 'femocrats' in each agency.

Japan and ADB are by far the largest funders, while New Zealand's overall aid program is considerably smaller. In terms of gender integration, Australia and New Zealand are the most successful among the bilateral donors, with 53 percent and 50 per cent of their screened activities targeting gender equality and women's empowerment, respectively. In recent years, Australia has stood out among the Asian bilateral donors in its dedicated funding for gender equality initiatives. AusAID's 2011 budget included AU\$96.4 million for four years to support global and local efforts to end violence against women, and the 2012-13 budget included about AU\$7 million allocated to the Gender Equality Policy Section for catalytic projects.

The aid effectiveness agenda, with its emphasis on country ownership and alignment with country systems presents challenges for gender mainstreaming, especially where the counterpart government agencies have little commitment to or capacity for promoting gender equality. In this regard, the Philippine government's harmonized GAD guidelines present one example of how a lead government agency (NEDA), a national focal agency for gender equality (PCW), and supportive development partners (the ODA-GAD Network) can align and harmonize their systems in a way that promotes (rather than undercuts) gender equality and women's empowerment across the development sectors. The original harmonized guidelines were funded by ADB and the UN Development Programme (UNDP), and AusAID funded the most recent reprinting. Since 2007, NEDA has collaborated with members of the ODA-GAD Network to track and report annually on the level of aid supporting gender equality and women's empowerment, using the ten-point checklist and scoring system included in the harmonized guidelines.

Bibler, S. and E. Zuckerman (2013). 'The care connection: The World Bank and women's unpaid care work in select sub-Saharan African countries'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/131. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Bibler and Zuckerman (2013) examine the extent to which the World Bank addresses unpaid care work in its efforts to improve women's access to employment opportunities. The analysis explores Bank investments in four SSA countries: Malawi, Rwanda, Niger, and Mali. The Malawi's six-year Shire River Basin project, adopted in 2012, aims to develop a planning framework to increase social, economic, and environmental benefits through collaborative planning, development, and management of the water-rich Shire River Basin. The project includes components aimed at reducing women's labor burdens, enhancing their income opportunities, and increasing their local leadership but could be further improved by enhancing women's opportunities at the management levels. Niger's second phase Community Action Program aims to improve rural community capacity

to design and implement ‘Communal Development Plans and Annual Investment Plans to advance natural resource management, raise health, education and food security levels, and stimulate economic growth. The project is one of the most gender sensitive projects reviewed by the authors. It adopts a rights-based approach, recognizing Nigerien women’s right to participate in and benefit from income opportunities, improved access to health and education, and agricultural growth initiatives but it falls short in the collection of sex-disaggregated data to monitor results. Rwanda’s 2008–12 Second Rural Sector Support project, which aims to increase agricultural production and marketing in an environmentally sustainable manner, was found to lack attention to issues of women’s unpaid work. Finally, while the Additional Financing for Second Transport Sector project in Mali acknowledges ‘gender-differentiated roles linked to roads’, highlighting women’s responsibility for marketing, transport of goods, manual grinding activities, and household chores, these elements are not incorporated into project design.

Lauterbach, C. and E. Zuckerman (2013). 'Assessing the effectiveness of World Bank investments: The gender dimension'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/017 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Lauterbach and Zuckerman (2013) examine the extent to which World Bank (WB or the ‘Bank’) integrates gender concerns into investments in agriculture and rural development, sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and HIV/AIDS, and conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction (PCR) over the period 2006-2011. Like most donors, the Bank’s approach is inconsistent within and across these sectors. Often projects are good at analysis and diagnosing the economic and social constraints to women’s participation, but specific activities to address those are not included in project design, and projects often do not collect sex-disaggregated data or have gender indicators to monitor and track results. To address these issues, the authors echo recommendations from the mainstreaming literature to increase the number of gender specialists in operations, provide financial and other incentives for staff to better incorporate gender issues into programs under their direction, and strengthen the criteria for categorizing ‘gender-informed projects.’ More controversially, they also recommend the development of a gender safeguard policy modelled on the Bank’s environmental safeguard policy and reform of Inspection Panel guidelines to include cases of adverse gender impacts.

A1.3.2 Public-Private Partnerships and Corporate and Private Actors

Gulrajani, N. (2013). 'The challenge fund aid modality: Assessing the potential for tackling gender challenges in development'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/043 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Gulrajani (2013) examines the role of a new aid modality meant to bring together the mutual interests of business and donors in achieving development. She focuses on 'Challenge Funds' (CFs) and the ways this mechanism is mainstreaming global gender agendas. Two CFs are subject to comparative analysis: the UK's Department for International Development's (DfID's) Business Innovation Facility (BIF) and Sweden's International Development Cooperation Agency's (Sida's) Innovations Against Poverty (IAP). BIF has financed 79 projects while IAP has financed 27, dispersed across 15 countries, although BIF projects are concentrated in its five pilot countries. Most projects are in the agricultural/food sector, although the IAP has a similar number of investments in the energy and infrastructure sectors. While there are no aggregated data for the number of women beneficiaries, the BIF project selection has favoured modes of involvement that rely on the poor as suppliers and producers, whereas the IAP has a larger proportion of its total project portfolio fostering the poor as consumers. It appears that both CFs pay some attention to gender issues, albeit not to any significant degree. Although gender objectives do feature in project selection, they are more prevalent in their instrumental economic formats in the BIF than in the IAP. This gap is accentuated by the fact that the IAP chooses projects on the basis of a transparent selection process, where applicants must clearly articulate their eligibility based on their contributions to development, including gender-related aspects, and with some attention paid to higher-level systemic effects. Nevertheless, neither CF concentrates on the socio-political transformations required to generate robust female economic empowerment through their investments.

Osili, U.O. (2013). 'Non-traditional aid and gender equity: Evidence from million dollar donations'. WIDER Working Paper 2013/076 Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.

Osili (2013) examines a new and unique data source, the Million Dollar List (MDL), a publicly available dataset on non-traditional aid by individuals, corporations, foundations to developing countries. The MDL includes more than 67,000 qualifying gifts from calendar years 2000 to 2011, from which 1,334 were made to international or overseas recipients and causes. Donations made to an international organization with the mission to serve women and/or children or with the specific purpose to promote the welfare of women and/or children are classified as gender-related gifts. According to the MDL, there were 120

gifts of US\$1 million and above made during 2000-10 to address gender-related issues in a developing country, with the total value of US\$1.15 billion. Twenty-four developing countries received such gifts.

The author finds that poor countries with large populations receive more gifts from non-traditional aid than other countries. Female mortality, female labour market participation, and female life expectancy do not affect the incidence of aid received (the number of million dollar gifts). Consistent with the findings on the incidence of non-traditional aid, the level of non-traditional aid is also positively associated with poverty and population. Higher levels of non-traditional aid tend to flow towards countries with higher gender inequality, while the level of aid for gender issues is negatively associated with a country's level of poverty. Finally, non-traditional aid seems to be well targeted.

Appendix 2: Externally peer-reviewed publications^{iv}

A2.1 Books and journal special issues

A2.1.1 Published and forthcoming

Addison, T., and F. Tarp (eds) (forthcoming). ‘Aid Policy and the Macroeconomic Management of Aid’. Special issue of *World Development*.

1. Aid Policy and the Macroeconomic Management of Aid
T. Addison and F. Tarp
2. Assessing Foreign Aid’s Long-Run Contribution to Growth and Development
C. Arndt, S. Jones, and F. Tarp
3. Aid and Income: Another Time-series Perspective
M. Lof, T.J. Mekasha, and F. Tarp
4. Aid Supplies over Time: Addressing Heterogeneity, Trends and Dynamics
S. Jones
5. Business Cycle Fluctuations, Large Macroeconomic Shocks, and Development Aid
E. Dabla-Norris, C. Minoiu, and L.-F. Zanna
6. Consequences of Aid Volatility for Macroeconomic Management and Aid Effectiveness
J. Hudson
7. International Coordination and the Effectiveness of Aid
A. Bigsten and S. Tengstam
8. The Hard Challenge of Aid Coordination
F. Bourguignon and J.-P. Platteau
9. Aid and Government Fiscal Behavior: Assessing Recent Evidence
O. Morrissey
10. Fiscal Composition and Aid Effectiveness: A Political Economy Model
P. Mosley

11. Policy Responses to Aid Surges in Countries with Limited International Capital Mobility: The Role of the Exchange Rate Regime
A. Berg, R. Portillo, and L.-F. Zanna

Gisselquist, R. M. (ed.) (forthcoming). 'Aid and Institution-Building in Fragile States: Findings from Comparative Cases'. Special issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

1. Introduction: Applying Comparative Methods to the Study of State-Building: Key Concepts and Methodological Considerations
R. M. Gisselquist
2. Aid and Institution-Building in Fragile States: Taiwan, South Korea, and South Vietnam 1950s-1970s
K. Gray
3. Aid and Policy Preference in Fragile Oil-Rich Countries: Comparing Indonesia and Nigeria
A. H. Fuady
4. Aid and Governance in Vulnerable States: Bangladesh and Pakistan since 1971
M. Khan
5. Introduction Aid and Institution-Building in Central America: The Re-Formation of Rule of Law Institutions in Post-Conflict Societies
J. M. Cruz
6. Foreign Aid, Resource Rents and Institution-Building in Mozambique and Angola
H. Perez Nino and P. Le Billon
7. State-Building through Neotrusteeship: Kosovo and East Timor in Comparative Perspective
L. M. Howard
8. Aid and Institution-Building in Fragile States: The Case of Somali-Inhabited Eastern Horn of Africa
K. Menkhaus
9. Aid and Institutions in Rwanda and Burundi
D. Curtis
10. Post-War Reconstruction in Sierra Leone and Liberia in Comparative Perspective
A. K. Onoma
11. Findings from Comparative Cases
R. M. Gisselquist

Gisselquist, R. M., and M. Niño-Zarazúa (eds) (forthcoming). 'Experimental and Non-Experimental Methods in the Study Government Performance: Toward a Middle Ground?'. Special issue of *The Journal of Globalization and Development*.

1. Introduction: What Can Experimental Methods Tell Us about Government Performance?
R. M. Gisselquist and M. Niño-Zarazúa
2. Evaluating Antipoverty Transfer Programs in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa: Better Policies? Better Politics?
A. Barrientos and J. M. Villa
3. A Structural Approach to Generalization in Social Experiments
F. Martel Garcia and L. Wantchekon
4. The Ethics of Field Experimentation
M. Humphreys
5. The Porous Dialectic: Experimental and Non-experimental Methods in Development Economics
R. Debejia
6. Measuring Government Performance in Public Opinion Surveys in Africa: Towards Experiments?
M. Bratton
7. Ancillary Experiments: Opportunities and Challenges
K. Baldwin and R. Bhavani

Gisselquist, R. M., and D. Resnick (eds) (forthcoming). 'Aiding Government Effectiveness in Developing Countries'. Special issue of *Public Administration and Development*.

1. Introduction
R. M. Gisselquist and D. Resnick
2. Policing Reforms and Economic Development in African States: Understanding the Linkages, Empowering Change
O. Marenin
3. Economic Governance: Improving the Economic and Regulatory Environment for Supporting Private Sector Activity
C. Kirkpatrick
4. The Impact of Adult Civic Education Programs in Developing Democracies
S. Finkel

5. Foreign Aid and Decentralization: Policies for Autonomy and Programming for Responsiveness
J. Tyler Dickovick
6. Taxation and Development: A Review of Donor Support to Strengthen Tax Systems in Developing Countries
O.-H. Fjeldstad
7. Civil Service Reform: A Review
S. Repucci

Resnick, D. (ed.) (forthcoming). ‘Urban Governance and Service Delivery in African Cities’. Special issue of *Development Policy Review*.

1. Urban Governance and Service Delivery in African Cities: The Role of Politics and Policies
D. Resnick
2. Urban Service Delivery in Africa and the Role of International Assistance
R. Stren
3. Opposition Politics and Urban Service Delivery in Kampala, Uganda
G. Lambright
4. Strategies of Subversion in Vertically-Divided Contexts: Decentralisation and Urban Service Delivery in Senegal
D. Resnick
5. Vertical Decentralisation and Urban Service Delivery in South Africa: Does Politics Matter?
R. Cameron

Resnick, D., and N. van de Walle (eds) (2013). *Democratic Trajectories in Africa: Unravelling the Impact of Foreign Aid*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

1. Introduction: Why Aid and Democracy? Why Africa?
D. Resnick and N. van de Walle
2. Democratization in Africa: What Role for External Actors?
D. Resnick and N. van de Walle
3. Foreign Aid and Democratic Development in Africa
S. Dietrich and J. Wright
4. Foreign Aid in Dangerous Places: The Donors and Mali’s Democracy
N. van de Walle

5. Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: The Limits of Foreign Aid on Malawi's Democratic Consolidation
D. Resnick
6. The Changing Dynamics of Foreign Aid and Democracy in Mozambique
C. Manning and M. Malbrough
7. Donor Assistance and Political Reform in Tanzania
A. M. Tripp
8. Foreign Aid and Democratic Consolidation in Zambia
L. Rakner
9. Beyond Electoral Democracy: Foreign Aid and the Challenge of Deepening Democracy in Benin
M. Gazibo
10. Ghana: The Limits of External Democracy Assistance
E. Gyimah-Boadi and T. Yakab
11. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations
D. Resnick

A2.1.2 Under review and in preparation

Addison, T., M. Niño-Zarazúa, and F. Tarp (eds). 'Aid, Social Policy and Welfare in Developing Countries'.

1. Introduction: Aid, Social Policy and Welfare in Developing Countries
T. Addison, M. Niño-Zarazúa, and F. Tarp
2. Public Spending, Welfare and the Quest against Poverty and Income Inequality in Developing Countries
F. H. Gebregziabher and M. Niño-Zarazúa
3. On the Impact of Sector-Specific Foreign Aid on Welfare Outcomes: Do Aid Modalities Matter?
A. Abdilabi, T. Addison, M. Niño-Zarazúa, and F. Tarp
4. Aid, Political Cycles and Welfare in sub-Saharan Africa
B. Chiripambura and M. Niño-Zarazúa
5. The Progressivity and Regressivity of Aid to the Social
B. Baulch and L. Vi An Tam
6. New Actors in Development Assistance: the Africa-Brazil Co-operation in Social Protection
I. Costa Leite, B. Suyama, and M. Pomeroy

7. Targeting Social Transfer Programmes: Comparing Design and Implementation Errors Across Alternative Mechanisms
R. Sabates-Wheeler, A. Hurrell, and S. Devereux
8. The Donor Co-ordination for Effective Government Policies? Implementation of the New Aid Effectiveness Agenda in Health and Education in Zambia
S. Leiderer

Addison, T., L. Scott, and F. Tarp (eds). *Renaissance or Retreat? Aid in Changing Times.*

1. Introduction
T. Addison, L. Scott, and F. Tarp
2. Aid as a Second-Best Solution. Seven Problems of Effectiveness and How to Tackle Them
R. Manning
3. Land, Rethinking the World of Aid in the Twenty First Century
P. Heller
4. Aid and Poverty: Why Does Aid Not Address Poverty (Much)
A. Shepherd and S. Bishop
5. Aid, Structural Change and the Private Sector in Africa
J. Page
6. Aid and Infrastructure Financing: Emerging Challenges with a Focus on Africa
T. Addison and P.B. Anand
7. Foreign Assistance and the Food Crisis of 2007-08
P. Abbott
8. Improving Donor Support for Urban Poverty Reduction: A Focus on South Asia
N. Banks
9. A Changing Landscape with New Players and Challenges
A. Chimhowu
10. Aid as a Catalyst for Pioneer Investment
P. Collier
11. Global Poverty, Aid, and Middle-Income Countries: Are the Country Classifications Moribund or Is Global Poverty in the Process of 'Nationalizing'?
A. Sumner

12. Conclusions: Renaissance or Retreat?
T. Addison, L. Scott, and F. Tarp

Addison, T., and F. Tarp (eds). ‘Macroeconomic Management of Aid’.

Andrews, M., L. Pritchett, and M. Woolcock (eds). *Problem Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA)*.

Arndt, C., and F. Tarp (eds). ‘Aid, Environment and Climate Change’.

1. Environmental and Climate Finance in a New World: How Past Environmental Aid Allocation Impacts Future Climate Aid
C. Marcoux, B. C. Parks, C. M. Peratsakis, J. T. Roberts, and M. J. Tierney
2. Foreign Assistance in a Climate- Constrained World
C. Arndt and C. Friis Bach
3. Land, Environment and Climate: Contributing to the Global Public Good
T. W. Hertel
4. International Cooperation for Agricultural Development and Food- and Nutrition Security: New Institutional Arrangements for Related Public Goods
J. von Braun
5. REDD+ as Performance-Based Aid
A. Angelsen
6. Foreign Aid and Sustainable Energy
L. Gomez-Echeverri
7. Aid, Environment, and Climate Change
C. Arndt and F. Tarp

Gisselquist, R. M. (ed.). ‘Good Aid in Hard Places: Evaluating and Explaining Reform “Success” in Fragile Contexts’.

1. Good Aid in Hard Places: Evaluating and Learning from What Has Worked in Fragile Contexts
R. M. Gisselquist
2. The National Solidarity Program: Assessing the Effects of Community Driven Development in Afghanistan
A. Beath, F. Christia, and R. Enikolopov
3. Delivering Good Aid in Hard Places: The Yemen Social Fund for Development Approach
L. Al-Iryani, A. de Janvry, and E. Sadoulet

4. The World Bank's Health Projects in Timor-Leste: The Political Economy of Effective Aid
A. Rosser and S. Bremner
5. Afghanistan's Health Sector Rehabilitation Program
M. K. Rashidi, F. Feroz, N. Kamawal, H. Niayesh, G. Qader, and H. Saleh
6. Education from the Bottom Up: UNICEF's Education Program in Somalia
J. H. Williams and W. C. Cummings
7. Success When Stars Align: Public Financial Management Reforms in Sierra Leone
H. Tavakoli, W. Cole, and I. Ceesay
8. Liberia's Gender-Sensitive Police Reform: Starting from Scratch? Improving Representation and Responsiveness
L. Bacon
9. Impact Assessment of the Facilitadores Judiciales Program in Nicaragua
M. Barendrecht, M. Kokke, M. Gramatikov, R. Porter, M. Frishman, and A. Morales
10. Finn Church Aid and the Somali Peace Process
R. Lepistö and J. Ojala

Gisselquist, R. M. (ed.). 'The Challenge of Chronic State Weakness: Implications for State-building'.

1. The Challenge of Chronic State Weakness
R. M. Gisselquist
2. Intervention, Aid, and Institution-Building in Iraq and Afghanistan: A Review and Critique of Comparative Lessons
J. Monten
3. International Aid to Southern Europe in the Early Post-war Period: The Cases of Greece and Italy
D. A. Sotiropoulos
4. Aid and State Development in Ghana and South Korea
J. Kim
5. Foreign Aid and the Failure of State-Building in Haiti under the Duvaliers, Aristide, Préval, and Martelly
T. F. Buss

6. Consociational Settlements and Reconstruction: Bosnia in Comparative Perspective (1995 to present)
S. Stroschein
7. Aid, Accountability, and Institution-Building in Ethiopia: A Comparative Analysis of Donor Practice
B. Abegaጺ

Niño-Zarazúa, M. (ed.). ‘Education Aid and Development: Have We Got It Right?’.

1. Introduction: Foreign Aid and Education: Principles and Actions
M. Niño-Zarazúa
2. The Effectiveness of Foreign Aid to Education: What Can Be Learned?
A. Riddell
3. International Organizations and the Future of Educational Assistance
P. Heyneman and B. Lee
4. Making Aid Work for Education in Developing Countries: an Analysis of Aid Effectiveness for Primary Education Coverage and Quality
K. Birbler and K. Michaelowa
5. What Works to Improve Education Quality in Developing Countries
S. Masino and M. Niño-Zarazúa
6. Class Size versus Composition: Do They Matter for Learning in East Africa?
S. Jones
7. How to Move from Measuring Separate Outcomes of School Food Provision to an Integrated Indicator Related to Learning?
Gelli, F. Espejo, J. Shen, and E. Kristjansson

Niño-Zarazúa, M. (ed.). *Aid and Public Health Policy in Developing Countries.*

1. Introduction: Foreign Aid and Public Health Interventions in Developing Countries
M. Niño-Zarazúa
2. Aid Effectiveness in the Health Sector
M. Martínez Álvarez and A. Acharya

3. Global Collective Action in Health: The WDR+20 Landscape of Core and Supportive Functions
N. Blanchet, M. Thomas, R. Atun, D. Jamison, F. Knaul, and R. Hecht
4. External Assistance and Aid Effectiveness of Maternal and Child Health: Challenges and Opportunities
Z. A. Bhutta and S. Aleem
5. Universal Access to Drinking Water: The Role of Foreign Aid
R. Bain, R. Luyendijk, and J. Bartram
6. Every Drop Counts: Assessing Aid for Water and Sanitation
P.B. Anand
7. International Aid for Diarrheal Disease Control: Effectiveness and Potential for the Future
R. A. Cash and J. Potter
8. What Do We Know about Non-Clinical Interventions for Preventable and Treatable Childhood Diseases in Developing Countries?
M. Seguin, and M. Niño-Zarazúa
9. Policy Interventions against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria in Developing Countries: What are their Micro-Economic effects?
A. B. Amaya and M. Niño-Zarazúa
10. On the Effectiveness of Policy Interventions Against Neglected Tropical Diseases
M. Quattri and M. Niño-Zarazúa
11. Conclusion
M. Niño-Zarazúa

Page, J., S. Jones, and F. Tarp (eds). 'Aid, Structural Transformation and Employment'.

A2.2 Individual journal articles and book chapters^v

A2.2.1 Published and forthcoming

Addison, T., C. Arndt, and F. Tarp (2011). 'The Triple Crisis and the Global Aid Architecture'. *African Development Review*, 23(4): 461-478.

Andrews, M., L. Pritchett, and M. Woolcock (2013). 'Looking Like a State: Techniques of Persistent Failure in State Capability for Implementation'. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 49(1): 1-18.

Andrews, M., L. Pritchett, and M. Woolcock (2013). 'Escaping Capability Traps Through Problem Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA)'. *World Development*, 51: 234-244.

Arndt, C., S. Jones, and F. Tarp. (2010). 'Aid, Growth, and Development: Have We Come Full Circle?'. *Journal of Globalization and Development*, 1(2): 1-29.

Arndt, C., S. Jones, and F. Tarp (forthcoming). 'Aid Effectiveness'. In M. Ndulu (ed.), *Problems, Promises, and Paradoxes of Aid: Africa's Experience*. Ohio University Press.

Gisselquist, R.M. (forthcoming 2014). 'Paired Comparisons and Theory Development: Considerations for Case Selection'. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 47(2).

Jones, S., and F. Tarp (forthcoming). 'Jobs and Welfare in Mozambique'. In G. Betcherman (ed.), *World Development Report 2013: Country Case Study Volume*. World Bank.

Juselius, K., N.F. Møller, and F. Tarp (2012). 'The Long-Run Impact of Foreign Aid in 36 African Countries: Insights from Multivariate Time Series Analysis'. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*.

Mekasha, T.J. and F. Tarp (2013). 'Aid and Growth: What Meta-Analysis Reveals'. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 49(4): 564-583.

Nanivazo, M. (forthcoming). 'Social Transfer Programmes and School Enrolment in Malawi: A Micro-simulation'. *African Development Review*.

Tarp, F. (2011). 'Foreign Aid and Development'. In B. Badie, D. Berg-Schlosser, and L. Morlino (eds), *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. SAGE Publication.

Tarp, F. (2012) 'The Rationale of Foreign Aid Policy'. In P. Andersen, I. Henriksen, J. H. Petersen and H. Zobbe (eds), *How Does the World Look?*. Copenhagen: Jurist og Økonomforbundets Forlag.

Woolcock, M. (2013). 'Using Case Studies to Explore the External Validity of 'Complex' Development Interventions'. *Evaluation*, 19(3): 229-248.

Appendix 3: Research briefs

The research briefs are two-page documents providing in a compact and easy language some of the key findings and implications of WIDER Working Papers from ReCom programme. The briefs are also the building blocks of the highly praised ReCom website (www.wider.unu.edu/recom), which delivers a wide range of knowledge on the five themes of the research programme. All papers coming out of the ReCom programme will also have research briefs on the ReCom website.

1. [Impact of aid for health and education on gender equity and human development - WIDER Working Paper 2013/66](#)
2. [Assessing the role of gender in DfID and Sida challenge funds - WIDER Working Paper 2013/043](#)
3. [How to promote sustainable jobs in Mozambique - WIDER Working Paper 2013/45](#)
4. [The effectiveness of aid to women's political participation in MENA - WIDER Working Paper 2013/74](#)
5. [Lessons from US interventions to Japan, Afghanistan and Iraq - WIDER Working Paper 2013/108](#)
6. [Maximizing the effectiveness of foreign aid in the forestry sector - WIDER Working Paper 2013/054](#)
7. [Supporting design of green cities - Working Paper 2013/051](#)
8. [Neotrusteeship in post-conflict states – lessons from Kosovo and East Timor - WIDER Working Paper 'Aid and Institution-Building in Fragile States: State-Building through Neotrusteeship: Kosovo and East Timor in Comparative Perspective'](#)
9. [Policing reforms in African states – exploring the link to economic development - WIDER Working Paper 2013/013](#)
10. [Gender sensitivity of World Bank investments - WIDER Working Paper 2013/017](#)
11. [Using foreign aid to incentivize pioneer investing - WIDER Working Paper 2013/004](#)
12. [Building a capable state in Afghanistan - WIDER Working Paper 2013/063](#)
13. [Global poverty, middle-income countries and the future of development aid - WIDER Working Paper 2013/062](#)
14. [How to achieve economics of peace? - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/47](#)
15. [Confronting climate change: The role of land - WIDER Working Paper 2013/107](#)

16. Trends in environmental aid: global issues, bilateral delivery - *WIDER Working Paper 'Environmental and Climate Finance in a New World'*
17. Improving food security: what works and what could work? - WIDER Working Paper 2013/061
18. Foreign aid, capacity building and climate change - WIDER Working Paper 2013/46
19. Job creation and small and medium size enterprises - WIDER Working Paper 2012/94
20. How can aid help mitigate the problem of overfishing in Africa? - *WIDER Working Paper 'Foreign Aid and Sustainable Fisheries Management in Sub-Saharan Africa'*
21. How can aid help agriculture become more resilient to climate change? - WIDER Working Paper 2013/047
22. Gender mainstreaming: the comparative case of the Nordic Development Agencies - WIDER Working Paper 2012/91
23. An assessment of a village development programme in Mozambique - WIDER Working Paper 2012/88
24. Curbing early childhood undernutrition in lower and middle income countries – findings and lessons for the future - *This research brief is based on a series of systematic reviews and evaluations conducted by Elizabeth Kristjansson, Damian Francis, Selma Liberato, Trish Greenhalgh, Vivian Welch, Eamonn Noonan.*
25. Principled aid: ways to attain MDG4 and MDG5 - *This research brief is based on 'A review of external assistance and aid effectiveness for maternal and child health: challenges and opportunities'*
26. Evaluations: crucial for the spread of social protection programmes - WIDER Working Paper 2013/009
27. Education aid - a way forward - WIDER Working Paper 2013/018
28. What is the effect of aid on primary enrolment and quality of education? - WIDER Working Paper 2012/21
29. Aid, poverty, and the working poor - WIDER Working Paper 2012/86
30. What works? - lessons from aid to education - WIDER Working Paper 75/2012
31. Healthcare: Barriers to effective aid - WIDER Working Paper 2012/69
32. The development process – the problem of imitating success - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/63
33. The development process - escaping the capability trap - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/64
34. Gender and transitional justice - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/06
35. Does aid promote development? - WIDER Working Paper 2011/44

36. Foreign assistance in a climate-constrained world - WIDER Working Paper 2011/66
37. Service delivery in Nairobi and Mombasa - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/92
38. Aid for statistics in Africa - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/99
39. Aid and management training - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/99
40. Financing growth in low-income countries - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/77
41. Barriers to effective civil service reform in developing countries - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/90
42. Growth for low-income countries? - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/77
43. The unique character of EU aid - WIDER Working Paper no. 2012/76
44. Greenhouse gas emissions and China's agriculture sector - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/74
45. Democratic consolidation and donor activity in Malawi - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/28
46. Foreign aid and Ghanaian democracy - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/40
47. Aid and Dutch Disease - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/26
48. The fungibility problem: Budget support, aid on delivery or project aid? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/68
49. Foreign aid and Malian democracy - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/61
50. The role of ODA in infrastructure financing - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/56
51. Should aid be allocated according to need or governance capacity? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/54
52. The second best solution - seven problems of aid effectiveness - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/24
53. Divided authority in Kampala, Uganda - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/51
54. Urban service delivery in Africa and the World Bank - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/49
55. Taxation, public expenditure and aid effectiveness - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/29
56. The global triple crises - finance, environment and food - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2010/01
57. The supply side of aid - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/04

58. Aid and structural change in Africa: a new agenda - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/21
59. Delivering aid through religious organizations - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/73
60. How to spend it? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/05
61. Aid to Mozambique: a trade-off between governance and democracy? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/18
62. Economic aid vs. democracy aid: democratic consolidation in Africa - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/20
63. Democracy in Benin: achievements and challenges - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/33
64. Is there a micro-macro paradox in aid? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2010/96
65. A meta-analysis of the literature on aid and growth - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/22
66. Aid effectiveness in 36 African countries - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/51
67. Responding to aid-induced Dutch Disease - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/95
68. Aid and economic growth: the case of Sierra Leone - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/07
69. Aid, debt, and public expenditure allocation - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/42
70. Vulnerability, aid and accelerated growth - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/31
71. Democratic transitions in Africa: the impacts of development aid and democracy assistance - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/15
72. Zambia - Foreign Aid and Democratic Consolidation - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/16
73. How Aid Supplies from Donor Countries Respond to Economic Crisis - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/25
74. Ghana's oil resources toward economic growth and human development - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/22
75. Aid and government fiscal behaviour: What does the evidence say? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/01
76. Can the coordination of aid cut costs for donors? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/32
77. What does good governance mean? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/30

78. Lessons of Experience in International Democracy Support - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/84
79. The unintended consequences of foreign aid in Tanzania - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/37
80. Aid in North Africa after the 'Arab Spring' – UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/72
81. Aid volatility across development sectors - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/35
82. Rethinking aid allocation in light of current global challenges - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/67
83. The politics of urban poverty reduction - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/68
84. Female Empowerment and Extreme Poverty Reduction: Progressing On One without the Other? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/02
85. Learning how to promote social protection from Cambodia's garment workers - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2011/81
86. How can food aid be more effective? - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/19
87. Food Aid: What we know and what we need to know - UNU-WIDER working paper no. 2012/34

Appendix 4: Events and presentations

1. Seminar: ‘Aid and Development, Asia and Africa: The Role of Infrastructure and Capacity Development, East Asia: Growth and its Implication for African Development’, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK, 17-18 February 2011.
2. Seminar: ‘The Impact of Aid: What is the Impact of Aid, Economic Development, Recipient Governments and Donors Themselves?’, Sida, Stockholm, Sweden, 9 March 2011.
3. Presentation: ‘Aid, Growth and Development: Are We Getting Results?’, Finnish Development Days, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Helsinki, Finland, 22 March 2011.
4. Seminar: ‘Aid: Working for Development’, Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, Denmark, 17 June 2011.
5. Conference: ‘Foreign Aid: Research and Communication’, UNU-WIDER, Helsinki, Finland, 30 September-1 October 2011.
6. Conference: ‘Macroeconomic Management of Foreign Aid’, Nairobi, Kenya, 2-3 December 2011.
7. Seminar: ‘Development Effectiveness: New Ideas, New Challenges’, Development Policy Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Helsinki, Finland, 19 January 2012.
8. ReCom Results Meeting: ‘Aid, ‘Growth and Macroeconomic Management’, Copenhagen, Denmark, 27 January 2012.
9. Seminar: Sida Development Talks: ‘Development Assistance and Growth’, Sida, Stockholm, Sweden, 13 March 2012.
10. Seminar: ‘Aid and Growth: an Overview’, London, UK, 19 March 2012.
11. Seminar: ‘Two Steps Forward, One Step Back? Progress, Setbacks, and Possibilities for Democratization, Africa’, Helsinki, Finland, 18 April 2012.
12. Lecture: ‘Foreign Aid and Domestic Politics, Recipient Countries’, Stockholm, Sweden, 10 May 2012.
13. ReCom Results Meeting ‘Democracy and Fragility’, Stockholm, Sweden, 10 May 2012.
14. Seminar: ‘Does Aid Contribute to Economic Development?’, Helsinki, Finland, 15 May 2012.
15. Seminar: ‘Cutting Edge Executive Education’, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 15-18 May 2012
16. Seminar: ‘Foreign Aid and Democracy in Africa’, London, UK, 17 May 2012.
17. Seminar: ‘Urban Governance and Service Delivery, Africa’, Cape Town, South Africa, 5 June 2012

18. Seminar: [‘Donors, Democracy and Development: Unravelling the Impact of Aid in Africa’](#), Accra, Ghana, 8 June 2012.
19. [Gender Equality Theme Meeting](#), Helsinki, Finland, 12-13 July 2012.
20. Seminar: [‘Urban Governance and Service Delivery, Africa: The Role of National Policies, Institutions, and Politics’](#), within World Urban Forum 6, Naples, Italy, 5 September 2012.
21. Conference presentation: ‘Successful Societies’, Princeton University, New Jersey, USA, 21 September 2012.
22. ReCom Results Meeting: [‘Jobs: Aid at Work?’](#), Copenhagen, Denmark, 8 October 2012.
23. Presentation: [‘Aid, Growth and Development’](#), Danish Economic Society, Copenhagen, Denmark, 9 October 2012.
24. Presentation: ‘Has Foreign Aid Improved Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa? Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Findings’ at [Nordic Africa Days](#), Reykjavík, Iceland, 18-19 October 2012.
25. Presentation at a UNDP Seminar: New York, USA, 24 October 2012.
26. Presentation: [‘Building State Capability: A PDIA Approach’](#) at CID’s 5th Annual Global Empowerment Meeting (GEM12), Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 25 October 2012.
27. Presentation made to the World Bank Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region team, Washington DC, USA, 30 October 2012.
28. Presentation made to USAID governance group, Washington DC, USA, November 2012.
29. Presentation: [‘Aid, Growth and Development’](#), Danish Society for International Development and the Centre for African Studies, Copenhagen University, Copenhagen, Denmark, 2 November 2012.
30. Presentation: [‘Does Foreign Aid Help?’](#), IBIS General Assembly, Copenhagen, Denmark, 3 November 2012.
31. Presentation at EU European Social Fund Conference, the Netherlands, 6 November 2012.
32. Presentation: SIDA Development Talks, [‘Capturing and Communicating Results: Complex Contributions’](#), Stockholm, Sweden, 8 November 2012.
33. Presentation of ReCom results at [workshop, ‘The New Global Development Agenda’](#), Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland and UNU-WIDER, Helsinki, Finland, 12 November 2012.
34. Presentation at MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning Seminar: Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 14 November 2012.
35. Presentation at DFID, London, UK, 15 November 2012.
36. Workshop: ‘Growth and Building State Capability through Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA)’, Government of Uganda, Kampala, Uganda, 6-8 December 2012.

37. Presentation in RAND Graduate School Seminar: 10 January 2013.
38. Seminar at American University, School of International Service, Washington DC, USA, 30 January 2013.
39. ReCom Results Meeting: '[Aid and the Social Sectors](#)', Stockholm, Sweden, 13 March 2013.
40. Guest lecture at Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington DC, USA, 1 April 2013.
41. Presentation: '[Does Aid Contribute to Economic Development?](#)', African Development Bank, Tunis, Tunisia, 4 April 2013.
42. Presentation at World Bank Institute, Washington DC, USA, 29 April 2013.
43. Presentation at the Harvard University Cutting Edge Executive Education Seminar, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 13-17 May 2013.
44. Presentation at Civilian Training of the US Department of Defense, Washington DC, USA, 23 May 2013.
45. ReCom Results Meeting: '[Aid and Our Changing Environment](#)', Stockholm, Sweden, 4 June 2013.
46. Promotion and exhibition booth on ReCom at the Deutsche Welle [Global Media Forum](#), Bonn, Germany, 17-19 June 2013.
47. Promotion and exhibition booth on ReCom at the [8th World Conference of Science Journalist 2013](#), Helsinki, Finland, 24-28 June
48. Workshop: '[How to Make News Out of Foreign Aid](#)', 8th World Conference of Science Journalists, Helsinki, Finland, 24 June 2013.
49. Lecture at World Bank DEC, Washington DC, USA, 26 June 2013.
50. Guest lecture at Sydney Law School, Sydney, Australia, 17 August 2013.
51. Lecture at South African National Treasury, Pretoria, South Africa, August 2013.
52. Presentation at Harvard Business Review, Brasil Public Management Training for local government officials, Brasilia, Brazil, 20 August 2013.
53. Symposium: '[Experimental and Non-Experimental Methods to Study Governance Performance: Contributions and Limits](#)', New York, USA, 22-23 August 2013.
54. Lecture at Syracuse University, New York, USA, September 2013.
55. Briefing: ReCom programme for UNU-WIDER conference participants held, Helsinki, Finland, 19 September 2013.
56. Guest lecture at Columbia University, New York, USA, 20 September 2013.
57. Lecture at Johns Hopkins University Baltimore, USA, September 2013.
58. Public lecture at University of Bath, Bath, UK, 14 October 2013.

59. Panel discussion at American Evaluation Association, Washington DC, USA, 17 October 2013.
60. ReCom Results Meeting: [‘Challenges, Fragility and Governance’](#), Copenhagen, Denmark, 23 October 2013.
61. Workshop: [‘Untying Development: Promoting Governance and Governments with Impact’](#), Harvard University, USA, 23 October 2013.
62. Panel discussion: [‘Impact Evaluation as a Learning Tool for Development Effectiveness Tomorrow’](#), Inter-American Development Bank, Washington DC, USA, 24 October 2013.
63. Joint UNU and UNU-WIDER event: [‘Fragility and Aid: What Works?’](#), New York, USA, 25 October 2013.
64. Presentation: [‘ReCom: What Works, Foreign Aid’](#), Ministry for Foreign Ministry of Finland’s Planning Day, Helsinki, Finland, 31 October 2013.
65. Lecture at New York University, USA, October 2013.
66. Conference presentation at [LACEA-LAMES 2013](#), Latin American Economics Association (LACEA), Mexico City, Mexico, 2 November 2013.
67. Presentation: [‘Aid, Environment and Climate Change’](#), IDB-NDF seminar on Innovative Climate Financing Mechanisms, Nordic Development Fund, Helsinki, Finland, 4 November 2013.
68. Presentation at World Bank Institute Seminar, Washington DC, USA, 5 November 2013.
69. Panel discussion: [‘Foreign Aid and Democracy, Africa’](#), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, USA, 6 November 2013.
70. Lecture at Australian Embassy, Jakarta, Indonesia, 11 November 2013.
71. Presentation: Overseas Development Institute, London, UK, 15 November 2013.
72. Project meeting: [‘Aid and Institution-Building, Fragile States: Lessons from Comparative Cases’](#), Helsinki, Finland, 15-16 November 2013.
73. Presentation at World Bank Seminar, Myanmar, 18 November 2013.
74. Presentation at World Bank Seminar, Nairobi, Kenya, 2 December 2013.
75. Project meeting: [‘Good Aid, Hard Places: Learning from What Has Worked, Fragile Contexts’](#), Helsinki, Finland, 12-13 December 2013.
76. ReCom Results Meeting: [‘Aid for Gender Equality’](#), Copenhagen, Denmark, 16 December 2013.

Notes in appendices

- ⁱ This paper was originally commissioned under the Fragile States theme.
- ⁱⁱ This paper was originally commissioned under the Aid and Social Sector theme.
- ⁱⁱⁱ This paper was originally commissioned under the Aid and Social Sector theme.
- ^{iv} This list does not include some papers that will be submitted after the completion of the ReCom position papers.
- ^v This list does not include papers currently under review.

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