

**DFID Malawi Gender Audit:
Evaporated, invisibilized or resisted?**

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The views and opinions expressed in this paper and annexes are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily correspond to the views or policies of the Department of International Development (DFID) UK

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Acronyms

BLM(ISRHP)	Banja La Mtsogolo (Integrated Sexual and Reproductive Health Program)
CADECOM	Catholic Development Commission of Malawi
CAP	Country Assistance Plan
CBA	Cost Benefit Analysis
CDA	Community Development Assistant
CILIC	Civil Liberties Committee
CPAR	Canadian Physicians Aid Relief
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
DAGG	Development Assistance Group on Gender
DALY	Disability-Adjusted Life Year
DEMATT	Development of Malawian Traders Trust
DFID	Department for International Development
DFIDM	Department for International Development Malawi
GBI	Gender Budget Initiative
GES	Gender and Empowerment Strategy
GESP	Gender Equality Support Project
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GoM	Government of Malawi
GTE	Gender Targeted Expenditures
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ILTPWP	Improving Livelihoods Through Public Works Programme
MANASO	Malawi Network of AIDS Service Organisations
MANET+	Malawi Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS
MaSSAJ	Malawi Safety, Security and Access to Justice Programme
MCHAP	Men, Culture and HIV/AIDS Project
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MHRC	Malawi Human Rights Commission
MPRS	Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy
MPRSP	Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MOGCWCS	Ministry of Gender, Child Welfare and Community Services
MTEF	Mid-Term Expenditure Framework
MWCYCS	Ministry of Women Children Youth and Community Services
NABW	National Association of Business Women
NAC	National AIDS Commission
NACP	National AIDS Control Program
NASME	National Association of Small and Medium Enterprises
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGP	National Gender Policy
NIB	Net Incremental Benefit
NPV	Net Present Value
NTP	National Tuberculosis Control Programme
OPR	Output to Purpose Review
OVI	Objectively Verifiable Indicator
PfA	Beijing Platform for Action
PGN	Practical Gender Needs
PIM	Policy Information Marker
PLHA	People Living with AIDS
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother To Child Transmission
PPE	Pro-Poor Expenditure

PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSA	Public Service Agreement
SAW	Society for Advancement of Women
SDA	Social Development Advisor
SEDOM	Small Enterprises Development Organisation of Malawi
SHSLP	Shire Highlands Sustainable Livelihoods Programme
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
TB	Tuberculosis
TOR	Terms of Reference
TSP	Target Strategy Paper
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WFP	World Food Programme
WLSA	Women Lawyers in Southern Africa
WWB	Women's World Banking

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Executive Summary

DFIDM Malawi Gender Audit: Evaporated, invisibilized or resisted?

1. Introduction

1.1 Gender audit objectives , structure and methodology

DFID London in its TSP on *Poverty Elimination and the Empowerment of Women* (DFID 2000) identifies gender equality and the empowerment of women as essential to the elimination of world poverty, and outlines a twin-track gender mainstreaming (GM) strategy that includes both the integration of women and men's concerns throughout the development process, as well as specific activities aimed at empowering women. The objective of this gender audit is to systematically assess DFIDM policies, strategies and activities in terms of their implementation of DFID's GM strategy. This is contextualized within the broader political, economic and social environment on gender issues in Malawi. The recommendations are intended to assist DFIDM in supporting the Government of Malawi (GoM) to achieve the country's MDGs.

The gender audit is divided into four sections:

- **Part one**, by way of background, outlines the importance of gender equality for reaching the MDGs, as well as DFIDM's endorsement of the MDG commitment to gender equality.
- **Part two** provides the main findings and conclusions. These include an 'external' evaluation of the twin-track GM strategy in DFIDM's country strategy, its sector programmes and its specific activities aimed at empowering women.
- **Part three** provides a short 'internal' organizational self-assessment of internal GM responsibilities and associated capacity.
- **Part four** focuses on the way ahead and introduces a practical action plan developed in consultation with DFIDM.

With no standardized DFID gender audit methodology, the Malawi audit elaborates its own, incorporating eight quantitative and qualitative assessment tools triangulated in the results.

1.2. Background: DFIDM's endorsement of MDG gender equality commitment

Important MDGs in Malawi will not be reached unless gender equality goals are incorporated into development efforts. Gender disparities and inequalities relate not only to Goal 3, in which gender equality is the subject in its own right, but also to most of the other goals. Within the framework of the MDGs, DFIDM *endorses* the commitment to gender equality. In its upcoming programme it identifies the importance of prioritizing *opportunities* to successfully address gender equality issues across each of DFID's theme areas. A strategy of 'picking winners' will allow DFIDM to identify critical central issues amenable to change, and to *consolidate* work within prioritized areas through comprehensive interrelated initiatives. The gender audit identifies positive and negative lessons learnt, to better ensure that gender equality issues are effectively mainstreamed along with DFIDM's shift from projects and programmes to SWAps, basket funds and direct budget support.

2. Gender Audit Findings and Conclusions

2.1 Contextual framework: GM evaporated, invisibilized or resisted?

The gender audit introduces three concepts for the assessment of the implementation of GM:

- *Evaporation*: When good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice.
- *Invisibilization*: When monitoring and evaluation procedures fail to document what is occurring 'on the ground'.
- *Resistance*: When effective mechanisms block GM, with opposition essentially 'political' and based on gender power relations, rather than on 'technocratic' procedural constraints.

It also identifies policy approaches that underpin GM interventions, distinguishing among welfare, economic efficiency and more the recently introduced human rights approach.

2.2 The gender audit score card summary findings

The audit findings of DFIDM's implementation of its GM strategy are synthesized in an audit score card (see Table 1). This identifies different GM components and activities as defined by DFID's TSP, and then compares these with progress in DFIDM. These include the country strategy, a wide range of interventions in key 'sector' programmes and projects, and specific activities aimed at empowering women. In totality they represent DFIDM's performance in implementing GM. Results from the gender audit score card are summarized as follows:

At the policy level there is *resistance* both within DFIDM and in the wider environment towards a specific gender strategy and consequently gender inequality issues are mainstreamed within DFIDM's country strategy. External influences relating to donor harmonization over the MPRSP means that DFIDM's strategy overall has shifted from a human rights-based to a poverty reduction strategy. GM accordingly has shifted from an equality issue in 1998 to one associated with vulnerable groups.

The MPRSP itself is influenced by broader economic, social and cultural attitudes to gender relations in the Malawian environment. *Resistance* to the issue of gender equality is illustrated by the National Gender Policy's emphasis on equal participation rather than inequality. Malawian scholars argue that root causes of discrimination against women, including prevailing gender inequalities in social practices in families and communities, are mirrored in all institutions that govern women's and men's lives at local and national, and are well known by government and civil society activists alike. The main obstacle to change is less a lack of knowledge than a lack of commitment or 'political will' to address the issue

At the sector program level, The first audit tool, a quantitative assessment of PIM gender scores in 68 programmes in DFIDM's 2004 portfolio shows that less than a quarter have identified a PIM indicator. This leads to the conclusion that the PIM marker is not a useful monitoring and evaluation tool. The second audit tool, a qualitative desk review of ten sector programmes, including field visits to four programmes, shows a more complex situation and illustrates the limitations of assessments based entirely on written documentation.

Consistent with DFIDM's overall policy, programmes adopt a mainstreaming approach; However, in two cases specific activities or components aimed at empowering women were later included as a response to the failure to reach women (or girls) through a mainstreaming strategy. Overall, results from the triangulated data sources shows that gender issues are most frequently mainstreamed into programme preparation or design with strong gender analysis. However *evaporation* starts when gender analysis is not incorporated into gender specific objectives and OVI's. During implementation good practice examples of GM on the ground are sometimes *invisibilized* when they are not documented.

By the time OPRs are undertaken there is serious *evaporation*—gender issues are mentioned in less than half the programmes reviewed and those doing so do not include clearly identified equality or empowerment indicators. In some cases *resistance* on the part of implementation staff results in a genuine *evaporation*. In other cases, however, OPR *invisibilization* occurs even though DFID Advisors are aware of issues. In contexts of counterpart resistance, this failure to mention the importance of gender disparities or gendered outcomes lessens programme leverage to continue to address important gender issues in future initiatives.

Activities that specifically empower women receive limited support from DFIDM that has focused primarily on the Ministry of Gender in the MOGCWCS. Its weak political position suggests there will be widespread *resistance* to the implementation of its recently completed National Gender Programme. Donor harmonization on GM is important but limited by the lack of widespread commitment to GM in many other donor agencies

Table 1: Gender Audit Score Card

<i>DFID Gender Strategy</i>	<i>Detailed GM Component</i>	<i>Assessment of implementation in DFIDM</i>
Stated twin-track gender policy	Specific country gender strategy	DFIDM resists having a specific gender policy; it endorses gender equality and GM within its country strategy
1. GM strategy in country policy	Gender equality mainstreaming into DFID country strategy	Gender equality is mainstreamed into DFIDM's country policy. Gender analysis is mainstreamed into poverty reduction focused CAP analysis; but GM evaporates in associated actions
2. GM strategy in sector programmes	GM in Header sheet (PIM marker)	Only 23% of current DFIDM programme have PIM markers so widely resisted or not identified as relevant (68 programmes), of which 75% are S
<i>a) PIM assessment of entire programme</i>	Gender specific objectives and OVIs	Evaporation begins to occur with GA not mainstreamed into gender specific objectives (1/3), with more limited number of OVIs (especially those with quantitative targets)
<i>b) All other components of GM strategy in 10 selected programmes</i>	Gender Analysis (GA): sex-disaggregated data and gender information	All programmes include gender analysis; in 50% this is extensive. Overall strongest component of GM strategy
	Gender sensitive budget analysis	Virtually never included even when identified as priority in objectives
	Gendered components identified in implementation	Mixed evidence but tendency to be invisibilized in DFID documents; more likely to be picked up in NGO annual reports and field visits
	GM Training	Mixed results but not a prerequisite in all programmes
	GM in OPRs (Effective systems for M & E)	Entirely evaporated with no mention of GM in 1/3 of programmes – resistance or lack of specificity in OPR TORs; other OPRs critical of GM relates more to invisibilization in documents reviewed; frequently recommended as next stage priority
3. Specific activities aimed at empowering women	Strengthen gender equality in government, donors, and private sector	Technical support to strengthen institutional and operational capacity of the MoG in MOGCWCS drafting revised National Gender Programme. Weak status of ministry likely to result in resistance in its implementation; Donor harmonization through DAGG
	Support to women's participation in decision-making / empowerment	Specific 'add-on' components in some sector programmes particularly those with human rights approach, implemented by NGOs
	Strengthening women's organizations and NGOs through capacity building	Mainstreamed within general support to civil society and also division of responsibility within DAGG
	Working with men for gender equality	Specific 'add-on' component in sector programmes particularly those working on HIV/AIDS
4. Internal institutional responsibility and associated capacity building and budgetary resources	Responsibilities shared between all staff and gender specialists	No gender specialists although SDA take primary responsibility. Skilled advisors very successfully include GM in their programming
	Internal capacity to implement GM by staff	Less than 1/3 are technically very knowledgeable on GM; less than 1 in 5 aware DFID has GM strategy
	Manuals, toolkits	Available from DFID London but virtually none had consulted
	Internal capacity strengthening	No ongoing GM capacity building in Malawi but high demand
	Counterpart gender training	None
	Allocation of financial resources for staff for GM	None

Programme conclusion in the gender audit highlight initiatives that seek to overcome resistance and reduce evaporation. Gendered cost benefit analyses of DFIDM programmes, for instance, make the ‘economic development case’ for gender equality (as against a welfare or human rights case). Net incremental benefit calculations show that paying attention to gender and equity issues increases returns to development projects and to GDP growth. In addition, rights-based approaches provide an innovative sector level programmatic entry point for GM. Their focus on exclusion or diversity means that GM is embedded as one of a number of diversity issues. However, the equality-focus that underpins rights-based approaches means that this provides a very real ‘on the ground’ opportunity for addressing gender inequalities.

3. DFIDM’s Internal Institutional Capacity on Gender Issues

The self-assessment questionnaire and associated focus-groups conclusions show that those members of staff who are committed to gender mainstreaming and also technically capable are highly effective in implementing GM. But this depends on individual capabilities and commitment, not to mention time and resources. Less than a third of DFIDM staff is technically very knowledgeable on gender mainstreaming, and less than one fifth are completely aware that DFID has a gender strategy. The majority of staff considers GM important but lacks the capacity to do much about it and is overstretched with other priorities. Nevertheless the strong demand for training, which needs to be backed-up with better, more relevant tools and techniques, is a positive outcome of the gender audit.

Staff generally considers DFIDM a positive organizational culture, with diversity issues of greater importance than gender concerns. Nevertheless, nearly two out of three DFID staff considered it quite or very useful to establish a working group

4. The Way Ahead: Gender Audit Action Plan Recommendations

The final section focuses on the way ahead and introduces a practical two year Gender Audit Action Plan (2005-2006) to implement the main gender audit recommendations. This was developed through extensive consultation with DFIDM senior management and advisors and contains the following five components:

4.1 Internal endorsement and dissemination strategy

The Action Plan first requires endorsement by DFIDM. This includes agreement on action plan prioritized interventions, as well as institutional arrangements and resource implications. Endorsement is scheduled for December 2004 to avoid losing the momentum achieved by the gender audit, or institutional memory associated with upcoming staff changes. Endorsement requires justification for the following interventions selected for their relevance to DFIDM’s support to the GoM achieving the MDGs.

4.2 GM in DFIDM strategy level work

Two upcoming activities provide important opportunities relevant to all the MDGs.

- **Redesign of DFIDM’s CAP:** Inclusion of gender-disaggregated data can highlight how gender inequalities constrain the MDG achievements, while the incorporation of gender audit recommendations can ensure that *evaporation* between gender analysis and the assistance plan does not occur, as previously occurred.
- **Redesign of the MPRSP:** Increasing technical competence to ensure that gender disaggregated data is introduced into the MPRSP M and E Master Plan is important, but so too are measures to ensure GM working group recommendations do not get *evaporated in* the final document. This requires inclusion of sound economic-based gender analysis; strengthened MOGCWYCS capacity, and donor harmonization to support civil society.

4.3 The integration of GM in DFIDM's upstream programming:

Direct-budget support provides opportunities for the integration of gender equality into the achievement of the most important MDG goal, eradication of extreme poverty and hunger.

- **The Common Approach to Budget Support (CABS)** initiative provides a measure of conditionality to donor budgetary support. The Performance Assessment Framework (PAF) indicators, as the basis for monitoring, need to include gender-disaggregated indicators such as gender-disaggregated primary education drop out rates.
- The CABS has links to the **Medium Term Expenditure Framework Phase II Action Plan 2004-2007 (MTEF)**. If the MTEF goes forward, skills in gender-analysis need to be included in the capacity-building and the strategic planning tools engendered.
- The MPRS Monitoring and Evaluation Masterplan provides a basis for gender disaggregated data collection and analysis

As DFID expands its programming into sector-wide approaches (SWAps), the importance of MDG 3, gender equality and the empowerment of women as essential for poverty reduction, as well as MDGs 1, 3, 5, and 6, are recognized in a number of new initiatives that include:

- The **'Drivers of Change' project** provide the opportunity to clarify the significance of gender power relations, as one aspect of power relations relevant to change processes in Malawi with impact on growth and governance
- Upcoming **SWAps**, in both the education and health sectors, as well as the HIV/AIDS pooled support provide opportunities to include priority GM interventions. Common actions include the identification of demand-side obstacles and constraints on female access to basic services and associated actions; identification of gender-based violence (GBV) linked constraints with actions harmonized with other donors; the development of robust gender-disaggregated data bases; capacity strengthening in GM in lead ministries
- In both **rights-based projects** and the development of a **social protection strategy** equitable access to services, and 'making the economic case' for GM are priority concerns.

4.4. Gender-specific empowerment initiatives

Since DFID prioritizes mainstream activities, it relies very heavily on donor harmonization for gender-specific empowerment initiatives.

Linked to the SWAps, DFIDM will support to **strengthening GM in the lead MDG ministries** through a range of interventions. Other initiatives include support to ongoing **legal reform**, including parliament's commitment to **gender-related legislative changes**.

4.5 Internal capacity building in DFIDM

The action plan provides a number of concrete recommendations to address constraints in DFIDM capacity to implement its GM strategy. This highlights the importance of dialogue between DFIDM and DFID London in relation to the identification of relative responsibilities.

- Responding to the demand, **internal institutional capacity building** includes new staff induction capacity building; strengthening capacity of existing staff; GM TORs
- The gender audit identified a demand for a number of better **operational GM tools** (that require consultation with DFID London). These include user-friendly briefing note on DFID's gender strategy and guidelines on integrating GM into procedures, new M&E procedures that incorporate field visits; the development of new GM tools for SWAps

The audit concluded that better tools are important but may not solve limitations in implementing GM strategies. This highlights the need for a DFID-wide debate on PIM and the logframe.

Institutional arrangements and associated resource implications: The institutional responsibilities identified in the Action Plan are indicative of a genuine GM strategy. They are not separate 'add-ons' but comprehensively integrated into DFIDM's plans for 2005, with a range of staff assuming mainstreaming supervision, most often with support from the SDA and / or outside consultant support. These include the Head of DFID, Deputy Head, Senior Policy

Advisor, SDA and assistant SDAs. However, it is critical that advisors do not perceive this as additional work in already busy schedules, while the range of substantive issues makes it difficult for one additional person to take overall responsibility.

The Action Plan concludes by outlining two alternative options:

- **Option One:** The establishment of a flexible resource base in the form of a revolving fund, used for on-going support from gender consultants in the four critical areas: Barriers to service delivery; SWAps; Social Protection; Revision of the MPRSP. In addition the revolving fund can be called on for one off initiatives in sectors not covered by the above
 - **Option Two:** The establishment of an additional position at B1 or B2 level to manage the action plan, identify consultants and support as appropriate, under the guidance of the SDA
- Option one recommended since it genuinely will strengthen GM in DFIDM. It provides flexibility to drop incentives if advisors are not convinced of their viability, while creating incentives for those considered important. These will be achieved both through both financial support as well as through targeted interventions from external gender consultants, focusing on critical new areas of DFIDM's portfolio, where knowledge of GM is consequently weakest.

1. Introduction

1.1 Objectives, definition and methodology

This review provides a systematic gender audit of DFIDM policies, strategies and activities within the current CAP. This is contextualized within the broader political, economic and social environment on gender issues in Malawi that includes the government's MPRSP, its national gender policy and the associated institutional structure of the MOGCWCS. The recommendations are intended to assist DFIDM in supporting the Government of Malawi (GoM) to achieve the country's MDGs. As DFID shifts from projects and programmes to direct budget and sector-wide support, the recommendations are relevant for future agendas in the upcoming CAP, as well as current programmes.

DFID London in its TSP on *Poverty Elimination and the Empowerment of Women* (DFID 2000) identifies gender equality and the empowerment of women as essential to the elimination of world poverty, and outlines a twin-track gender mainstreaming (GM) strategy that includes both the integration of women and men's concerns (needs and interests) throughout the development process (in all policies and projects), as well as specific activities aimed at empowering women.

In assessing DFIDM's implementation of its GM strategy, the gender audit is divided into four sections:

- **Part one**, by way of background, outlines the importance of gender equality for reaching the MDGs, as well as DFIDM's endorsement of the MDG commitment to gender equality.
- **Part two** provides the main findings and conclusions. These include an 'external' evaluation of the twin-track GM strategy in DFIDM's country strategy, its sector programmes and its specific activities aimed at empowering women.
- **Part three** provides a short 'internal' organizational self-assessment of internal GM responsibilities and associated capacity.
- **Part four** focuses on the way ahead and introduces a practical action plan developed in consultation with DFIDM.

With no standardized DFID gender audit methodology, the Malawi audit, of necessity, has elaborated a pilot one, that uniquely incorporates eight different quantitative and qualitative assessment tools with the results triangulated for the purpose of analysis. These include self-assessment questionnaires, field-level focus groups, gendered cost benefit analysis and desk documentation reviews.¹

1.2 The importance of gender equality goals and GM strategies in reaching Malawian MDGs

There is now widespread recognition globally, as well as specifically in Malawi, that a number of important MDGs will not be reached unless gender equality goals are explicitly incorporated into development efforts. These relate first and foremost to Goal 3, in which gender equality is the subject in its own right – with a specific target of reducing the gap between males and females in primary, secondary and eventually higher education. Endorsing the outcome of Beijing Conference Platform for Action (PfA), Goal 3 identifies the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women as essential to poverty reduction. One of the associated indicators is the proportion of seats women hold in parliament. In the case of Malawi the proportion of women in decision making positions in the government sector overall is 13 percent. This demonstrates that women hold limited positions at all levels of government, and are poorly represented in politics (NGP 2004, 1).

¹ Annex 1 provides a detailed description of the gender audit methodology, while individual appendices and annexes cited through the text further elaborate on different methodological components. Appendix 1 lists people met, and Appendix 2 lists the documentation reviewed.

‘Gender mainstreaming’, the internationally agreed strategy for governments and development organizations to achieve the PfA, is also highly applicable to other MDG goals that are of critical importance in Malawi.² With the country ranked 163 out of 174 in terms of its poverty level, eradication of extreme poverty and hunger (Goal 1) is the most important priority. In 1998 65 percent Malawi’s population poor and 75 percent of these were women³. Malawi’s track record on gender disparities and inequalities are severe, with evidence suggesting that the situation has not improved over the past decade. Most of those living in extreme poverty are women, including female headed, child-headed households and unemployed married women in rural and semi-urban areas.

Goal 2, achieving universal primary education, is another goal constrained by gender disparities in Malawi. The country’s adult literacy rate is 58 percent, with the female literacy rate estimated at 44 percent. Of the 11.2 percent of adults aged 25 years and above who completed the primary leaving school level, 16.2 percent were male while only 6.2 percent were female. Most serious of all is the Malawian situation in relation to improving maternal health, Goal 5, where the maternal mortality rate has doubled in the last decade to 1,120 per 100,000 live births.

Finally, in Goal 6, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, gender disparities are again a serious impediment. Infection rates for women and girls are proportionally greater than for men and boys. Risk levels among 15 – 24 year olds, females are estimated as six times higher than among males of the same age range. Women are also infected at a much earlier age than men, and die at a younger age than men. The number of TB cases per 100,000 population has increased from 95 in 1987 to 275 in 2001, fuelled by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Although these figures are not sex disaggregated, it is thought that women are under-represented in TB case data.

1.3 DFIDM’s endorsement of the MDG commitment to gender equality

Within the framework of the MDGs, DFIDM *endorses* the commitment to gender equality. In its upcoming programme it identifies the importance of prioritizing *opportunities* to successfully address gender equality issues across each of DFID’s theme areas. A strategy of ‘picking winners’ will allow DFIDM to identify critical central issues amenable to change, and to *consolidate* work within prioritized areas through comprehensive interrelated initiatives.

Prior to such an initiative, the gender audit therefore is a timely intervention to assess progress to date, and to identify both positive and negative lessons learnt. This will better ensure that gender equality issues are effectively and appropriately mainstreamed into the ‘new ways of doing business’ with the shift from projects and programmes to SWAps, basket funds and direct budget support. In addition it will assist in the design or amendment of more appropriate operational tools, the identification of capacity building requirements, and facilitate a resource allocation decision-making process within the context of DFIDM’s objective of doing ‘less better’.

2. Gender Audit Findings and Conclusions

2.1 Contextual framework: GM evaporated, invisibilized or resisted?

The gender audit TORs state ‘DFID has lost internal advocacy on gender, and is at risk from ‘similar policy’ evaporation on other cross cutting issues’⁴. This contextualizes the audit in

² In 1997 the UN adopted ‘gender mainstreaming’ as the approach to be used in all policies and programmes in the UN system.

³ Annex 2 provides as detailed description of key gender issues in Malawi.

⁴ The popularized term ‘policy evaporation’, first coined by Sarah Llongwe (1997), was described in the DFID TSP as ‘a major problem where good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice. This can occur both prior to and during implementation as a result of poor planning, lack of technical

terms of an important contested debate closely linked to the MDG goals, relating to DFID's preoccupation with gender *policy evaporation*⁵. Interrelated with this is the concern that 'gender mainstreaming has failed', due to the lack of real impact on gender equality on the ground.⁶ In addition, two further concepts are introduced in the gender audit framework.

First is the concept of *invisibilization*. This refers to the tendency for gender issues and women to become invisible again⁷. In the gender audit, the term refers more specifically to the failure in monitoring and evaluation procedures (and associated reports) to document what is occurring 'on the ground', resulting in inaccurate information on gender-related outcomes and impacts. Second is the concept of *resistance* that concerns effective mechanisms to block GM, with opposition to gender equality frequently embedded in so-called 'patriarchal' gender power relations (Kabeer 1994). The concept of resistance is included in the audit framework to ensure that the GM assessment differentiates between more 'technocratic' procedural constraints and those that are essentially 'political' in nature, based on gender power relations (Moser, 1993).

As DFID moves towards the adoption of a human rights approach in its development strategy it is also useful to identify the policy approaches that underpin GM interventions. This identifies the comparative appropriateness of a human rights approach, as against other better known policies approaches, such as welfare or economic efficiency, in providing an effective entry point for GM in the current wider environment⁸.

2.2 The gender audit score card summary findings

An overall audit score card (see Table 1) provides a useful methodological tool to briefly synthesize the audit findings of DFIDM's implementation of its GM strategy⁹. It identifies different components and activities of a GM strategy as defined by DFID's TSP and compares these with progress in DFIDM. These include the country strategy and a wide range of interventions in key 'sector' programmes and projects which are elaborated below. In totality they represent DFIDM's performance in implementing GM, with the final conclusions useful to identify more appropriate future recommendations.

The gender audit scorecard summary shows the following:

- At the policy level there is *resistance* both within DFIDM and in the wider environment towards a specific gender strategy and consequently this is mainstreamed within DFIDM's country strategy. External influences relating to donor harmonization over the MPRSP means that DFIDM's strategy overall has shifted from a human rights-based to a poverty reduction strategy. GM has accordingly shifted from an equality issue to one associated with vulnerable groups.
- At the sector program level, overall, results from the triangulated data sources shows that gender issues are most frequently mainstreamed into programme preparation or design, but start *evaporating* in terms of gender specific objectives and OVI. In some cases good

expertise, poor follow up, low levels of management support, and inadequate resourcing' (DFID 2000, 21).

⁵ See DFID gender TSP (DFID 2000) and in DFID's Development Committee comment that 'progress within DFID on effectively tackling gender issues could be eroded' (DC Minutes 27/03/03).

⁶ For instance, a recent UNDP report concluded that gender equality perspectives are not adequately mainstreamed into the MDG Reports and confined primarily to Goal 3 (UNDP 2003). See also Birdsall et al (2004); Watkins (2004).

⁷ This often relates to the misguided notion that mainstreaming means that it is no longer necessary to refer explicitly to women or men, their different needs or priorities, or the different impacts that programmes may have on them (Hunt 2000, 13).

⁸ In a historical review of gender and development policy since the 1970s, Moser (1993) identifies a shift from welfare and anti-poverty, to economic efficiency and empowerment and, deriving out of this, right-based approaches.

⁹ This score card has been adapted from a comparative analysis of multilateral and bilateral gender mainstreaming strategy (see Moser and Moser 2003).

Table 1: Gender Audit Score Card

<i>DFID Gender Strategy</i>	<i>Detailed GM Component</i>	<i>Assessment of implementation in DFIDM</i>
Stated twin-track gender policy	Specific country gender strategy	DFIDM resists having a specific gender policy; it endorses gender equality and GM within its country strategy
1. GM strategy in country policy	Gender equality mainstreaming into DFID country strategy	Gender equality is mainstreamed into DFIDM's country policy. Gender analysis is mainstreamed into poverty reduction focused CAP analysis; but GM evaporates in associated actions
2. GM strategy in sector programmes <i>a) PIM assessment of entire programme</i> <i>b) All other components of GM strategy in 10 selected programmes</i>	GM in Header sheet (PIM marker)	Only 23% of current DFIDM programme have PIM markers so widely resisted or not identified as relevant (68 programmes), of which 75% are S
	Gender specific objectives and OVIs	Evaporation begins to occur with GA not mainstreamed into gender specific objectives (1/3), with more limited number of OVIs (especially those with quantitative targets)
	Gender Analysis (GA): sex-disaggregated data and gender information	All programmes include gender analysis; in 50% this is extensive. Overall strongest component of GM strategy
	Gender sensitive budget analysis	Virtually never included even when identified as priority in objectives
	Gendered components identified in implementation	Mixed evidence but tendency to be invisibilized in DFID documents; more likely to be picked up in NGO annual reports and field visits
	GM Training	Mixed results but not a prerequisite in all programmes
	GM in OPRs (Effective systems for M & E)	Entirely evaporated with no mention of GM in 1/3 of programmes – resistance or lack of specificity in OPR TORs; other OPRs critical of GM relates more to invisibilization in documents reviewed; frequently recommended as next stage priority
3. Specific activities aimed at empowering women	Strengthen gender equality in government, donors, and private sector	Technical support to strengthen institutional and operational capacity of the MoG in MOGCWCS drafting revised National Gender Programme. Weak status of ministry likely to result in resistance in its implementation; Donor harmonization through DAGG
	Support to women's participation in decision-making / empowerment	Specific 'add-on' components in some sector programmes particularly those with human rights approach, implemented by NGOs
	Strengthening women's organizations and NGOs through capacity building	Mainstreamed within general support to civil society and also division of responsibility within DAGG
	Working with men for gender equality	Specific 'add-on' component in sector programmes particularly those working on HIV/AIDS
4. Internal institutional responsibility and associated capacity building and budgetary resources	Responsibilities shared between all staff and gender specialists	No gender specialists although SDA take primary responsibility. Skilled advisors very successfully include GM in their programming
	Internal capacity to implement GM by staff	Less than 1/3 are technically very knowledgeable on GM; less than 1 in 5 aware DFID has GM strategy
	Manuals, toolkits	Available from DFID London but virtually none had consulted
	Internal capacity strengthening	No ongoing GM capacity building in Malawi but high demand
	Counterpart gender training	None
	Allocation of financial resources for staff for GM	None

practice examples of GM are *invisibilized* during implementation. However, by the time OPRs are undertaken there is serious *evaporation*—gender issues are rarely mentioned and when they do this does not include clearly identified equality or empowerment indicators.

- DFIDM provides limited support for activities that specifically empower women through the Ministry of Gender in the MOGCWCS, but its very weak political position suggests there will be widespread *resistance* to the implementation of its recently completed National Gender Programme. Donor harmonization on GM is important but limited by the lack of widespread commitment to GM in many other donor agencies
- In terms of internal institutional responsibility, those members of staff who are not only committed to gender mainstreaming but also technically capable are highly effective in implementing GM. But this depends on individual capabilities and commitment, not to mention time and resources. The majority of DFIDM staff considers GM important but lacks the capacity to do much about it and is overstretched with other priorities. Nevertheless the strong demand for training, which needs to be backed-up with better, more relevant tools and techniques, is a positive outcome of the gender audit.

2.3 Detailed findings

i. GM in DFIDM's country strategy

DFIDM does not have a specific gender strategy, and mainstreams gender equality through its country strategy. Comparative analysis of its two most recent strategies, undertaken in 1998 (DFID 1998) and 2003 (DFID 2003), highlights an important shift in the underlying policy approach. The 1998 CSP, use a human *rights approach*, and gives a comprehensive coverage of the range of gender inequalities and disparities. This includes representation in parliament, traditional practices, and customary law constraints—where it is not only poor women who are disadvantaged. In contrast, the 2003 CAP in line with the MPRSP adopts a *poverty reduction strategy*¹⁰. This is narrower in its focus on gender inequalities, and identifies a range of problems that make poor women and children's particularly vulnerability. As gender concerns have been subsumed under poverty reduction, policy *evaporation* has occurred. Accompanying this is a shift in policy focus from gender equality as a human right, to vulnerable groups, such as women and children, as a welfare concern.

In both of DFIDM's country strategies gender issues identified in the analysis section are not translated in gender-specific terms in the subsequent assistance plans. Gender-neutral terms such as 'households' and 'poor people' lose the impact of the earlier gender analysis. The only programmatic recommendation in the 1998 CSP refers to clockwork radios, while the 2003 CAP calls for more gender analysis in the MPRSP. Overall there is a reduction in operational initiatives that supports recognition of the important role that gender inequality plays in the country's poverty. Given the complexity of causality and attribution in assessing success or failure and the relative responsibility for internal as against external factors, DFIDM's shift in approach and the associated policy evaporation needs also to be contextualized within the Malawian policy environment and the MPRSP¹¹.

GM in the MPRSP: The MPRSP is built around four central pillars of sustainable pro-poor economic growth; human capital development; improved quality of life for the most vulnerable;

¹⁰ Appendix 3 provides a comparative content analysis of the 1998 Country Strategy Paper (DFID 1998) and the 2003 Country Assistance Plan (DFID 2003).

¹¹ Both DFIDM's 2001 APR and 2003 CAP refer to weakening political commitment, the likelihood of corruption and accountability increasing, as well as government control over, and sensitivity to civil society engagement on accountability and rights issues. This, together with donor harmonization in the MPRSP would account for a decline in rights approach. At the same time it is necessary to note that DFIDM's position as one of the biggest bilateral donors in Malawi (DFID 2003, 12) plays a critical role both in leveraging important agendas.

and good governance. It recognizes the inter-relatedness of gender dimensions of poverty reduction by identifying gender mainstreaming and empowerment as a critical cross-cutting issue across all sectors (along with HIV/AIDS and the environment). Although it recommends that GM is integrated within all of the four pillars this is not adequately reflected in these sections of the document. Gender issues are ignored¹² or an ‘add on’, with five objectives identified as component of a separate ‘cross-cutting’ sector to be implemented within the National Gender Policy (GoM 2002). This ‘sectorization’ of GM is replicated in the MPRSP 2002/3 Review where implementation progress only refers to these same separate objectives, and not to GM in the pillars (GoM 2004).

GM in the MPRSP within the broader Malawian context: In its approach to gender issues, this critically important new policy reduction strategy has itself been influenced by broader economic, social and cultural attitudes to gender relations in the Malawian environment. *Resistance* to the issue of gender equality is illustrated by the ‘depoliticization’ of the term ‘gender’ in its Chichewa translation where the emphasis is on the issue of equal participation¹³. The Malawi Government’s National Gender Policy (GoM 2000) replicates this particular emphasis on participation, defining its overall policy goal as ‘to mainstream gender in the national development process to enhance the participation of women and men, girls and boys for sustainable and equitable development for poverty reduction’¹⁴. Reinforcing this resistance to directly address issues of gender inequality is the confusing distinction between WID and GAD as made by the MPRSP Gender Empowerment Working Group in their Gender and Empowerment Strategy that was incorporated into the MPRSP document¹⁵.

Gender audit consultations with government officials and civil society members revealed a somewhat mixed understanding of GM concepts and definitions. In addition, in DFIDM advisors identified that *resistance* and the associated necessity to be sensitive to local needs has resulted in the use of context specific language; for example, the MaSSAJ community policing project uses the term ‘gender sensitive’ rather than gender equality; while the TB Equity project uses the term ‘equity’ rather than ‘gender’.

Coinciding with the government’s position on gender issues, extensive sophisticated gender analyses, already undertaken by Malawian researchers, argues that a ‘dominant male patriarchal culture has shown itself to be highly *resistant* to change’. This determines social and gender power relations to the disadvantage of women, engenders culture and tradition that deny women control or capabilities due to gender-based discrimination and consequent poverty (Semu, Ngwira and Kamchedzera 2004). Such research, shows that root causes of discrimination against women, including prevailing gender inequalities in social practices in families and communities, are mirrored in all institutions that govern women’s and men’s lives at local and national, and are well known by government and civil society activists alike. The main

¹² Critiques of gender in the MPRSP include the fact that there is little quantitative data to back up the gendered aspects of poverty, and that it does not mainstream gender into its budget commitments, nor into plans for monitoring outputs and impacts (Zuckerman and Garrett 2003; Whitehead 2003).

¹³ In Chichewa gender is defined as ‘kusasiyanitsa ka kagwiridwe ka ntchito pakati pa amai ndi abambo’

¹⁴ White (2003, 13) comments that this definition ‘appears to deny that participation is particularly problematic for women and girls due to their subordinate status and as such it can be seen as a gender neutral way of addressing the issue’.

¹⁵ This states that ‘Contrary to the WID approach, which *sidelined men* (author’s italics) and failed to address the fundamental causes of gender inequality, the GAD approach....explicitly deals with gender relationships and includes both women and men in all initiatives’ (See GoM 2002, 89; GEWP (2001, 4). Other reasons for gender ‘evaporation’ between recognition and policy formation are identified as capacity constraints in relevant ministries, leading to inadequate institutional anchorage, and lack of consolidated analysis of relevant gender issues to inform the PRSP process (Semu, Ngwira and Kamchedzera 2004).

obstacle to change is less a lack of knowledge than a lack of commitment or 'political will' to address the issue¹⁶.

ii. GM in DFIDM's programmes¹⁷

Since a country strategy is a statement of intent, it is equally important to assess the implementation of GM in the extensive support DFIDM as the biggest donor in Malawi provides at the programme and project level. As identified in the 2003 CAP, this includes support to key sectors such as food security, livelihoods, health, education and safety, security and access to justice. The gender audit assesses GM at the following three levels of intervention¹⁸.

PIM marker quantitative desk review¹⁹: A quantitative assessment of PIM gender scores in 68 programmes (see Appendix 4) in DFIDM's 2004 portfolio shows that less than a quarter (16) (23.5 percent) have a PIM indicator identified, and of these the greatest number are in the livelihoods sector²⁰. The data also reflects a changing context in which some sectors (MaSSAJ and education) have been reorganized into single 'harmonized sector programmes with single framework for previously disparate projects' (DFID 2003, 15), and consequently have only one or two PIM makers, while others such as health and GOA continue to identify a greater number of individual project level PIM markers. This distorts the data, resulting in limitations in comparative data analysis.

Nevertheless, the fact that so few programmes have a PIM marker leads to the conclusion that this is not a useful monitoring and evaluation tool. Either GM is resisted on the basis that it is not considered of importance in the majority of DFIDM's portfolio, or staff members drafting key sheets are not sufficiently skilled in gender issues to include them.

In addition, gender audit fieldwork and advisor consultations revealed some arbitrary PIM markers assignment. For instance, the 2000 header sheet for the Shire Highlands Sustainable Livelihoods Programme has a gender discrimination PIM indicator, while the 2002 version only has a human rights PIM even though gender issues are clearly identified in the project memorandum. Does this mean human rights subsumes gender equality and negates the need to mark it? The HIV/AIDS programme also lacks a gender PIM marker and yet SDA advisors point to the real challenges associated with mainstreaming gender concerns into the HIV/AIDS programme.

Qualitative desk review of ten sector programmes, including field visits to four programmes: The second audit tool was a more detailed qualitative analysis of the range of written documentation available on ten projects selected by DFIDM advisors. These were selected as representative of the range of DFIDM's programme where GM is considered important, with documentation in all cases including header sheets, programme memorandums (with attached logframes) and OPRs, as well as a range of other documentation available (see appendix 2). In

¹⁶ The World Bank / UNDP commissioned Malawi Strategic Country Gender Assessment written by three Malawian scholars includes an extensive Malawian bibliography (Semu, Ngwira and Kamchedzera 2004).

¹⁷ To avoid confusion, the document uses the term programme throughout, although some of the interventions to which it refers are designated as 'projects' in many DFID documents.

¹⁸ Annex 1 provides a detailed description of the individual evaluation tools developed for each of the following three levels of assessment.

¹⁹ The gender PIM marker has changed in name and emphasis since it was first introduced in 1994. This reflects the influence of shifts in gender development debates, first from WID to GAD (see Moser 1993) and later as a result of the Beijing PfA to focus on equality and empowerment. Thus DFID objectives as defined in the PIMS coding system have been as follows: 1994 - Women in Development; 1998 - Removal of gender discrimination; 2004 - Promote gender equality and empower women.

²⁰ See Appendix 5 for the complete data set.

the case of four programmes additional data was obtained from field visit interviews with primary and secondary stakeholders²¹.

This more detailed analysis reveals a more complex picture, illustrating important limitations of assessments based entirely on written documentation. In addition, in the documentation itself, the lack of clear guidelines or robustly consistent methodological approaches for the inclusion of gender-related data means that this would appear to depend as much on the capacity or commitment of those individuals involved in drafting the different documents than on any standard procedures²². This is well illustrated by the somewhat random, arbitrary information provided in Annex 3, with some case studies more comprehensive than others. In addition, field visits and discussions with stakeholders often provided additional, and at times, conflicting information in comparison with the written documentation.

A number of important results, summarized in the gender audit score card (Table 1) are quantified in Appendix 6, relate to different stages in the programme cycle as follows:²³.

a. Gender Mainstreaming Strategy

Consistent with DFIDM's overall policy, all the sector programmes reviewed adopt a mainstreaming approach and seek to integrate women and men's concerns (needs and interests) (M). At the same time two of these, SHSLP and BLM, also contain specific activities or components aimed at empowering women (E). Interestingly enough, in both cases this was not in the original design (and not mentioned as a gender objective) but were responses to the failure to reach women (or girls) through a mainstreaming strategy. Consequently they occurred as part of a redesign process during the course of the programme (see below).

b. Programme design and preparation

Although gender was rarely 'mainstreamed', or mentioned in the overall programme goals or outputs, the majority (7 out of 10 programmes) also include gender-specific objectives. However, these are often very vague and frequently there is a confusion and/or conflation with gender Objectively Verifiable Indicators (OVIs). This suggests a lack of clarity about the distinction between them. Since OVIs are extremely useful to monitor progress and ensure gender issues are not evaporated during implementation, greater emphasis may need to be given to these. Measurable indicators are obviously always more helpful than fuzzy generalized statements. For example:

- Ensure equal gender representation (50 percent women) in all community development structures (SHSLP)
- Minimum of 30 percent of unskilled jobs taken by women, with an average of 50 percent across the programme (ILTPWP).

c. Gender analysis

All the programmes contained a gender analysis: indeed this is the strongest part of DFIDM's GM work. Yet once again, quantitative data provides a stronger base line than do broad statements of intent, as the following comparison shows:

- The MPS has an authorized establishment of 6723 and strength of approximately 5976 police officers of which approximately 10 percent are women. Women make up only 2 percent of the prison population but ... languish in a forgotten wing (MaSSAJ programme).

²¹ Annex 2 provides a comprehensive summary of the ten programmes data, showing the GM data extracted in terms of the different stages of the programmatic cycle.

²² Extracting GM data from the different DFIDM reports proved to be a very time consuming and at times frustrating task.

²³ See Annex 1 Table 4 for further elaboration of the measurements associated with the different scorecard components.

- The strategy will address DFID’s policies as set out in the CAP 2003 – 06 and as set out in the HIV/AIDS Strategy and the TSP (DFID 2000). Interventions should address inequitable power relations between men and women and incorporate better analysis of how poverty, cultural norms and values affect livelihood strategies and sexual behaviour (HIV/AIDS programme).

However good the gender analysis is, it needs to be incorporated into the logframe, not just in the Programme Memorandum social appraisal, if GM is to be incorporated into programme design. Here *evaporation* begins to occur. While the quality of gender analysis has obviously been greatly assisted by the increased capacity of SDAs in recent years, a lack of associated operational capacity means that gender most often is not integrated into the design of all programme outputs as a cross-cutting theme. There is still a tendency for it to be a separate objective with separate OVIs. The fact that none of the programmes have specific budget commitments allocated to GM is an important indicator of the lack of priority such as issue is given in the overall programming budget—even in programmes such as BLM which clearly states that capacity building on gender issues is an essential part of the programme.

d. Implementation

Since this stage in the programme is lengthy, with considerable changes occurring during the process, it is often difficult to track GM. Two indicators that are designed to strengthen GM ownership among implementation staff, and to ensure it does not get lost, are staff training and the employment of specialist gender staff. As Appendix 6 shows, less than half of programmes appear to have included relevant training, while only the TB Equity programme had staff with gender-specialist responsibilities. This project provides an example of the use of robust, quantitative gender-disaggregated research in order to *overcome resistance*, in this case that of the Malawian medical profession, relating to the importance of gender disparities in the uptake of TB clinics. Because of the time constraints associated with women’s caring roles they are less likely to attend clinics and do so later than male family members. Research results from the DFID project contributed to a change in TB out-reach strategies and the introduction of a programme to take such facilities into local communities.

Field visits revealed important examples of *invisibilization*, in which GM on the ground was not reflected in DFID reports as illustrated by the following examples:

- Both the SHLSP and BLM programmes have introduced innovative gender empowering initiatives, with training manuals and other user-friendly materials. In the BLM programme, during the implementation of youth-focused initiative aimed at sensitization on HIV/AIDS, staff found that although well attended by young men, girls were not participating in equal numbers. Consequently, with additional resources, a specific girls-only initiative was designed and implemented. While BLM staff and youth in the centre shared this information it does not appear in any of the reviewed documentation.
- One of the objectives of the SHLSP programme is to ensure gender equality in VDCs. Although this was achieved project staff found women were nevertheless not active in decision-making processes. To address the constraint, a women’s leadership training programme, with appropriated manuals in Chichewa was implemented as a pre-condition to joining community councils. Although this is described in the NGO’s Annual Report it is not highlighted in the OPR.
- The BLM project includes a ‘Man to Man’ Programme that aims to address cultural practices that put men and boys at risk of contracting HIV/ STI and limit their involvement in care provision and the adoption of safe SRH behaviour. With wide media coverage this components essentially seeks to empower men to make them take responsibility and participate in family planning initiatives.

e. Monitoring and evaluation

Since Programme Review documents vary in contents, the real litmus test on GM occurs with OPRs. In nearly half of the ten programmes reviewed, there was no mention of gender issues in the OPRs, with GM effectively *evaporated* (see appendix 6). Not only were outputs that occurred during implementation not captured; in many cases, the lack of sex-disaggregated data masked gender disparities. This frequency in lack of reporting of gender activities makes it difficult to assess the approximate gender outcome of programmes in terms of gender equality and empowerment the problem is more serious.

In some cases *resistance* on the part of implementation staff results in a genuine *evaporation*. In other cases, however, OPR *invisibilization* occurs even though DFID Advisors aware of issues. Consultations with DFID advisors revealed a perception, particularly among those sensitive to gender issues, that OPRs do a disservice to GM initiatives. There is either no mention at all of gender (such as in the TB Equity Project OPR) or the criticism that the OPR has not really gone into sufficient detail to include the issue (such as the MaSSAJ OPR). Underlying causes include resistance or lack of expertise on the part of OPR consultants, the lack of GM TORs, the level of generality of OPRs, and the randomness of OPR meetings (often influenced more by availability than priorities).

The failure to recognize or reference gendered outputs or impacts can have important political consequences for DFIDM. OPR reports are taken very seriously by the GoM. In contexts of counterpart resistance, this failure to mention the importance of gender disparities or gendered outcomes lessens programme leverage to continue to address important gender issues in future initiatives. Ownership obviously varies with ministries more resistant to change including not only ‘traditional welfarist’ ministries (concerned with the needs of vulnerable women and girls), but also those struggling to get GM into operational practice on new cutting edge issues (such as TB and HIV/AIDS).

iii. Specific activities aimed at empowering women

While sector programmes are critically important, they are not the only component of DFIDM’s portfolio. Of increasing importance is support to strengthen the financial and institutional capacity of the GoM to address Malawi’s critical poverty problem through the MPRSP process (see above). Associated with this is the building of strategic partnerships with civil society and the wider donor community. As identified in the gender audit score card, DFIDM supports activities aimed at empowering women both within sector programmes, as well as separate initiatives. In the GoM the institutionalization of gender issues has occurred through the establishment of a ministry-level institutional structure. This was originally established as a department in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services in 1992, and, after being renamed in 1999 as the Ministry of Gender is now a department in the Ministry of Gender, Child Welfare and Community Services (MOGCWCS)²⁴.

In 2000 the MOGCWCS launched the National Gender Policy (NGP) with the objective of mainstreaming of gender in all development policies, programmes, projects and activities. Its mandate was not only to mainstream gender in the MPRSP, but also to co-ordinate with mainline ministries on critical concerns such as HIV/AIDS. However, with no defined goals, benchmarks, tools or techniques most of the NPG objectives were based on ‘advocacy’ and persuasion and therefore difficult to translate into practice (White 2003). As part of its contribution to the Gender Equality Support Project (GESP), DFID along with a number of donors has provided technical support to strengthen the Ministry of Gender’s institutional capacity by completing a revised National Gender Programme (MOGCWCS 2004). This states its intention to ‘directly address the goal of the MRPSP by promoting a stronger approach to

²⁴ During the Banda government the main institutional mechanism for women’s issues was the Chitukuko Cha Amayi m’Malawi (CCAM), followed by the establishment of a National Commission of Women in Development, and renamed the Commission on Gender and Development Trust. Annex 2 provides a detailed description of its history.

gender mainstreaming'. Initiatives focus on eight priority areas of institutional strengthening; education; health; HIV/AIDS; agriculture, food and nutrition security; natural resources and environment; poverty and economic empowerment; governance and human rights.

However the MOGCWCS is likely to face *resistance* in the implementation of the Programme. Its position within government is structurally weak and its functions are not prioritized by government. Its mandate is too broad, incorporating community services in addition to gender concerns, and without clearly focused objectives and functions, the ministry's budget is easily marginalized. This is exacerbated by a lack of institutional capacity to effectively coordinate the implementation of the NGP, and a general confusion among its staff about the meaning of mainstreaming strategies and therefore its relationship with other ministries. In common with other contexts, it seeks to have ownership of all gender issues, rather than playing a strategic policy role to ensure that sector ministries take on gender issues. Consequently, regardless of increased institutional and analytical capacity, the MOGCWCS will not be able to play an important role in the next stages of the MPRSP process unless there is increased commitment to gender mainstreaming among key people in important Ministries in Malawi—and the recognition that gender inequality is a cost to the country's development, not simply an external donor-driven agenda²⁵.

iv. Conclusions: Overcoming resistance and reducing evaporation

The gender audit also highlights a number of different initiatives that seek to overcome resistance and reduce evaporation with important implications for future recommendations. These include:

Gendered cost benefit analyses of DFIDM programmes: A mechanism to overcome resistance?
Gendered cost benefit analyses (CBAs) constitute an important recent initiatives to make the 'economic development case' for gender equality (as against a welfare or human rights case), supported by the World Bank and UNDP (see Semu, L. Ngwira, N and Kamchedzera, G. 2004). CBAs are intended 'to provide information to assist in advocating for and planning programmes that are gender responsive and thereby contribute to overall national economic growth and poverty reduction' (Ngwira and Mkwandawire 2003). In Malawi two World Bank/UNDP supported CBAs address the costs and benefits of targeting the gender disparities in access to agricultural services and to literacy programs. Building on this work, the gender audit provides CBAs of the National Tuberculosis Control Program (NTP) and the Banja La Mtsogolo Integrated Sexual and Reproductive Health Program (BLM ISRHP) (see Annex 4).

The main finding from all the CBAs is that paying attention to gender and equity issues increases the returns to development projects. The Net Incremental Benefits (NIB) is positive. For the NTP, BLM, Agriculture Extension, and Adult Literacy Projects, the respective NIBs are K74.3bn; K2.3bn; K3.1bn, and K5.1bn. These figures represent a significant portion of either the national budget or the GDP, showing that it could grow by about 30 percent to 100 percent more, depending on year, if programs were implemented in an engendered way. These findings are also similar to those from other parts of the world. For example Klasen (1999) found through econometric studies that if the countries of sub-Saharan Africa had closed the gender inequalities in education at the rate of South East Asian countries, economic growth

²⁵ By way of comparison, the success of GM in Uganda is attributed to the strong commitment among key Government staff. Within the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development the head of the Poverty Monitoring and Analysis Unit brought together allies in her Ministry and other parts of government with CSOs and donor representatives in the PEAP Gender Team. This has provided a strong platform for committed individuals who planned strategically to take advantage of the opportunities for GM that emerged as part of the PEAP revision. Support from DFID and other bilaterals helped, but the key factor was a tightly networked group of committed Ugandan stakeholders (Personal communication, SDA advisor Uganda).

between 1960-1992 would have averaged 1.2 percent instead of the 0.7 percent that was achieved.

Rights-based approach as a mechanism to avoid evaporation or invisibilization?

This is providing an innovative sector level programmatic entry point for GM. The focus of rights-based approaches on exclusion or diversity means that GM is embedded as one of a number of diversity issues. Although this may suggest the potential for *evaporation*, the equality-focus that underpins rights-based approaches may mean that this provides a greater opportunity for addressing gender inequalities. This has occurred not only in programmes implemented by cutting edge NGOs such as OXFAM (SHLSP) and CARE (ILTPWP) (where it has ensured that women are at least 30% of beneficiaries) but also new ministry programmes. The Partnership in Capacity Building in Education (PACE) programme with its objective of equitable primary education seeks to strengthen the capacity of both supply-side service providers as well as demand-side local community organizations to make both partners more accountable to equitable outcomes.

3. DFIDM's Internal Institutional Capacity on Gender Issues

While the previous section focused on 'external' policies, strategies and activities, the gender audit also included a brief 'internal organizational self-assessment'. The methodology consisted of self-assessment questionnaires that were completed by 28 of DFIDM staff (75 percent completion rate). Three-quarters of these were women, with an almost equal split between advisors (46.5 percent) and administrative staff (53.5 percent). Additional information was provided by participatory follow-up focus group discussions, as well as semi-structured interviews²⁶.

3.1 Technical capacity

The results, based on the questionnaire, and supported by interviews, reveal that the majority of DFIDM staff does not have an adequate technical capacity of gender mainstreaming, as illustrated by the following results, with associated comments from DFID staff in parenthesis²⁷:

- Less than a third of DFIDM staff are technically very knowledgeable on gender mainstreaming, while the majority have limited knowledge (28 percent had higher than average composite score, while the average composite score for the whole sample was 1.33).
- Less than 1 in 5 people (17 percent) are completely aware that DFID has a gender strategy, with half insufficiently aware.
'It is just another term; we don't really know what it means'
- Virtually none of DFID staff has read the London DFID documentation.
'People who ask get manuals; others do not; but even if you have a manual there is no orientation. The manual is too complicated and does not provide a simple easily understandable definition of gender mainstreaming and its operationalization'
- Overall, the lack of knowledge of DFID London's strategy, and insufficient tools or capacity building all serve to limit awareness of the importance of gender mainstreaming particularly in hard as against soft sectors.
'My personal view is that the importance of gender work varies with the area of work'. 'Economists do not talk about gender, they talk about governance'; 'gender is what SDAs do'
- Although both male and female Malawian staff and many UK-based advisors were very aware of gender issues in Malawi, this is not always perceived to be the case. A UK-based advisor commented²⁸.

²⁶ Annex 1 provides a detailed description of the self-assessment methodology including the questionnaire contents and measurement techniques for quantification of results.

²⁷ See Annex 1 for details of quantification of the questionnaire.

²⁸ Gender issues prioritized in Malawian men's focus group included *education* (more girls dropping out); *attitude* (negative cultural attitudes to keeping girls in school because they can marry rich men and

'Often there is no real grasp as to what Malawian cutting edge debates on gender are; primary knowledge is anecdotal, of ministry, or of the specific issues in sector where working; this is no more than empowered people telling disempowered people what to do in gender'.

Almost two out of three staff considers that DFIDM's gender mainstreaming strategy is important for the realization of DFIDM's objectives in Malawi (60 percent). Thus while some advisors consider that gender is just another fad (or menu of the month) that has now been superseded by concepts of human rights, diversity or exclusion, it is important not to over-exaggerate this attitude.

'HIV/AIDS now provides the entry point for renewed interest in gender'

Linked to this, the questionnaire revealed a very large demand for training. This includes both basic capacity building on DFID's gender strategy and its mainstreaming into DFIDM's programme, as well as practical sector level application—which needs to include a mention of gender in Performance Delivery Plans.

'It needs to be clear about its purpose and practical application'; 'It needs to have a higher priority but needs to be meaningful i.e. related to concrete issues / problems and programmes'. 'DFID needs to conduct training before buzz words are promoted'.

In conclusion, triangulated results from the different data sources show a picture of excellent good practice by those staff that are not only committed to gender mainstreaming but also technically capable to ensure it is effective. But this depends on individual capabilities and commitment, not to mention time and resources. The majority of DFIDM staff considers the issue is important, in a general way, but lacks the capacity to do much about it and is overstretched with other priorities. Nevertheless the strong demand for training, which needs to be backed-up with better, more relevant tools and techniques, is a very positive outcome of the gender audit.

3.2 Institutional culture

The audit also addressed the internal institutional culture in terms of the objective of GM within DFIDM, with results revealing the following:

- Staff on average find a positive organizational culture in DFIDM (just under the average composite measure with a 1.44 average).
- Diversity issues were often considered of greater importance than gender concerns; a Malawian women's focus group, for instance, noted the cultural differences between Malawian women and men who are more 'process oriented' and UK-based staff more focused on outcomes. Consequently Malawians trained in the UK cope better.
- Male Malawian staff in particular questioned gender bias in maternity leave, and the lack of support for single male headed households.

Despite a positive view on the organizational culture, nearly two out of three DFID staff considered it would be quite or very useful to establish a working group on gender issues in the workplace to further explore these issues.

If you have a male boss it might be impossible to discuss some of the issues affecting women / men in DFIDM [Malawi woman admin staff]; If there are any latent issues underlying our normal work relations it would provide a forum for these issues to be raised [Malawian male admin.]; There is too much single gender representation [Malawian male consultant]; To raise awareness of subtle discrimination improve relations via understanding and so improve output [UK Woman adviser]

bring money or work at home); *health* (risks in early sex; relationships with older men which leads to contacting sexually transmitted diseases including HIV); and culture (values that are not questioned; attitude towards polygamy and wife inheritance; women with little leverage in inheritance issues).

4. The Way Ahead: Gender Audit Action Plan Recommendations

The objective of the gender audit is to assess DFIDM's progress to date. It is also to provide concrete recommendations to strengthen DFIDM's capacity to implement its twin-track GM strategy within its programme of support to assist the GoM to achieve the MDGs. This final section outlines the components of a gender audit action plan with an associated brief analysis of the underlying rationale behind the priorities selected.

4.1 Components of the Gender Audit Action Plan

The two year Gender Audit Action Plan (2005-2006) provides DFIDM with a specific means with which to implement the main gender audit recommendations. These were agreed in draft with senior management, prior to completing this report. The Action Plan contains five components, each of which derives directly from gender audit conclusions (see Table 2). These include the following:

1. Internal endorsement and dissemination strategy
2. GM in DFIDM strategy level work
3. GM in 'sector' level prioritized areas
4. Gender-specific 'empowerment' initiatives.
5. DFIDM internal capacity building

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The action plan components are the outcome of a two-phased consultation process undertaken with senior management and each of the programme /sector teams. Building on DFIDM's endorsement of its commitment to gender equality within the framework of the MDGs, sector advisors identified appropriate GM opportunities and brainstormed around a strategy of 'picking winners' (see section 1.3 above). Interventions identified are closely linked to DFIDM's PSA Plans for 2005 and beyond, and categorized in terms of both MDGs and DFIDM's three themes of growth and livelihoods, pro-poor governance and service delivery. Further elaboration of associated draft activities, responsibilities and timeframes are included in Appendix 7. However, these provisional sector level action plans will require modification once the overall action plan is endorsed.

4.2 Priorities in Action Plan components

i. Internal endorsement and dissemination strategy

At the outset the Action Plan requires formal endorsement by DFIDM's senior management and staff. This includes dissemination of the completed gender audit as well as agreement on the interventions (and associated activities) prioritized in the action plan. Along with this is the need for agreement on institutional arrangements and resource implications (see section 4.3 below) as well as monitoring and evaluation processes. Given the comprehensive consultation process in October 2004, fundamental modifications are not expected. Two factors make it critical to endorse the action plan as soon as is practically possible, with December 2004 the date indicated:

- The importance of not losing the momentum achieved through the participatory consultation process in October, about which DFIDM advisors expressed both commitment and considerable enthusiasm
- The necessity not to lose institutional memory with imminent and upcoming staff changes in DFIDM, including the SDA and senior policy advisor, both of whom have important institutional responsibilities in terms of action plan implementation.

Internal endorsement obviously requires justification for the interventions selected. The following summary highlights priorities and common themes in the different components in terms of their relevance to DFIDM's support to the GoM to achieve the country's MDGs.

ii. GM in DFIDM strategy level work

At the strategy level gender audit results are relevant to all the MDGs. Two upcoming activities provide important opportunities. First, is the **redesign of DFIDM's CAP**, which in line with support to the MPRSP will continue to endorse a poverty reduction strategy. Within this framework extensive inclusion of gender-disaggregated data can highlight how gender inequalities and disparities constrain the MDG achievements. The incorporation of interventions identified in the gender audit can then ensure that *evaporation* does not occur between gender analysis and the assistance plan, as was the case in the previous CAP.

The second opportunity is the **redesign of the MPRSP**. Given the extensive *resistance* to GM, as well as analytical confusion around the concept in the previous MPRSP (noted in section 2.3 above), recommended interventions are both 'technocratic' and 'political' in nature. Increasing technical competence to ensure that gender disaggregated data is introduced into the MPRSP M and E Master Plan is obviously important, but so too are necessary measures to ensure that GM working group recommendations do not get *evaporated* when the MoF drafts the final document. A strong case can be made for dropping GM as a cross-cutting issue if it continues to simply side-line gender inequality issues. However, this is conditional on effective GM within each of the pillars. A number of initiatives further elaborated in other parts of the action plan can assist in more robust GM into the MPRSP. These include, for instance:

- Dissemination of sound analysis of the economic case for gender issues (building on the preliminary work on gendered CBAs)
- Strengthening the MOGCWYCS capacity in terms of both personnel, leverage and ability to effectively work on GM issues
- Donor harmonization to support civil society in gender analysis of the budget, as well as strengthening their capacity more generally²⁹.

iii. GM in 'sector' level prioritized areas

As DFIDM shifts its focus from programmes and projects to sector-wide approaches and direct budget support, issues of evaporation, invisibilization and resistance identified in this audit are likely to become more, rather than less of a challenge. MDG goal 1, the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger is the underlying objective of three critically important 'sector' level prioritized areas. These provide important opportunities to ensure that issues of gender equality are successfully integrated upstream.

The Common Approach to Budget Support (CABS) is one such entry point. To date budget support has been perceived as largely gender neutral with *resistance* in DFIDM to supporting so-called 'gender budgets initiatives' (GBIs)³⁰. As a DFID advisor commented, 'How can we consider gender budgets when the government faces so many challenges in getting the budgets right at all?'. As the GoM seeks to improve its overall budgetary capacity, the CABS initiative it intended to provide a measure of conditionality to donor budgetary support with a set of

²⁹ Support to civil society women's organizations to strengthen their capacity to be effective advocates is critical. Along with gender researchers these are 'thin on the ground in Malawi and very over-stretched' (Whitehead 2003: 29). In addition, the influence of women's groups is often de-legitimized as their relationships with government, and even with other CSOs often takes place in a hostile environment (UK Gender and Development Network 2003). The upcoming MPRSP provides an important political space to move the GM agenda forward using the rationale of economics rather than welfare to confront 'horrendous patriarchal patterns' (Putzel and Munthali 2004).

³⁰ Gender budget initiatives (GBIs) disaggregate expenditure and revenue according to their differential impacts on women and men, and are intended to provide a mechanism for governments, in collaboration with lawmakers, civil society, donors, and other development actors, to integrate a gender analysis into fiscal policies and budgets, (Budlender et al 2002). GBIs can highlight the economic costs of gender inequality to society as a whole and as such are crucial tools for increasing the effectiveness of resource use, strengthening economic management and working towards gender equality (Hewitt and Mukhopadhyay 2002; Elson 2002). In Malawi such initiatives have been supported by SIDA and UNDP.

Performance Assessment Framework (PAF) indicators providing the basis for monitoring. Ensuring the inclusion of critical gender-disaggregated indicators that go beyond women in decision making, therefore, is an important first step towards GBIs. The most critical gender-disaggregated data relates to primary education drop out rates (in %); and although much contested, if there is agreement on the part of the CABS donor community, a second indicator suggested is HIV prevalence amongst the 15-24 age group (in %).

As identified in Table 2, the CABS has important links to upcoming SWAps (see below) as well as to the **Medium Term Expenditure Framework Phase II Action Plan 2004-2007 (MTEF)**. Although gender is mentioned in the Action Plan, the logframe does not include gender disaggregated indicators or outputs/inputs related to engendering the budget process. If the MTEF goes forward, skills in gender-analysis need to be included in the capacity-building and the strategic planning tools engendered³¹.

Two other programmatic initiatives designed to reach MDG 1, are **rights-based projects** and the development of a **social protection strategy**. In both cases equitable access to services, and the critical importance of ‘making the economic case’ for incorporating GM, are priority concerns. As identified in the gender audit, the successful, if modest, experiences to date that rights-based approaches appear to have in addressing gender inequality make this as strategic policy approach for DFIDM to incorporate this within its overarching poverty-reduction focus. In moving forward with social protection (broadening the agenda from safety nets to risk mitigation and risk reduction), DFIDM will confront one of the most critical observations of the gender audit. This relates to *evaporation* that occurs if a programme itself is not sustainable. Safety net public works programmes such as ITPWPW illustrate this serious problem. Although the evidence from this programme shows that targets for women’s participation were met, the short term nature of such safety-net assistance quickly eroded any strengthening of gender equality that might have been desired, along with any sustained reduction in poverty levels.

The importance of MDG 3, gender equality and the empowerment of women as essential for poverty reduction, is recognized in a range of mainstream programming initiatives. New DFIDM initiatives such as the ‘**Drivers of Change**’ provide the opportunity to clarify the significance of gender power relations, as one aspect of power relations relevant to change processes in Malawi with impact on growth and governance³². Such elucidation is essential to better understand the political *resistance* in the GoM and society more generally to gender equality issues, and the associated challenges for civil society in shifting the GoM from rhetoric and tokenism towards a holistic effort to address the causes of gender inequality—as elaborated in the national gender policy and programme goals.

The upcoming **SWAps**, in both the education and health sectors, as well as the HIV/AIDS budget support provide opportunities to include priority GM interventions. These are common

³¹ These should ensure, for instance, that gender incidence summaries and GTEs are part of the budget classification system; that budget monitoring and cash management systems report on PPEs and GTEs, and the resultant pro-poor and gender incidences after implementation; and that the PERs highlight gendered analyses in expenditure reviews and financial reporting.

³² Such power relations are most explicit in the HIV/AIDS context. In a culture where men are expected to dominate, masculinity is expressed in multiple sex partners, and women are expected to be subservient, prevention messages are ignored among many of the elite. Thus the HIV/AIDS epidemic is universally blamed on the ‘female temptress’—whether driven by loose discipline (the view of traditional leaders and imams) or poverty (the view of NGOs). Yet there is not an expectation that men can or should control their sexual urges when away from home (Putzel and Munthali 2004).

to action plans across many of the MDGs (particularly 1, 3, 5, and 6) and associated DFIDM themes, and include the following:

- **Identification of demand-side obstacles and constraints on female access to basic services and associated actions to address this.** Cultural practices, economic constraints and female caring roles within the household all act as barriers to equality in service uptake. In the education sector, this constrains girls from completing primary school as well as to keep them out of secondary school; in the health sector this reduces user uptake of services to reduce maternal mortality; and in the case of HIV/AIDS and TB it results in gender disparities in testing and service uptake by women who are burdened by caring for sick relatives and orphans.
- **Identification of gender-based violence (GBV) linked constraints and associated action harmonized with other donor support**³³. Across sectors a culture of violence against women and children prevails, with GBV acting as an additional major barrier on accessing services; sexual abuse in schools by male teachers influences girls' high drop out rates; cultural beliefs around sexual practices, many of which include coercion of young women, affect HIV/AIDS rates (Matinga and McConville 2003); in the home, intimate partner violence is culturally condoned, affecting maternal mortality rates (Semu and Kadzamira 1995). Here pilot level learning in **primary justice** provides the opportunity to test initiatives to strengthen women's participation in decision-making in traditional dispute resolution, which includes issues of GBV.
- **Development of robust gender-disaggregated data bases** to justify gender-disaggregated interventions within SWAs as well as ensuring their integration into the different pillars of the next MPRSP
- **Capacity strengthening in GM in lead ministries** (see below)

iv. Gender-specific empowerment initiatives

Since DFID prioritizes mainstream activities, it relies very heavily on donor harmonization for gender-specific empowerment initiatives. Here other donors have taken the lead. This includes not only GTZ on GBV issues (mentioned above), but also NORAD's long-term support to strengthening the institutional capacity of the Ministry of Gender, and CIDA and UNDP support to research on gender budget.

Such harmonization will continue to be critically important, with DFIDM's responsibility including not only continuing membership of the DAGG group, but also close collaboration with a smaller group of like-minded donors proactive on GM. This allows for a more efficient 'division of donor support' to the different priorities identified by Malawian government and civil society. While NORAD and GTZ intend to continue as before, CIDA's upcoming focus is on issues of decentralization, and NORAD is also supporting initiatives to create incentives for more women to be MPs.

DFIDM has agreed to take the lead in **strengthening GM in the lead MDG ministries** with a range of critically important interventions identified. In an institutional context where 'a focal point' has been identified as the panacea to GM, DFIDM has important challenges in supporting the introduction of time-bound task-specific focal teams on strategic activities such as SWAs. Other initiatives include support to ongoing **legal reform**, including parliament's commitment to **gender-related legislative changes**. However, in the longer-term DFIDM needs to extend its programme to a level more comparable with the lead donors such as NORAD and CIDA.

³³ The GTZ-funded Lekani Nkhansa Project promotes a coordinated approach to violence against women. This has resulted in the adoption of the term Gender Based Violence, which has helped 'unmask' sexual forms of violence that predispose women and girls to HIV/AIDS.

v. Internal capacity building in DFIDM

Different sections of the gender audit identify a range of constraints in DFIDM implementation of its GM strategy. These usefully can be identified in terms of internal institutional capacity as well as operational procedures available. The action plan provides a number of concrete recommendations to address both issues in an internal plan of action. In so doing it highlights the importance of dialogue on a number of components in relation to relative responsibilities between DFIDM and DFID London.

i. Internal institutional capacity

Results from the internal self-assessment show while a small minority has a high technical capacity on gender issues—and effectively incorporate GM in their operational work—the majority lack sufficient knowledge on GM. However, the fact that they consider GM important for DFIDM to reach its MGD-related strategy, accompanied by a demand for training, shows that here are good opportunities to build internal capacity. This can usefully be divided into the following types:

- a) *New staff induction capacity building* – with the recommendation that this should be **‘rolled out’ from DFID London** along the lines of other mainstream training such as on social protection and economics for non-economists
- b) *Strengthening capacity of existing staff*
 - By support in implementation of gender audit action plan recommendations³⁴
 - Through new sector training packages (e.g. SWAps; HIV/AIDS)
- c) *GM TORs*: GM capacity in DFID can also be strengthened by building GM mainstreaming expertise into the TORs for both new appointments (assessed in staff interviews) as well as sector consultants, particularly those that undertake critical budget, sector-wide and OPR consultancies³⁵.

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ii. Operational procedures with implications for DFID London

While DFID field offices have considerable autonomy to develop their own detailed procedures, DFID London has the overall mandate on DFID’s GM strategy³⁶. The gender audit identified a considerable demand for a number of GM tools. **Decisions between DFIDM and London on relative responsibilities need to be agreed** for the production of such tools. These can usefully be categorized in terms of the following levels:

- a) *Introductory*: Reader-friendly briefing note on most important issues in DFID’s gender strategy – including twin track GM
- b) *Programme guidelines*: Reader-friendly guidelines on integrating GM into routine procedures including logframe, gender objectives, and OVIs
- c) *Monitoring and evaluation procedures*: OPRs need to include field visits to understand the complexity of ‘GM issues on the ground’.
- d) *New operational tools*: GM in SWAps

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³⁴ Many advisors commented on the usefulness of the two-stage consultation process undertaken as part of the action plan in developing their capacity, and increasing their focus on GM.

³⁵ In the longer-term an important limitation among many SDAs and other DFID staff competent in GM may need to be confronted in DFID London. This relates to the imbalance between highly sophisticated gender analysis skills among DFID staff (demonstrated by the quality of gender analysis on programme preparation), and a far weaker operational planning skill base that is essential to translate such analysis into programme objectives, OVIs and gendered programme components.

³⁶ For instance, in Bangladesh, DFIDB have added a ‘women and girls first’ assessment to all PRS in the governance team. This means that even if gender mainstreaming is not clear in the logframe, progress can be assessed and remedial action introduced if necessary. However it is important that this does not just become a banner. (Personal communication Peter Evans). There are undoubtedly a wide range of examples of innovatory country practices (see Derbyshire 1999; Watkins 2004)

Obviously it is easier to provide measurable OVIs in small operational interventions than in broader sector level support. As DFIDM's programme moves upscale to SWAps and direct budget support there is a serious danger of gender objectives and OVSs disappearing or becoming so generalized that their measurement or verification will present real challenges, with *evaporation* an increased concern.

iii. More appropriate tools and procedures to avoid GM evaporation and invisibilization?

Better tools, while important, may not necessary solve the limitations experienced in the implementation of GM strategies. This highlights the importance of a wider debate across DFID. The gender audit highlights the need for better defined and more user-friendly procedures to ensure GM. These range from an operational working definition of a GM strategy, sensible guidelines to ensure the OVIs and other logframe components incorporate GM, to adequate monitoring or evaluation indicators. A number of DFID assessments have already identified this need, as well as highlighting the fact that the logframe itself may not be an adequate tool to monitor GM (Derbyshire 1999, 30-31; 17; 120; Watkins 2004). The DFIDM gender audit provides the legitimacy for advisors to engage in such a debate around the limitations identified relating to the following:

- a) **PIM:** Recognition of limitation of PIM marker as monitoring tool. DFID London needs to either drop it or provide better guidelines and training to those that have to use it – plus making it mandatory to rank all key sheets in terms of P, S or N. Currently this is not obligatory
- b) **The logframe:** As DFID support moves upstream into SWAps and direct budget support this provides the opportunity to adapt GM tools accordingly.

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4.3 Institutional arrangements and associated resource implications

To implement the action plan requires agreement not only on its contents but also on the institutional arrangements and resource implications. In a context of severe work overload and competing agendas this is probably the most critical constraint that needs to be addressed. Institutional responsibilities identified therefore include a range of staff assuming mainstreaming supervision, most often with support from the SDA and / or outside consultant support. These include the Head of DFID, Deputy Head, Senior policy advisors, SDA and assistant SDA , as well as consultants linked to institutional and resource options.

i. Options for implementation of the Action Plan

The institutional arrangements for the recommendations outlined in Table 2 are indicative of a genuine GM strategy, namely they are not separate ‘add-ons’ but comprehensively integrated into DFIDM’s plans for 2005 (c.f. the Change Impact Monitoring Tables). Nevertheless it is critical that advisors do not perceive this as additional work in already busy schedules. It is also important to note that the range of substantive issues underpinning the different actions makes it difficult for one additional person to take overall responsibility. Two alternative options are outlined:

Option One: This proposes the establishment of a flexible resource base in the form of a revolving fund. Associated with this is the identification of on-going support from gender consultants (using the model currently being **implemented** in Social Protection) on the four following critical areas:

- Barriers to service delivery; SWAps; Social Protection; Revision of the MPRSP.
- In addition the revolving fund can be called on for one off initiatives in sectors not covered by the above

Option Two: This proposes the establishment of an additional position at B1 or B2 level to manage the action plan and identify consultants and support as appropriate, under the guidance of the SDA

Option one is the recommended option since it genuinely will strengthen GM in DFIDM. It also provides flexibility to drop incentives if advisors are not ultimately convinced of their importance or viability, while creating real incentives for those that are seen as important. These will be achieved both through both financial support as well as through targeted interventions from external gender consultants, focusing on the most critical new areas of DFIDM's portfolio, where knowledge of GM is consequently weakest.

Table 2: Gender Audit: DFIDM Two Year Action Plan 2005-2006

1. Dissemination and Endorsement of Gender Audit and Plan of Action Recommendations

<i>Prioritized area</i>	<i>Interventions</i>	<i>Associated Activities</i>	<i>DFID/related Responsibility</i>	<i>Date</i>
Endorsement of the Plan of Action	Presentation of final version of MDFID Gender Audit and associated plan of action with its four identified components (see below)	Presentation at Core Management Team Meeting	Head of Office; SDA	March 2005
	DFIDM endorsement of 'prioritized areas' in 'picking winners' strategy Endorsement of associated interventions and activities (see attached matrixes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification and agreement on key senior advisor with responsibility for implementation of the recommendations • Key elements to be incorporated into Impact Change Monitoring Tables 	Advisors supported by SDA	March 2005
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of monitoring and evaluation process on the implementation of Gender Audit Plan of Action • Annual review one year after Action Plan endorsed to monitor progress 	Deputy Head SDA External gender specialist	May 2005 Dec 2005

2. GM in DFID strategy level work

<i>MDG</i>	<i>DFID policy</i>	<i>GM opportunity</i>	<i>Prioritized sector</i>	<i>Intervention</i>	<i>DFID/ related responsibility</i>	<i>Date</i>
1-8	CAP		PSA reflects GA Action Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dissemination of GA findings to DAGG, MOGCWCS and civil society networks 	SDA advisor	February 2005
1-8		<i>Redesign of CAP</i>	Gender Audit findings as basis for development of GM in new CAP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Additional work undertaken to update gender analysis statistics to provide 2006 interpretation of gender disparities; • Results of prioritized interventions from the GA, incorporated into CAP design 	DFID statistics advisor from SA and GM consultant	Oct 2005
1-8	DFID support to MPRSP		MPRSP monitoring indicators as developed by CABS	See PPG below		

1-8		<i>Redesign of the MPRSP</i>	GM in all four of the MPRSP Pillars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender disaggregated data as output of MPRSP M & E to be integrated into data within each pillar Composition of working group to include GM capacity Ensure recommendations on GM within each group are integrated into the Ministry of Finance drafting team though: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Make explicit the economic case for gender issues in each pillar. Design and make available tools / instruments for sector specific interventions. Donor harmonization on support to civil society in gender analysis of budget Strengthen capacity of MOGCWCS in support to MPRSP process (see below) 	Senior Policy Advisor in collaboration with other Advisors, SDA	2006
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3. Gender mainstreaming in sector level prioritized areas

MDG	DFID sector	GM opportunity	Prioritized sector	Intervention	DFID/related responsibilities	Date
1	PPG	<i>Links to education programme, health SWAp and MTEFII</i>	Common Approach to Budget Support (CABS)	Ensure that the Performance Assessment Framework (PAF) indicators include critical gender-disaggregated indicators beyond women in decision making to include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary education 	Economics Advisors with support from Education Advisor	April 2005
1	PPG		Rights-based projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Equitable access to services Incentives and pressure for gender mainstreaming in service delivery for line ministries 	SDA, external consultants	April 2005
1	Service delivery Growth and livelihood	<i>Govt. interest in effective growth and SP institution</i>	Growth and Social Protection strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mainstream gender into design of more appropriate social policy Make the economic case for addressing gender barriers to growth and social protection 	Livelihood team, external consultants	Dec 2005
3	PPG		Drivers of Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clarification of significance of gender power relations to enable understanding of change processes in Malawi, including impact on growth and governance 	Governance Advisor, external consultants	Jan 2005
3	Service delivery Education	<i>Design of SWAp</i>	Education SWAp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify and integrates into SWAp policy mechanisms to strengthen girls completion of primary school Identification of obstacles to girls attendance in secondary school and integration into SWAp policy Raise awareness in the Malawian education sector of gender-based violence involved in schooling 	Education Advisor, SDA, external consultants	As determined by SWAp

3	Service delivery MaSSAJ	<i>pilot project learning integrated into scaled up Primary Justice programme</i>	Primary Justice	Traditional dispute resolution (TDR): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthen women's participation in decision making in TDR systems within local communities – increasing awareness of women's rights at the local level Strengthen capacity of NGOs, CBOs and Faith-based Organizations in dispute resolution 	MaSSAJ team, external consultants	Dec 2005
3	Service delivery MaSSAJ		Prison infrastructure programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improving the conditions of some prisons according to international minimum standards, including ensuring segregated accommodation for all women and children prisoners. 	MaSSAJ team, external consultants	Dec 2005
5	Service delivery Health	<i>Implementation of Health SWAp</i>	Annual decision making of programme of work and resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhance service delivery and users uptake of healthcare through institution and resource changes to reduce maternal mortality 	Health Team	Dec 2005
6	HIV / AIDS	<i>Development of new National Strategic Framework</i>	National Strategic Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Strategic Framework Strategy recognizes the gender-based differentials in HIV/AIDS The new Strategy includes actions which are differentiated by gender across all Four Pillars of the MPRSP 	HIV/AIDS Advisor, Senior Policy Advisor	Dec 2005

4. Gender-specific empowerment initiatives

MDG	DFID sector	GM Opportunity	Prioritized sector	Intervention		
1, 3, 5, 6;	Gender mainstreaming PPG	<i>Monitoring and redesign of the MPRSP</i>	Strengthen GM in ministries with primary MDG responsibilities such as: Health 1. Education 2. HIV/AIDS 3. EPD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate and monitor harmonization of donor support to different institutions to 'ensure strengthening capacity in understanding of the principles behind a gender mainstreaming approach, and the necessary tools to bring it Adopt twin-track approach to GM in lead MDG Ministries On-the-job capacity building support to key change agents within each ministry about' (NGP, 2004 7) Develop and strengthen capacity of task-specific focal teams (that include gender focal point) for time-bound collaboration on strategic activities such as SWAps Provide additional TA support to the focal points on demand based tasks (e.g. MoH) 	SDA	Ongoing
					SDA external consultants	Dec 2005

3	Gender Mainstreaming PPG	<i>On-going legal reform</i>	Completion of gender discrimination analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification and support to gender experts in different sectors 	SDA, Governance advisor, external consultant	Ongoing
			Strengthen parliament's commitment to gender-related legislative changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dissemination • Support to Law Commission to redraft necessary legislation I • Identify key partners in key sectors (relevant parliamentary committees; Law Commission) 	Governance Team advisor	Dec 2005
3	PPG		Support to Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure donor harmonization in strengthen parliament's commitment to be more democratic and responsive to the poor by creating incentives for more women to be MPs 	SDA and Governance	Dec 2006

5. DFID Internal capacity building

<i>Priority</i>	<i>Interventions</i>	<i>Associated activities</i>	<i>Responsibility</i>	<i>Date</i>
Implementation of Internal Action Plan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity building for new staff in Malawi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss with London rolling out GM new staff capacity building similar to 'economics for non-economists' • Provide staff capacity building 	SDA and Consultants	July 2005 July 2005
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening support for existing staff through monitoring of Action Plan recommendations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where necessary or requested provide on GM to strengthen implementation of Action Plan recommendations, using where possible sector consultants, or GM consultants on ongoing basis 	SDA, other Advisors and sector	Feb 2005 onwards
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure TORs for international and local consultants include GM skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build GM skills in consultant's TORs (especially for OPRS) 	All Advisors / SDA	Feb 2005
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen harmonization on GM issues cross-cutting different programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporate GM harmonization in existing team mechanisms 	DFIDM teams	Feb 2005
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of user-friendly GM briefing notes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Production of the following three essential GM tools with DFID London <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reader-friendly briefing note on most important issues in DFID's gender strategy – including twin track GM 2. Simple reader-friendly guidelines on routine DFID GM procedures including Logframe, gender objectives, OVIs, OPRs • Development of GM tools and techniques for operational staff working on SWaps 	SDA to consult with London	July 2005
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As interim measure short briefing note prepared in DFIDM 		SDA with consultant	May 2005

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