

An Introduction to Gender Audit Methodology: Its design and implementation in DFID Malawi

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Acronyms

CAP	Country Assistance Plan
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAGG	Donor Agency Gender Network
Danida	Danish International Development Agency
DBS	Direct budget support
DFID	Department for International Development
DFIDM	Department for International Development Malawi
GA	Gender analysis
GBV	Gender-based violence
GCBA	Gendered cost benefit analysis
GM	Gender mainstreaming
GoM	Government of Malawi
HIV/AIDS	Acquired Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus/Syndrome
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOGCWCS	Ministry of Gender, Child Welfare and Community Services
MPRSP	Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
OPR	Output to process review
OVI	Objectively Verifiable Indicator
PCR	Project Completion Report
PfA	Beijing Conference Platform for Action
PGN	Practical gender needs
PIM	Policy Information Marker
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SERPS	Sexual Reproductive Health Programme
SDA	Social development adviser
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
SWAp	Sector-wide approach
ToR	Terms of reference
TSP	Target Strategy Paper
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WID	Women in Development

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Section 1: Introduction

1.1 Objectives and audience

Evaluation methodology specifically designed to assess the implementation of gender policies, strategies, programmes and projects has developed rapidly during the past decade. This has been of particular importance to the broad range of institutions that have implemented initiatives to achieve the Beijing Platform for Action (PfA) objectives of gender equality and the empowerment of women. These include donor agencies, government departments and civil society organisations.

This working paper outlines the main components of a recently developed gender audit methodology. Its purpose is to provide a background paper for those seeking to undertake gender audits, as well as to show the uses of gender audits within the broader development field of meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The paper was commissioned by the Evaluation Department of the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and is intended for staff working in London-based policy divisions and in field-based offices. Hopefully, it will also be useful beyond DFID, for others in development-focused organisations also grappling with the methodological complexities of auditing or evaluating gender mainstreaming in their organisations.

The working paper consists of the following five sections:

- **Section 1** introduces the objectives of a gender audit and provides a brief background to the origins of this working paper.
- **Section 2** introduces gender audits in terms of critical issues relating to definitions and approaches to gender evaluation and gender audits.
- **Section 3** examines the objectives of gender audits relating to gender equality and gender mainstreaming.
- **Section 4** focuses on the components of a gender audit, both the coverage and methodology for implementation and the structure and contents of an audit document and related measurement issues.
- **Section 5** concludes.

At the outset, it is important to emphasise that, as a working paper, this is not a set of ‘guidelines’: this would be a far more extensive project in scope, and require more broad-based comparative experience than is currently available. Nevertheless, it is hoped that it can provide useful guidance for those concerned better to understand the main objectives, methodology and components of gender audits.

1.2 Background to the working paper

The gender audit methodology described in this working paper evolved during the process of undertaking a gender audit. This was carried out in response to a request to assess the UK Department for International Development Malawi office’s (DFIDM’s) policies, strategies and activities in terms of their implementation of DFID’s gender mainstreaming strategy.¹ The audit was contextualised within the broader political, economic and social environment on gender issues in Malawi. This included the Malawian government’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), its national gender policy, and the associated institutional structure of its ministry with lead responsibility, the Ministry of Gender, Child Welfare and Community Services (MOGCWCS). Its recommendations were intended to assist DFIDM in supporting the Government of Malawi (GoM) and civil society in achieving the country’s MDGs.

With no standardised DFID gender audit methodology, it became necessary for one to be elaborated along with the implementation of the gender audit. The methodology was essentially then piloted during

¹ The gender audit was prepared during July – October 2004 by Caroline Moser (team leader), Olivia M’Chaju-Liwewe and Naomi Ngwira (Malawian gender consultants) and Annalise Moser (gender consultant) (see Moser et al., 2004). The team leader’s time comprised 48 days, which consisted of four stages, as follows: two field visits (15 days each); draft audit document (10 days); final draft (eight days). The consultants’ time varied depending on individual inputs.

subsequent stages in the audit process. Since it was developed specifically for auditing DFID's gender mainstreaming (GM) strategies, it is structured around DFID procedures. Obviously, these are distinctive to the particular institution, and may differ from those of other organisations also concerned with auditing their own progress in reaching similar objectives of gender equality and women's empowerment. Even within DFID itself, the ongoing upstream shift of focus in its development assistance, from project lending to direct budget support (DBS) and national policy frameworks, may mean some of the areas covered are more relevant than others.

The DFID Malawi gender audit was intended to assess its current programme, which is still largely programmatic in nature. Consequently, the methodology will undoubtedly require further elaboration if it is to encompass fully the complexities and challenges of new cutting-edge donor modalities still in the process of formulation, let alone evaluation. Given these important constraints, the purpose of a working paper on evaluation methodology such as this is to provide ideas for others working in this field and facing challenges similar to those experienced in Malawi.

It is important to emphasise that the methodology is not in any sense comprehensive or unique. In its design, it draws on a broad range of evaluation reports and guidelines.² Obviously, there are as many ways of doing gender audits as there are people doing them. Nevertheless, the description of one such methodology, and the contextually specific process and situation on which it was based, may encourage others grappling with similar problems to 'push the envelope' further in terms of new innovative techniques within this important area of evaluation.

2 Of particular importance as source materials were the DFID gender audit undertaken in China by Kanji and Du Jie (2003), an earlier desk review of gender mainstreaming by Moser and Moser (2003), recent work on gender audits by both InterAction (2003) and the Netherlands Development Centre (2002), and a number of DFID-commissioned gender evaluation and stocktaking reports (such as Derbyshire 1999; Watkins 2004a; 2004b).

Section 2: Evaluations and audits: definitions and approaches

Is a gender audit simply old wine in new bottles – a gender evaluation by another name – or does it have different objectives, or different methodological components? This somewhat contested question can be answered quite simply, summarised in the following way.

Five or 10 years ago, a gender evaluation was generally defined as a ‘technical assessment’, whereas an audit went beyond this to include ‘personal and institutional biases’ in the culture of organisations that prevented gender equality objectives being taken forward. Today, however, the distinction is blurred. Many organisations now use the term audit for what previously they would have called an evaluation, whereas gender evaluations tend to encompass internal issues that were previously the province of audits.

Nevertheless, since evaluation methodologies are well known in social science research and audits, particularly participatory gender audits, are a more recent innovation, the following short description of the main components of gender evaluations, as well as the more specific objectives of participatory gender audits, is intended to provide contextual background.

2.1 Gender evaluations³

Although the field of gender evaluation has evolved along with women and development/gender and development debates, it is still somewhat unrefined and rudimentary in comparison with the sophistication of ongoing gender analytical debates.⁴ A recent review of gender mainstreaming showed that the most commonly cited constraint at the operational level was the lack of effective, consistent and systematic monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming outcomes and impacts.⁵

One of the biggest challenges involves identifying criteria for assessment to measure the achievement of goals, including appropriate indicators. Here, a useful distinction can be made between the following:

- Implementation evaluations that monitor and evaluate the implementation of gender issues into procedures. Implementation indicators may refer, for instance, to the integration of gender into the programme or project cycle. Early gender evaluations focused mainly on such implementation evaluations.⁶
- Impact evaluation that assess or measure the impact of interventions on gender equality and women’s empowerment. In theory, this requires four interrelated indicators, measuring inputs, outputs, effects and impacts. In practice, however, many evaluations simply refer to impact indicators generally, without differentiating further. Assessments frequently still focus on input indicators, such as the number and proportion of female beneficiaries and number of activities, rather than addressing impacts or outcomes.⁷

The development of gendered output and impact indicators and their associated impact evaluation frameworks still pose real problems. These problems include the identification of uniform criteria, as well as the complexity of measuring impacts on power and status, which is long term, in-depth and costly to undertake. This is still an exploratory field of evaluation with a diversity of indicators being utilised.

³ This section draws heavily on Moser (1995) and Moser and Moser (2003).

⁴ The collection of essays on ‘Repositioning feminisms in development’ provides one such recent example (see IDS, 2004).

⁵ This was mentioned by bilaterals such as the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) (Mikkelsen et al., 2002) and the Danish International Development Agency (Danida) (2000), multilateral institutions such as the DAC (1998), as well as by international NGOs such as Hivos (2001), UNIAMWGE (2001) and ACORD (Hadjipateras, 1997).

⁶ See Moser (1993). For instance, a 1993 Overseas Development Administration (ODA) evaluation concentrated on expenditure commitments, on the number of women within ODA and from developing countries in ODA-provided training, and on recommendations on how to make the project cycle gender sensitive. In another example, the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) assessed documentation on policy by identifying implementation indicators, such as policy statements and principles, annual aid reviews, and statistical reporting. A second study on policies and organisational measures on WID adopted by DAC country members used implementation indicators to assess the adoption of WID policies and measures (cited in Moser, 1995).

⁷ See Mayoux (1998); Hadjipateras (1997)

Gendered impact indicators

Some of the most important recent work in the development of impact indicators relates to indicators of empowerment. Malhotra et al.'s study (2003) employs Kabeer's (2001) definition of empowerment – 'the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them' – and synthesises a range of indicators used to measure women's empowerment. The study identifies the need for multiple indicators, combined qualitative and quantitative data sources, and the triangulation of results. It suggests that women's empowerment needs to occur along six different dimensions: economic, socio-cultural, familial/interpersonal, legal, political and psychological. Each of these should be measured at various levels of social aggregation, from the household, to the community, to broader national, regional and global levels.⁸

A particularly robust in-depth impact assessment, undertaken for Sida, evaluated the effects of the donor's interventions on gender equality in three countries in terms of the following three criteria:⁹

- Practical gender needs and strategic gender changes;
- Women's empowerment;
- Men, male roles and masculinities.

Findings included the fact that all but two interventions addressed practical gender needs, and these in turn contributed to strategic gender changes; empowerment was rarely an explicit aim, but was a side-effect in some interventions.

Popular, particularly with a number of NGOs, is the Llongwe framework (1995), which assesses impact on gender equality in terms of welfare; access to resources; conscientisation; participation; and control. A recent evaluation of ACORD, for instance, showed that greatest gains for women overall were in the spheres of welfare, access to resources, conscientisation and to a lesser extent participation; there was limited impact on the 'ultimate level' of control.¹⁰

Other indicators include participation in decision-making, and men and women benefiting equally, used by Oxfam in Sierra Leone, as well as practical gender needs and an increase in equality of opportunity, influence and benefit, proposed by DFID. Finally, at the macro level, it is important to mention composite indicators measuring gender equality, such as the Millennium Development Goals' indicators, and the United Nation's Gender-Related Development Index, currently the most comprehensive global index.¹¹

2.2 Participatory gender audits¹²

Turning to participatory gender audits, these share similar characteristics with accounting and social audits (See Box 1). More specifically, recognition of the importance of gender audits has been derived from a growing awareness of the central role of organisational structure and culture in the design and delivery of gender-sensitive programmes and projects. This identifies the importance of examining not just accounts, but also the systems and processes within institutions. As Sweetman (1997) argues, this is based on the premise that 'working on gender issues obliges organisations to set their own houses in order, and change aspects of the organisational culture which discriminate against women staff and women "beneficiaries"'.

⁸ For example, economic dimension indicators of empowerment include women's control over household income, their access to employment, credit and markets, and representation of women in high-paying jobs and of their interests in macroeconomic policies.

⁹ See Mikkelsen et al. (2002).

¹⁰ See Hadjipateras (1997).

¹¹ See Oxfam (2003); DFID (2002); United Nations (1995).

¹² See Netherlands Development Organisation (2004) for a more detailed description of gender audits, www.snvworld.org

Box 1: Accounting and social audits.

Traditionally, audits have been associated with financial accounting audits. Accountants performed audits and, with their declaration of approval, certified that finances and administration were legitimate, with established rules and regulations correctly followed. More recently, in the 1980s, quality management audits were introduced in companies to promote improvement of company performance. International company performance standards were developed, and assessed by audits which investigated how well an organisation complied with internal and external demand. Quality audits in turn established whether internal arrangements were attuned to each other, and rules followed.

Building on these principles, social audits have been developed in a range of community development agencies and enterprises as processes that enable organisations to measure the extent to which they live up to ‘the shared values and objectives’ to which they are committed. In this context, a social audit is a framework which allows an organisation to build on existing documentation and reporting and develop a process whereby it can account for its social performance, report on that performance and draw up an action plan to improve on that performance, and through which to understand its impact on the community and be accountable to its key stakeholders.

Sources: Netherlands Development Organisation (2004); www.caledonia.org.uk; www.cbs-network.org.uk.

In fact, DFID itself expresses a similar concern with ‘setting its own house in order’ in the Target Strategy Paper (TSP) on gender (DFID, 2000). It identifies the three channels to address its twin-track strategy (see below) as: influencing government; working with donor partners; and strengthening capacity on gender inside DFID itself, i.e. institutionalising gender mainstreaming at home before exporting it to other partners.

InterAction and SNV are two international NGOs which have been instrumental in pioneering a methodology by which to measure such internal institutional progress. Participatory gender audits emphasise self-assessment and are designed to allow participants full participation and self-reflection, achieved through a two-stage process¹³ (see Box 2). InterAction defines a gender audit as ‘An assessment tool and process for organizations to use in identifying how gender issues are addressed in their programming portfolio and internal organizational processes’ (2004: 1).

Some of the main characteristics of participatory gender audits as recently developed by NGOs such as InterAction include the following:

- Gender audits require ‘consistent and demonstrated political will from senior managers in the organisation’ (InterAction, 2004). Without such commitment, resistance can easily prevent staff from allocating the considerable time required to complete the different components of the audit.
- Gender audits are primarily or heavily focused on internal organisational self-assessments as against external programmatic assessments which traditionally have been the focus of evaluations.
- The participatory components of gender audits comprise self-assessment questionnaires (i.e. everyone is perceived to have a voice) as well as a lengthy focus group-based planning process to assess results and to design an action plan.
- In audits, the quantitative information comprises analysis of questionnaire results in terms of univariate, composite and bivariate analysis (see below).
- Gender audits are comprehensive, but also lengthy and costly. The process can take three to four months, involving one person full-time as well as a number of others for up to one month for questionnaire collection and data analysis. This excludes the ‘participatory’ time of organisation members, paid for out of the organisation budget.

¹³ In the SNV Manual this is called the ‘adult learning cycle’ (SNV, 2004: 7).

Box 2: Components of InterAction's two-fold gender audit strategy

A gender audit questionnaire: The first stage is designed to help organisations assess the range of understanding, attitudes, perceptions and reported behaviour among staff in their organisation. Responses to the questionnaire serve as the baseline of staff perceptions on the status of gender equality in their organisation's programmes and processes. The questionnaire focuses on five areas of programming and six areas of organisational processes. The InterAction questionnaire contains some 120 questions in total. Each of these is answered by choosing one out of five categories designed to 'determine the intensity of gender equality', and range from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. As designed, all staff within the organisation being audited participate in the gender audit and complete the questionnaire.

Discussion, analysis and planning phase: The second stage reviews the results of the questionnaire through focus group discussions and planning sessions. Depending on the size of the organisation, this is undertaken with all staff (less than 50), representatives (50–300), or a Gender Task Force (over 300). The output is a detailed action plan that builds on organisational strengths and outlines initiatives, strategies, processes and guidelines to integrate gender into weaker areas. The desired outcome is 'shared ownership and action to move toward a gender-friendly organization'.

Source: InterAction (2004, 4)

Gender evaluations are increasingly containing the same characteristics, including participatory focus groups as well as a heavy reliance on staff interviews for perceptions and attitudes (see, for instance, Derbyshire, 1999), although they do not generally include lengthy perception questionnaires of the type InterAction has developed. Therefore, given the convergence between the terms, ultimately the choice of the term audit or assessment, as well as the associated methodology, depends on a range of factors which include not only the level of political commitment but also the overall goals and objectives of the work, as identified in the terms of reference.¹⁴

2.3 The DFID Malawi gender audit

In their terms of reference (ToRs), DFIDM designated the assignment as a gender audit; this terminology is therefore used throughout this paper. DFIDM identified the purpose of the gender audit in terms of the following five components (2004):

- To provide a systematic gender audit of DFIDM's policies, strategies and activities.
- To implement an intensive gender audit and gender analysis of at least two of DFIDM's key programmes.
- To recommend appropriate policies, strategies and activities for DFIDM under its current Country Assistance Plan (CAP), taking account of national gender mainstreaming policy, strategy, institutional framework, and activities in Malawi.
- To recommend practical means for increasing the gender equity focus of current and future programme policies, plans and activities, so that these more effectively address disadvantaged women's strategic and practical needs and priorities.
- To develop a training programme to improve understanding of all DFID staff and partners, to facilitate improved implementation of gender mainstreaming in all programme areas.

Although the methodology was not stipulated, the tasks included the review of a range of government and DFIDM policy, programme and project documents relating to gender and poverty issues in Malawi, the national gender policy and linked strategies, and the associated institutional frameworks. In addition, it included a gender assessment of two DFIDM programmes, which 'analysed the extent to which these programmes address gender inequality, and where possible quantified the cost(s) of persisting gender inequality to development in these sectors' (DFIDM, 2004). Other tasks included field visits to at least

¹⁴ A recent 'gender audit' of gender in PRSPs uses a 'common conceptual framework' to review systematically gender analysis within 13 PRSPs. This contains well known components such as participatory process, gender and scope of poverty, economic, human capacity and governance capacities. Since the framework is similar to many evaluations, this title provides an example of the blurring of definition that has occurred (see Zuckerman and Garrett, 2003).

one activity within each of the Malawi programme's existing sectors, an assessment of gender training needs of DFIDM staff, and the presentation of findings in a workshop for DFIDM staff. The final report had to include a draft logframe for gender strategy, action plans for sector teams, and recommended means of implementation.

In developing the methodology, it proved useful to follow the language designated in the ToRs, and to describe it as an audit of DFIDM's performance in gender mainstreaming which focused on the two following components:

- An external operational assessment of DFIDM's development objectives in relation to GM in its policies, programmes and projects. Emphasis placed on the importance of quantifying the costs of persisting inequality made it important to include programme-level gendered cost benefit analyses within the gender audit.
- An internal organisational assessment of management objectives of GM within DFIDM as an institution. The fact that the ToRs did not specifically identify an internal self-assessment questionnaire component meant that it was necessary before starting to obtain agreement from DFIDM senior management to the undertaking of this component.

Although the second component was far shorter than those in the *InterAction Gender audit: questionnaire handbook* guidelines (InterAction, 2004), it nevertheless marked an important additional component in the audit, increasing recognition of the significance of internal issues of accountability and ownership.

Section 3: The objectives of gender audits: assessing gender equality and gender mainstreaming

3.1 What is being audited?

To undertake a gender audit, it is also necessary to clarify the policy goals and associated strategy against which gender issues are being evaluated.¹⁵ Because of the global influence of the Beijing Conference Platform for Action (PfA), it should be quite straightforward for governments and development organisations to achieve this internationally agreed strategy. The PfA endorsed a policy of the empowerment of women and the promotion of gender equality (see Box 3). In addition, it established gender mainstreaming as the stated empowerment and equality objectives. In 1997, the UN adopted gender mainstreaming as the approach to be used in all policies and programmes in the UN system. In the past decade, the majority of development institutions, national governments and international NGOs have all adopted the terminology of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, and developed and endorsed gender policies that share common objectives, goals and strategies (see Moser and Moser, 2003).

Box 3: Definition of gender equality and gender mainstreaming

There is a general consensus that gender equality refers to both the recognition that women and men have different needs and priorities, and the fact that women and men should ‘experience equal conditions for realising their full human rights, and have the opportunity to contribute to and benefit from national, political, economic, social and cultural development’ (CIDA, 1999).

Most definitions of gender mainstreaming adhere closely to those set out by the UN Economic and Social Council (1997: 28) as follows:

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

Clarifying the policy goal to promote gender equality

To undertake an audit, it is necessary to start by clarifying the specific policy goal and associated strategies against which gender issues are being evaluated. In the case of DFID, such policy is set by the Policy Department in London. Not unexpectedly, DFID’s development of a specific goal and associated strategy to promote gender equality was the outcome of the Beijing Conference PfA. DFID’s Target Strategy Paper (TSP), *Poverty elimination and the empowerment of women* (DFID, 2000) locates gender equality and the empowerment of women as a key component of its strategy aiming to contribute to the elimination of world poverty.

It identifies a twin-track approach (subsequently referred to as a strategy) which combines focused actions aimed at women’s empowerment and gender-aware actions in the mainstream of development work.¹⁶ DFID’s subsequent gender manual, while not further elaborating on the TSP ‘twin-track’ approach, provides a more detailed definition of mainstreaming (2002: 9):

A commitment to ensure that women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences are integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all legislation, policies and programmes so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. Gender mainstreaming

¹⁵ Here the distinction is made between a policy as a statement of intended commitment and action, and a strategy(s) as the range of activities or measures designed to ensure the implementation of a policy. In reality, many organisations do not make such a clear distinction, using the terms interchangeably.

¹⁶ The fact that the overall objective of the TSP was to make the case for women’s empowerment means that the critical goals, objectives and strategies of gender equality are lost in the depth of the document and only mentioned on page 30 (DFID, 2000).

is integral to all development decisions and interventions; it concerns the staffing, procedures, and culture of the development organisations as well as their programmes: and it forms part of the responsibility of all staff.

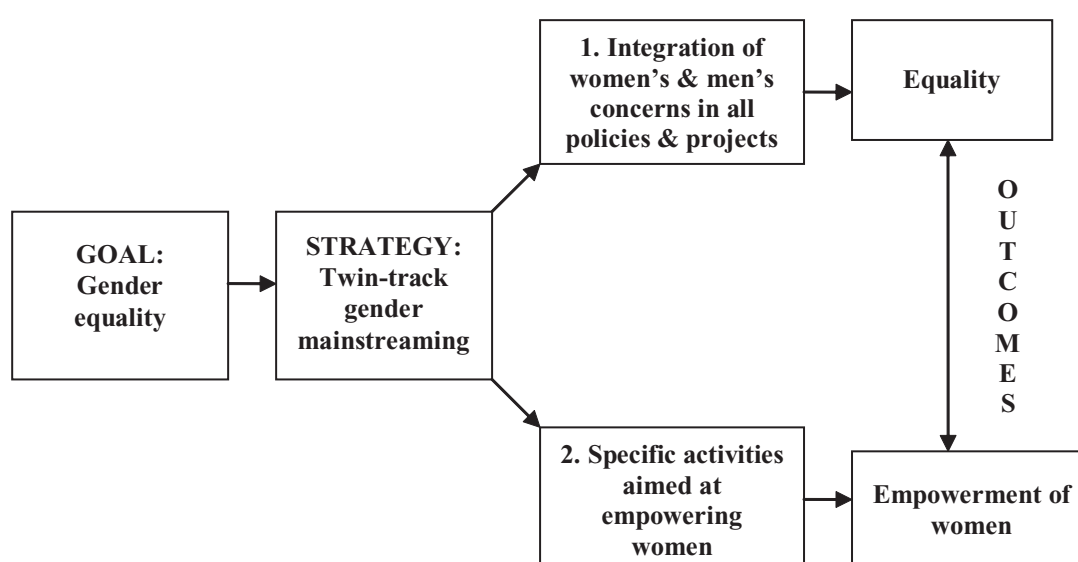
DFID's gender manual identifies four key steps in gender mainstreaming. These comprise: sex disaggregated data and gender analytical information; women as well as men influencing the development agenda; context-specific action to promote gender equality; and organisation capacity-building and change.

Providing a working definition of a gender mainstreaming strategy

Building on these documentary sources, the next stage is to translate the policy document to provide a context-specific working definition of gender mainstreaming. In the DFIDM gender audit, this was defined as a twin-track strategy, comprising the following two components (see Figure 1):¹⁷

- Integration of women's and men's concerns (needs and interests) throughout the development process (in all policies and projects).
- Specific activities aimed at empowering women.¹⁸

Figure 1: DFID Gender Mainstreaming Strategy



While Figure 1 simply shows in diagrammatic form what is defined in many gender policy documents, to the author's knowledge none of DFID's manuals or guidelines presents the strategy in such a visual manner. The fact that various DFID advisers in Malawi commented 'how useful' this diagram was suggests that a visual representation such as this could beneficially be incorporated into DFID user-friendly GM guidelines.¹⁹

3.2. How do gender audits 'measure' gender mainstreaming?

The biggest challenge for gender audits is the issues of measurement. This can usefully be divided into a number of stages.

¹⁷ This diagram was developed in collaboration with Henrietta Miers (consultant) who was concurrently providing technical assistance to the Malawi Ministry of Gender in redrafting their National Gender Programme. This usefully ensured both DFIDM consultancies were 'speaking with the same voice', an objective eschewed in principle but not always achieved in practice.

¹⁸ This definition of gender mainstreaming avoids the semantic confusion that occurs when 'gender mainstreaming' is described as both an overall approach as well as one of two twin-track strategies. It also overcomes a common confusion that occurs when 'empowerment' is identified as one of the twin-track strategies, as well as an outcome. Both these semantic confusions occur in the current DFID TSP on gender (DFID, 2000).

¹⁹ Indeed, this would implement one of the recommendations made in the DFIDM gender audit internal self-assessment (see Moser et al., 2004).

Identifying the conceptual framework for assessing gender mainstreaming

First, and foremost, is the identification of a conceptual framework for assessing gender mainstreaming. DFIDM's gender audit was contextualised within a wider ongoing contested debate closely linked to the MDG goals, and relating to DFID's preoccupation with gender policy evaporation. This was introduced in the ToRs, which noted 'DFID's Development Committee comment that "progress within DFID on effectively tackling gender issues could be eroded" (DC Minutes 27/03/03). DFID has lost internal advocacy on gender, and is at risk from similar "policy evaporation" on other cross-cutting issues' (DFIDM 2004: 1). Interrelated with this was a concern expressed in other relevant documentation that 'gender mainstreaming has failed', owing to the lack of real impact on gender equality on the ground.²⁰

While this provided the basic framework for the gender audit at the outset, the information collected during implementation revealed a far more complex situation. Thus, the final analytical framework was broadened to introduce two further concepts; the following three concepts together then provided the basis for assessment of the implementation of GM:

- **Evaporation:** When good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice.
- **Invisibilisation:** 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.²¹

The audit also identified policy approaches underpinning GM interventions, distinguishing among welfare, economic efficiency, and the more recently introduced human rights approach (see Moser, 1993).

Gender audit indicators

With an overall conceptual framework, the second stage is to identify the appropriate quantitative or qualitative indicators with which to assess progress in gender mainstreaming. Following the structure in Figure 1 above, these require the following:

- Measurement of the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy in terms of:
 - a) Integration of women's and men's concerns throughout the development process;
 - b) Specific activities aimed at empowering women.
- Measurement of outputs and impacts in terms of equality and the empowerment of women.

Section 2.1 above provides a brief summary of measurement indicators and their associated limitations. It distinguishes between quantitative indicators and the analysis derived from more 'descriptive' qualitative data and participatory methodologies.²² It also briefly highlights a few of the main indicators that have been developed to measure different aspects of implementation, outputs and impacts.

When undertaking a gender audit, it may be important to identify the types of measurements that are possible – however minimal – prior to implementation. At the same time, inductive research undertaken as part of an audit can itself reveal useful additional assessment measures that assist in identifying additional indicators as illustrated in the DFIDM gender audit.

DFID's qualitative and quantitative assessment indicators

The starting point for the identification of assessment indicators is to look at the existing measurement tools that the organisation has developed for its internal monitoring process. In the case of DFID, these consist of the two tools. The first is the Policy Information Marker (PIM), the most widely used measurement tool for internal monitoring, in which programmes and projects are distinguished as being from one of three categories: principal project objective, significant project objective, and non-targeted (see Box 4).

²⁰ 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 (2004a)

²¹ See Kabeer (1994); Moser (1993).

²² The 'descriptive, or 'anecdotal' nature, of the methodology often leads to the assumption that the information is less robust (see Moser, 2001).

Box 4: DFID London gender manual PIM markers

PIM markers are distinguished as follows:

P – Principal project objective. This score should be given to projects where the removal of gender discrimination or the promotion of gender equality *is the whole purpose of the project*, that is, a *targeted project* working with men, women, boys or girls, wholly designed to tackle elements of gender discrimination or discrimination.

S – Significant project objective. This score should be given to projects where the removal of gender discrimination or the promotion of gender equality is *an integral part of the purpose of the project e.g. projects where gender equality is mainstreamed*. These include *equitable* access to services as well as *equitable* benefit from new resources.

N – A non-targeted score should be given to projects that fit into neither of these categories.

Source: DFID (2002: 28–29).

In addition to the DFID-wide PIM marker are specific gender indicators. The guidelines provided by the DFID London TSP and associated manual identify a list of four gender-sensitive indicators intended to measure benefit to women and men. These include the impact/effectiveness of activities targeted to:

- Address women's or men's practical needs, i.e. new skills, resources, opportunities or services in the context of their existing gender roles.
- Increase gender equality of opportunity, influence or benefit, e.g. targeted actions to increase women's roles in decision-making, opening up new opportunities for women/men in non-traditional skill areas.
- Develop gender awareness and skills among policy-making, management and implementation staff.
- Promote greater gender equality within the staffing and organisational culture of development organisations, i.e. the impact of affirmative action policy.
- While these provide a useful checklist, lack of numerical enumeration or weighting means that they are essentially descriptive indicators that can be incorporated into the audit text. Without numerical enumeration, however, it is hard to establish the extent to which each contributes to the achievement of gender equality or women's empowerment.

DFIDM gender audit indicators

The DFIDM gender audit provided an opportunity to introduce three indicators into its assessment of DFIDM's country programme.

- **Input:** Gender mainstreaming in programme design;
- **Output:** Gender mainstreaming in implementation;
- **Approximate gendered outcome:** Greater equality and empowerment.

Wherever possible, considerable efforts were made to provide numerical enumeration to the different indicators, as discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Section 4: Components of a gender audit

Implementing a gender audit is a complex interrelated process. In unpacking this complexity, it may be useful to distinguish among the following three questions.

- What do you do? The coverage and methodology for implementing a gender audit.
- How do you analyse the data? The structure, contents and measurements of the audit document.
- How do you implement a consultation process and agree an action plan? The methodology for the consultative process to develop and agree the action plan.

Although each is discussed in turn in the following section, it is important to understand the manner in which they are designed to be logically consistent with each other.

4.1 What do you do? The coverage and methodology for implementing a gender audit

As mentioned above, the gender audit coverage comprises both an external assessment of development objectives as well as an internal organisational assessment. These two components, in combination, provide the contents of the audit document. Implementation of each involves a number of methodological techniques or tools, which are obviously context specific. It is useful to establish these prior to embarking on an audit.

The DFIDM gender audit provides one example of some of the range of methodological tools that can be used in such an audit. Since this audit currently offers the only experience to-date of testing the methodology described in this paper, the following section, which describes in turn each of the two complementary components, draws entirely on the DFIDM experience.

DFIDM external operational assessment

The external operational assessment includes a number of levels and associated activities reflecting an organisation's policy and programmatic lending. Assessment of each provides the necessary information to evaluate holistically the programme in totality. In the case of DFIDM, as mentioned in the introduction, it is essential to note that activities are primarily at the overall policy and sector programme level, where the newer aid modalities currently being developed, such as sector-wide approaches and direct budget support, are not reflected. In the DFIDM gender audit these were usefully differentiated as follows:

- DFID London level
- Malawi policy level
 - a) Malawi government gender policy
 - b) DFIDM gender policy
- Overall programme level
 - a) Quantitative review
 - b) In-depth case study review

Table 1: Summary of audit methodology in DFIDM gender audit

General level	Details	Documentation reviewed	Summary of methodological techniques
1. DFID London		Gender TSP (2000)	Desk review content analysis
		Gender manual (2002)	
2. Malawi: Government and DFID policy levels	DFID Malawi policy	Country strategy paper (1998)	Focus group discussions with relevant DFIDM staff, government officials and NGO members
		Annual performance reviews (1999–2002)	
		CAP (2003)	
		Change forecast (2002–04)	
	Malawi government policy	National gender policy	
		MPRSP (2000)	
		MPRSP report (2000/03)	
		Gender analysis of PRSP	
3. DFID programme level	DFID programme quantitative review	68 projects in all sectors (1998–2004)	Quantitative PIM data identifying - Principal (P) - Significant (S) - Non-targeted (N) Budget allocations by sector
	DFID programme qualitative review	10 projects in current portfolio	Desk review including content analysis of - Project header sheet - Project memorandum - ORP - Project completion report - Research studies - Other documentation (see Table 2)
		1. ILTPWP (pro-poor growth)	
		2. Shire Highlands Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (VAR)	
		3. HIV/AIDS NAC (HIV/AIDS)	
		4. Sexual Reproductive Health (health)	
		5. TB Equity Project (health)	
		6. Banja La Mtsogolo (BLM) (health)	
		7. Support to Education Sector: PACE (education)	
		8. Support to the Education Sector: Teacher in service training (education)	
		9. MaSSAJ Programme (MaSSAJ)	
		10. Community Policing (MaSSAJ)	
	DFID programme in-depth case study review	1. ILTPWP (pro-poor growth)	- Field trips - Consultations with primary and secondary stakeholders - Gendered cost benefit analysis (GCBA) - Qualitative data from other sources
		2. Shire Highlands Sustainable Livelihoods Programme (VAR)	
		3. TB Equity Project (health)	
		4. Banja La Mtsogolo (BLM) (health)	

Table 1 provides an example from DFIDM of a summary checklist that brings together the different levels of data collection, as well as listing the documentation reviewed. This checklist can be a ‘living document’ that gets consulted, changed and augmented as the process develops. It provides a useful shortcut to assessing progress at different stages up until the completion of the audit. Table 1 also identifies some

of the associated methodological techniques, or tools, that provide either quantitative or qualitative information, or both.

Each of these is further described below. Wherever appropriate, a tool is accompanied by very specific guidelines which can help ensure consistency in the data collection. Information is then triangulated as a means of checking accuracy.

i) Background country-level review of gender issues

A background review provides an important starting point for a gender audit. It is usually undertaken by a gender expert from the audit country, given the extensive local knowledge. It provides an overview of relevant gender issues relating not only to the gender relations in the audit country but also to the particular focus of the audit. This background review includes ‘in-depth’ information which can then usefully be referenced in the shorter audit document.

Box 5: DFIDM gender audit content guidelines for background gender issues paper

To provide guidance for this important background paper, the content to be covered was identified to include the following:

1. Introduction:

- Background

2. Gender issues in Malawi

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| • Poverty and gender | Malawi poverty reduction strategy |
| • Poverty, gender and education | Poverty, gender and health |
| • Gender and HIV/AIDS | Poverty, gender and TB |
| • Men's gender issues in reproductive health | Women in decision-making |
| • Gender-based violence | Livelihood approach to development |

3. Historical background to interventions on women's issues

- Institutional issues in gender mainstreaming
- Challenges and constraints to the implementation of the National Gender Policy

4. Conclusion

- Entry points for intervention

In the DFIDM gender audit, for instance, this was a 30-page document with a focus on gender issues relevant to the pro-poor development agenda that DFIDM supports in four broad sectors of health, education, rural livelihoods and the environment, as well as in terms of social and economic reforms. To assist in obtaining the required focus, short content guidelines are useful. Box 5 identifies these for the DFIDM gender audit.

ii) Briefings and focus group discussions

As the ‘backbone’ of an audit, a wide range of interviews and focus group discussions needs to be undertaken at different stages throughout an audit. In Malawi, these were undertaken with DFIDM advisers as well as with Malawians working on DFIDM-supported programmes. To provide some idea of the numbers involved within the three-week fieldwork period, in DFIDM this included individual and group meetings with 33 people, comprising senior management, advisers and administrative staff working in the different programme areas. Consultations were also undertaken with 19 Malawian colleagues, in both Lilongwe and Blantyre, working on DFIDM-supported programmes. Focus group meetings to explore perceptions of mainstreaming and priority gender issues in Malawi were undertaken with 31 people in the Ministry of Gender and the multilateral Donor Agency Gender Network (DAGG) and, in the second main city, Blantyre, with the most important NGO gender network.

iii) Documentation review

The documentation review complements interviews and focus group discussions and can provide an

important, detailed source of empirical information as well as the basis for triangulation with other data sources.

In DFIDM, consistent with the levels identified above, the detailed documentation review provided information at three levels (see Table 1).

- DFID London documents relevant to gender issues.
- Policy-level documents in Malawi, including DFIDM policy, the GoM gender policy and a range of MPRSP-related documents from both government and DFIDM.
- DFIDM programmatic-level documents. These included the following:
 - a) A quantitative PIM review of 68 ongoing programmes in the current DFIDM portfolio.
 - b) A qualitative desk review of 10 programmes or projects selected by DFIDM advisers as representative of GM practice in five main programmatic areas. Again, consistent guidelines needed to be developed for this qualitative desk review.

Table 2: Guidelines for the structure of qualitative programme desk reviews

Stages in programme cycle	Detailed components
Background programme information	Programme name Dates/funds Goal/objective Purpose Outputs
Inputs: Gender mainstreaming in programme design	PIM marker Gender-focused objectives and OVLs: Gender analysis Gender in the budget
Outputs: Gender mainstreaming in implementation	Gendered components implemented Training Staffing responsibility
Approximate gendered outcomes: Greater equality and empowerment	Effective gendered monitoring systems and tools

Table 2 provides an example of guidelines developed for the structure of qualitative programme desk reviews. This was constructed from the DFID logframe, the analysis undertaken by Moser and Moser (2003) of the components and associated activities of gender mainstreaming policies, as well as the China DFID gender audit (Kanji and Du Jie, 2003). These were then further elaborated to introduce the relevant indicators at each stage in the logframe, namely, input, output and approximate gendered outcome indicators. This provided an important building block for other components in the gender audit.

It is important not to underestimate the difficulties associated with undertaking desk reviews, as well as those relating more generally to institutional memory. Not only is a great deal of time required in reading in sufficient depth the extensive documentation associated with large programmes, but also there are constraints associated with assembling the necessary documentation (see Box 6).

Box 6: Challenges in undertaking desk reviews in the DFIDM gender audit

In undertaking the gender audit, a considerable amount of time was spent trying to access the necessary documents. This required essential help from already overstretched DFIDM support staff, who had to fit this in along with their extensive regular work activities. In many cases, files were incomplete. Another constraint resulted from the changes in the names of projects/programmes during implementation or redesign, which caused additional problems in locating documents.

In addition, staff turnover often resulted in a lack of adequate institutional memory. This meant that, many times, issues may have not been correctly captured, with DFIDM's long history of working on gender not always recognised. For instance, reflecting on their own experience, SDAs identified the early 1990s as the period when gender training began: in reality, the first round took place in 1996–98. But, equally, the important role played by a series of SDAs in 'pushing gender' in Malawi during the 1990s may not be adequately recognised in the audit

Sources: SDA London's comment; Moser (1993).

iv) In-depth review including field trips

Complementing the qualitative desk review is further in-depth review, not only of the documentation but also through field visits. The importance of getting to the field cannot be over-emphasised. It provides a critical reality check, enhances the 'richness' of the audit, but also at times can provide information that underlines limitations or indeed contradicts the written documentation reviewed.

In DFIDM, it was field visits, along with interviews with DFID advisers, that highlighted the fact that gender mainstreaming had not always evaporated: in many cases, it was more a question of invisibilisation in project documents with a very different reality on the ground. Four of DFIDM's programmes in different sectors were selected for in-depth review in consultation with the Senior Policy Adviser and the Social Development Adviser (SDA). Field visits were undertaken to different parts of the country. In all cases, consultations were held with project staff (both government and NGO) as well as primary stakeholders (the project beneficiaries). These were undertaken through interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation attending local government planning meetings and community-level gatherings.

v) Gendered cost benefit analyses

Gender cost benefit analyses (GCBAs) are an important recent initiative in gender audits. Their purpose is to make the 'business case' for gender equality – as against, for instance, a welfare or human rights case – and consequently have been supported by multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and UNDP (see Semu et al., 2004). Put very simplistically, this requires first calculating what the (extra) costs of an intervention are and then, on the benefit side, calculating what the savings are. The savings are then compared with the costs to get a net benefit (or net costs).²³ CBAs are intended 'to provide information to assist in advocating, and planning programmes that are gender responsive and thereby contribute to overall national economic growth and poverty reduction' (Ngwira and Mkwandawire, 2003).

As required by the DFIDM ToRs, the gender audit included GCBAs of two of DFID's most important programmes in Malawi – TB and Sexual and Reproductive Health. These were undertaken by a Malawian economist with previous experience in this field. Although a useful component of the gender audit, GCBAs have a number of significant constraints. These include the underlying assumptions, 'costings' and 'benefited' that are built into their calculations, as well as the complexities in interpreting the inference deriving from their results in terms of particular policy or project and 'benefits'.²⁴ Again, this is an area where considerable further analytical work is needed (see recommendations below).

²³ My thanks to Debbie Budlender for providing an explanation of a GCBA for the non-economist.

²⁴ A recently completed Malawi strategic country gender assessment commissioned by the World Bank and UNDP includes GCBAs of literacy, farmers' access to agricultural services, and gender-based violence (GBV). However, it does not include any policy-relevant elaboration or analysis of the statistical results; the added value of this component still therefore requires further elaboration (see Semu et al., 2004).

Internal organisational self-assessment

The external operational assessment described can be complemented by an internal organisational self-assessment, which focuses on the management objectives of gender mainstreaming within DFIDM as an institution. Although in the DFIDM gender audit this component was much shorter than outlined in the InterAction methodology, it was nevertheless important.

i) Self-assessment questionnaires

Self-assessment questionnaires are the first of two components of the internal self-assessment. DFIDM senior management were concerned that the implementation of a questionnaire would take up valuable staff time, which meant that this was reduced in scale to a short background questionnaire taking a maximum of 10 minutes to complete. Hard copies of the questionnaire, endorsed by senior management, were distributed by the SDA to all staff, including UK-based and Malawian advisers as well as administrative staff. Questionnaires were completed by 28 (76 percent) of those who received copies, with the SDA again playing an important role in chasing them up.

The questionnaire briefly covered two assessment issues (see Annex 1 for the questionnaire).

- **Technical capacity:** Existing gender expertise, competence and capacity-building in terms of gender mainstreaming in DFIDM's policies, programmes and projects. This includes information, and monitoring and evaluation systems.
- **Institutional culture:** Institutional decision-making and staff recommendations.

ii) DFID internal assessment follow-up focus group meetings

The questionnaire provided background information for the second component of the internal self-assessment – the focus groups – as well as assisting in triangulation of results. Focus groups provided the opportunity for a group brainstorming on key operational and institutional issues relating to GM, as well as recommendations for further actions. Three focus groups were held comprising the following groups: UK staff (male and female); Malawian women staff; Malawian male staff (see Annex 2 for brief focus group guidelines).

4.2. How do you measure and analyse the data? The structure, contents and measurement of an audit document

In analysing the extensive data obtained from the different methodological tools described above, it is obviously useful to get the balance right between the length of the document and the depth of the data analysis. While short executive summaries, summary tables and boxes all help, as well as the use of appendices and annexes, many organisations nevertheless require short reader-friendly documents if the gender audit is to have impact on the busy bureaucrats who will be making important decisions about the implementation of recommended interventions.

In analysing the DFIDM data, a gender audit score card provided a useful overall methodological tool to synthesise briefly the audit findings²⁵ (see Table 3). The score card identifies the different components and activities of an institution's GM strategy (Column 1), identifies associated components and activities in greater detail (Column 2) and then provides an assessment of their implementation in the gender audit context (Column 3). Although a score card summarises the data usefully, substantiation of the evidence in greater detail is often also considered important.

²⁵ This score card has been adapted from a table developed in the comparative analysis of multilateral and bilateral gender mainstreaming strategies across institutions that showed a high level of consistency regarding a number of key components (see Moser and Moser, 2003).

Table 3: Gender audit score card

DFID gender strategy	Detailed GM component	Assessment of implementation in DFIDM
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.
a) PIM assessment of entire programme	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).
b) All other components of GM strategy in 10 selected programmes	Gender analysis (GA): sex-disaggregated data	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 invisibilised 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 invisibilisation 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 harmonisation 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 organisations 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 SDAs take primary responsibility. Skilled advisers 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 one in five aware DFID has GM strategy.
	Manual, 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.

In the DFIDM gender audit, information was categorised in terms of DFID's gender policy and its twin-track gender mainstreaming strategy, and analysed using a range of indicators and assessment tools within the three-fold conceptual formwork of evaporation, invisibilisation and resistance (see Section 3). The score card starts by identifying as background information whether or not a specific gender policy exists, and then is divided into a number of different sections including the following:

GM strategy in country policy

Data for the analysis of gender mainstreaming in the country itself, as well as in an organisation's country policy, can be obtained from a range of country-level documents. Here, it is helpful to obtain documents relating to previous policies as well as those relating to current policy, since this can provide an interesting comparative analysis.

In the DFIDM gender audit, the review of country-level documentation related both to the Malawi National Gender Policy and to DFIDM's country policy documents, since DFIDM does not have a specific gender strategy and mainstreams gender equality through its country strategy. In reviewing the latter, the information was synthesised into a five-category matrix (see Table 4). This provided a useful analytical tool showing the interrelationship between the government and DFID's gender strategy, highlighting an interesting result.

Comparative analysis of its two most recent strategies (DFID, 1998 and 2003) demonstrated an important shift in the underlying policy approach. The 1998 CSP uses 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 Country Assistance Plan (CAP), in line with the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MPRSP), adopts a **poverty reduction strategy**. This is narrower in its focus on gender inequalities, and identifies a range of problems rendering poor women and children particularly vulnerable. 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 (Moser et al., 2004).

Table 4: GM in DFID policy strategy documents 1998–2004

Document	Date	Challenge	Risk analysis	Assistance plans
Country Assistance Plan (CAP)	2003	Malawi poverty analysis mentions labour-constrained female-headed households as among the most vulnerable	Risks for achieving PRSP outcome relating to weak political commitment	Measures to enable sustainable growth and improve livelihoods

GM strategy at programmatic level, including sector programmes

The data analysed at this level is determined by the nature and scale of the institution's programme. In the DFIDM gender audit, new direct budget support and sector-wide approaches in education and health were only in the development stage, providing opportunities for recommendations concerning upstream support in gender mainstreaming (see the DFIDM action plan: Section 5). This meant, however, that the audit itself focused on the five sector-level programmes with data provided at the two following levels.

i) PIM assessment of entire programme

The only quantitative data often still comes from the organisation's monitoring system which, as mentioned above, in the case of DFID comes from the PIM scores.

Table 5: Gender PIM scores on 68 programmes/projects ongoing in DFIDM's 2004 portfolio

Project title	Start date	Gender PIM	Fund allocated (£)	PM	OPR conducted	PCR
Health sector Sexual Reproductive Health Programme (SERPS)	11/1999	S	27,790,984	Y		10/2005

In DFIDM, PIM scores were collected on the entire current portfolio. Information for each of the five sectors was provided by advisers who responded to an email sent out to them by DFID's SDA. The information from programme header sheets was compiled into a single matrix (see Table 5). This presented a useful summary of the whole database, which was then tabulated to provide the short conclusion in the score card identifying that only 23 percent of programmes have PIM markers, so it is either resisted or not identified as relevant (see Table 6).

The more elaborated text that follows concludes that since less than a quarter of programmes have a PIM marker, this is not a useful monitoring and evaluation tool. Interviews with DFIDM staff revealed that 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 were not sufficiently skilled in gender issues to include them or to fill in the forms correctly. This conclusion has implications for staff capacity-building.

Table 6: Summary of gender scores on 68 programmes identified in current portfolio by key sectors (2004)

Sector	Total no. of programmes identified	Gender scores		Total with any score	%	Total budget (£)
		P	S			
Health	16	0	2	2	12.5	105.02m
Livelihoods	20	4*	5	9	45	55.78m
MaSSAJ	1	0	1	1	100	34.9m
Education	5	0	2	2	40	51.05m
Govc, Voice & Accountability	26	0	2	2	8	11.3m
Total	68	4	12	16	23.5	260.75m
P – Primary; S – significant. * Including the one which 'should be P'.						

ii) More detailed description and analysis of GM strategy in 10 selected programmes

As mentioned above, quantitative data can be enriched when complemented by qualitative case studies. These can be based on a combined methodology including detailed assessment of documentation, interviews, gender cost benefit analysis and field visits.

In the case of DFIDM, this provided a second area of analysis of GM strategy in sector programmes, and pulled together the data tabulated in Table 2 above, using the same components. In this case, overall, results from the triangulated data sources revealed a more complex picture. They show 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. During implementation, good practice examples of GM on the ground are sometimes invisibilised when they are not documented. By the time DFID's monitoring through output to process reviews (OPRs) are undertaken, there is serious *evaporation* – gender issues are mentioned in less than half the programmes reviewed; 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 invisibilisation occurs even though DFID advisers 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.

As described in Section 3, the greatest challenge in any audit relates to the development of quantitative indicators and, associated with this, their integration into the data analysis. Obviously, the indicators developed depend on the audit objectives; so too does their integration into the analysis.

Table 7: Sector programme measurement indicators

Programmatic stage	Detailed GM component	Measurement indicators	Subjective numerical rating
1. Twin-track gender strategy	1. Integrating women's and men's concerns 2. Specific activities to empower women	Mainstreaming Empowering	
	PIM header sheet rating	P/S/N	–
2. Design and preparation Input indicators	1. Gender objectives	Y/N	0 – 3*
	2. Gendered OVIs	Y/N	
	3. Gender analysis	Y/N	0 – 3
	4. Gender in budget	Y/N	
3. Implementation Output indicators	1. Gendered components	Y/N	0 – 3
	2. Training undertaken	Y/N	
	3. Specialist staff	Y/N	
4. Monitoring and evaluation Approximate gender equality outcome indicators	OPR data and completion of report data on gendered outcomes	a) PGN reached** b) Evidence that women and men benefited equally c) Increased equality of opportunity d) Increased participation of women in decision-making	
0 – none; 1 – minimal; 2 – average; 3 – extensive. ** These outcome indicators are an elaboration of those provided in DFID's gender strategy (PGN – practical gender needs) as well as other examples of composite empowerment indicators.			

In the DFIDM gender audit, for instance, indicators related to the different programmatic stages. As shown in Table 7, a first effort to develop such indicators distinguished among programmatic stages of design and preparation, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation, with different input, output and approximate gender equality outcome indicators correlating with each stage. In the majority of cases, these were straightforward yes/no indicators; however, in some cases, subjective numerical ratings were also developed. Assessments were then made on the basis of content analysis of the sector programme documents and the data tabulated in Table 2.²⁶

Even this very simple measurement meant that the DFIDM gender audit provided some quantitative analysis. At the same time, it shows that there is still a great deal of work to be done in order to move forward on equality outcome indicators.

Specific activities aimed at empowering women

Whether they are seen as an integral part of mainstream programmes or as a separate component of twin-track gender mainstreaming, as is the case in DFID, these activities provide important opportunities for the analysis of institutional structures with gender mainstreaming responsibilities.

²⁶ As further elaboration, Annex 3 shows the quantification of the entire data from the DFIDM gender audit, again using the same components.

In the DFIDM gender audit, as identified in the gender audit score card, this third component was assessed in terms of the following four components:

- Strengthen gender equality in government, donors, and private sector.
- Support to women's participation in decision-making/empowerment.
- Strengthening women's organisations and NGOs through capacity-building.
- Working with men for gender equality.

In DFIDM, the fact that this was not a priority area of intervention meant that data for this analysis was largely qualitative in nature and derived from the literature review, interviews and focus group discussions. Nevertheless, this contained the necessary information in itself to highlight contextually specific needs. These included greater institutional analysis of external organisations with gender mainstreaming responsibilities, such as the structurally weak Ministry of Gender in the MOGCWCS, as well as donor responsibilities and accountabilities in contexts of 'donor harmonisation' – where there is an increasing need to track the treatment of gender mainstreaming in other donors who take responsibility for this particular 'slice of the cake'.

Analysis of the internal organisational self-assessment

In participatory gender audits, such as those undertaken by InterAction, the analysis of the internal organisational self-assessment questionnaire provides the basis for the report. However, in gender audits comprising one component of a more extensive 'external' assessment, it may be more difficult to mainstream these results throughout the report. One obvious 'entry point' relates to the relationship among internal institutional responsibility, associated capacity-building and budgetary resources.

In the DFIDM gender audit, this provided the focus of the internal organisational self-assessment. The analysis drew on the self-assessment questionnaire, which provided quantitative data, as well as the follow-up focus group discussions which enriched the statistical information with supporting quotations.

i) Quantification of questionnaire results in the internal self-assessment

The gender audit questionnaire as developed for the DFIDM audit comprised a total of 18 multiple choice questions, and a further three that were open ended (see Annex 1). This was categorised in terms of the following four types:

- Technical capacity (including political will) – first 12 questions.
- Institutional culture – next five questions.
- Forward planning – next one question.
- Open-ended questions – last three questions.

Box 7: Methodology for analysis of self-assessment questionnaire

Data can be analysed in the following two ways.

1. Composite analysis, in which 'an index is made up of the answers respondents provide on multiple questions that represent various indicators of a single concept, in this case technical capacity and organizational culture'. This uses a scale of 1–3 (based on the total number of possible responses), with one being low and three being high.

2. Univariate analysis, which focuses on the response to a single question at a time, to describe the range and average answer respondents provide to each question.

Source: InterAction (2003).

Results of the questionnaire were quantified using both composite and univariate analysis (see Box 7). Interestingly enough, these quantitative results were taken far more seriously than is often the case with interview information supported by 'anecdotal quotes'. At the same time, individual opinions (identified in italics below) provided very useful supportive evidence showing the way in which quantitative and qualitative data can be successfully triangulated.

The following results from the internal self-assessment questionnaire in the DFIDM gender audit illustrate this issue, with important implications for increased capacity-building and training, including the necessary associated budgetary support:

- Less than one-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, with the average composite score for the whole sample being 1.33).
- Less than one in five people (17 percent) are completely aware that DFID has a gender strategy, with half insufficiently aware. *It's just another term: we don't really know what it means*
- Virtually none of the DFIDM staff has read the London DFID documentation. *The manual is too complicated and does not provide a simple easily understandable definition of gender mainstreaming and its operationisation*
- Staff on average find a positive organisational culture in DFIDM (just under the average composite measure with an average of 1.44).

4.3 How do you implement a consultation process and agree an action plan? The methodology for the consultative process and action plan

While the results of a gender audit are significant in themselves, these obviously will have far greater impact if the institution itself takes ownership of the results – particularly if the audit has been undertaken by consultants outside the institution. To this end, in-depth consultations, not only on the document's content itself but also as the basis for developing a concrete plan of action, are significant objectives. Indeed, many involved in gender audits consider that this is the most important stage in the process. The methodology for any consultative process varies according to the level of political will, the institutional culture, and a range of other factors including time and budgets. The methodology developed in the DFIDM gender audit provides one example, the lessons of which may be useful for others undertaking this difficult stage in the process.

In the DFIDM gender audit, this comprised the following three different but interrelated stages. In each case, the biggest challenge concerned strategies to overcome institutional resistance.

Institution-wide dissemination meeting

The objective of this DFIDM institution-wide meeting was to share the main findings of the draft report and to provide a forum for open debate on the constraints relating to the resistance, evaporation and invisibilisation of gender mainstreaming. For many staff, it also offered an opportunity for suggestions concerning future initiatives to overcome such constraints. The participation of senior management was a critical precondition as an indicator of 'sign-off' of the results. Getting the balance right between the need to convey the complexity of the audit results and the time constraints of busy staff presented considerable challenges.

Senior management agreement on the guidelines for DFIDM's gender action plan

Once the results had been disseminated, and prior to any further staff consultations, it was necessary to negotiate the guidelines for the action plan with senior management. Here, a critical decision concerned whether DFIDM intended to have a separate gender policy or to mainstream gender issues into its existing policy framework. The drafted agreement was critically important, not only for inclusion in the final text but also as the basis for the next stage in the process (see Box 8).

Box 8: Criteria for DFIDM's agreement on guidelines for DFIDM's action plan

This was based on DFIDM's endorsement of the MDG gender equality commitment, and stated in the DFIDM gender audit as follows:

'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 SWAp, basket funds and direct budget support.'

Source: Moser et al. (2004).

A two-phased consultation process to identify priority actions with sector advisers

Consultations were then undertaken with the adviser and members of each of the programme/sector teams. Building on DFIDM's endorsement of its commitment to gender equality within the framework of the MDGs (as agreed above), sector advisers identified appropriate GM opportunities and brainstormed around a strategy of 'picking winners', using a flipchart to fill in a matrix collaboratively. This was then transferred to a computer.

Table 8a: Matrices for DFIDM gender audit action plan 2005–06: GM in DFID strategy-level work and sector-level prioritised area

MDG	DFID sector	GM opportunity	Prioritised sector	Intervention	DFID/related responsibility	Date
3	Service delivery; education	Design of SWAp	Education SWAp	Identify and integrate into SWAp, policy mechanisms to strengthen girls' completion of prim. ed.	Education Adviser; SDA; external consultants	Acc SWAp

Table 8b: Matrices for DFIDM gender audit action plan 2005–06: Dissemination and endorsement of gender audit and action plan and internal capacity-building

Prioritised area	Intervention	Associated activities	DFID/related responsibility	Implementation date
Endorsement of action plan	Presentation of final version and action plan with four identified components	Presentation at Core Management Team Meeting	Head of Office; Senior Policy Adviser	December 2004

In a second round of consultations, advisers assessed the draft matrix, making changes and adaptations until agreement was reached. Table 8 (a and b) identifies the different categories of information in the matrices for mainstreaming in policy and sector-level prioritised areas, with one example (Table 8a), as well as the dissemination and endorsement matrix (Table 8b).

Final consultations and agreement with senior management

Once all the sector action plans had been agreed with sector advisers, a further final round of consultation with senior management was still necessary to ensure 'senior management buy-in' on the agreed action

plan. Once again this involved considerable negotiation and compromise before agreement was reached. However, with this came the necessary endorsement for implementation of the now agreed action plan (see Box 10).

Box 10: Structure of the DFIDM action plan

The DFIDM action plan comprises the following components:

- Internal endorsement and dissemination strategy: This included formal endorsement by senior management and staff.
- GM in DFIDM strategy-level work.
- GM in 'sector-level prioritised areas'.
- Gender-specific empowerment initiatives.
- Internal capacity-building in DFIDM.
 - a) Internal institutional capacity.
 - b) Operational procedures with implications for DFID London.
- A final section discussed institutional arrangements and associated resource implications and outlined two alternative options, of which one was recommended.

Source: Moser et al. (2004).

Section 5: Concluding comment

This working paper has briefly identified some of the main methodological components in undertaking a gender audit. Describing a methodology has proved more complicated in many ways than actually ‘doing’ the audit itself. So many crucial small but subtle steps are instinctive and difficult to document. In addition, it is essential to acknowledge the severe limitations of a methodology which, apart from essential documentation, is based on the fieldwork experience in one country. Testing its robustness will further replication, and no doubt adaptation, in other contexts.

Nevertheless, this learning experience to-date has highlighted some crucial lessons which may be useful for others involved in moving gender audit methodology forward to its next stages. This includes the following:

The importance of methodological considerations

In the process of undertaking the DFIDM gender audit, a number of useful methodological issues were identified. Among many, the following emerged as of particular importance:

- Clarifying definitions before starting an audit.
- Developing a coherent conceptual framework.
- Ensuring that there is an internal consistency between the different methodological tools and their associated indicators that are required for different levels and stages of the audit.
- Recognising that the development of such methodological tools is an iterative process in which inductive results in the field play as important a part as do predefined approaches and indicators.

The politics of negotiation can determine the outcome of a gender audit

While the first stages of data collection and analysis are both time consuming and important, it is the final stage of negotiation, obtaining political commitment and institutional ‘buy-in’, which is undoubtedly critical. Achieving this determines the subsequent development of a realistic action plan to address the recommendations.

- The DFIDM gender audit is illustrative in terms of the relative time associated with each stage in the process (see Endnote 1).

The benefits of a participatory approach in helping to get across analytical messages

Combining quantitative and qualitative methods, including focus groups and in-depth interviews, is well proven in poverty assessments. In the gender audit, the addition of self-assessment questionnaires and the associated quantification of results highlighted the severe limits of staff knowledge in terms of gender issues.

Although it is too early to assess the long-term results of the DFIDM gender audit, information to-date suggests that the approach adopted, particularly the participatory consultative approach implemented in the action plan, has produced a positive commitment to implementation on the part of senior management, advisers and staff.

The limitations of the current methodology and critical areas for further work

Among the many limitations in the gender audit methodology identified through this working paper, two stand out as of particular importance. Not only are both essential areas for further work, but they also require urgent attention in the short term if the next generation of gender audits is to be successful. In summary, they comprise the following:

- **Gender cost benefit analysis:** The added value, as well as the limitations, of such components requires

far greater scrutiny and assessment than is currently the case. Otherwise the legitimacy of this tool will remain in doubt.

- **Gender audit methodology to move upstream to incorporate new aid modalities:** The biggest requirement in ensuring that gender issues do not get invisibilised, evaporated or resisted in the future, is designing the necessary methodological tools to track gender issues in new aid modalities, such as direct budget support and sector-wide approaches. If this does not happen, gender audits will remain little more than purely programmatic tools.

Annex 1: Internal self-assessment questionnaire for DFID staff

The purpose of this questionnaire

You may be aware that we are currently undertaking a gender audit for DFIDM. This focuses on two aspects of DFID's work in mainstreaming gender.

- An operational assessment of DFIDM's development objectives in relation to gender mainstreaming outside DFID in its policies, programmes and projects.
- An organisational assessment of institutional objectives to mainstream gender within DFIDM as an institution.

As part of the gender audit, we are consulting DFID staff in order to understand their perceptions on gender mainstreaming. This comprises a short anonymous questionnaire as well as a number of focus group discussions. The questionnaire is intended to provide background information for the focus group discussions and should not take longer than 10 minutes to complete. For each of the following 20 questions can you please ring one the answers that you consider most appropriate? We would be most grateful if you could make the time to complete it.

A. *Operational issues*

- Are you aware that DFID has a strategy of gender mainstreaming?
 3. Completely
 2. Sufficiently
 1. Insufficiently
 0. Not at all
- How many of the relevant documents on DFID's gender mainstreaming strategy have you read (for example the strategy paper or the gender manual)?
 3. All of them
 2. Some
 1. Few
 0. None at all
- Do you understand the distinction between gender equality and gender empowerment in DFID's gender mainstreaming strategy?
 3. Completely
 2. Sufficiently
 1. Insufficiently
 0. Not at all
- How important do you think DFIDM considers the gender mainstreaming strategy for the realisation of DFIDM's objectives in Malawi?
 3. Very important
 2. Important
 1. Of limited importance
 0. Not at all important
- How well do you think that DFIDM operationalises its gender mainstreaming strategy in its CAP and country programmes and projects?
 3. More than sufficiently
 2. Sufficiently
 1. Insufficiently
 0. Not at all
- Were you made aware that gender mainstreaming is an important DFIDM strategy in your selection process (recruitment; interview etc.)?
 3. Completely
 2. Sufficiently
 1. Insufficiently
 0. Not at all

7. Does DFIDM offer enough opportunities (capacity-building, training, technical support, documentation) to strengthen your knowledge of gender issues in your professional or technical area?
 3. More than enough
 2. Enough
 1. Not enough
 0. None at all
8. Do you consider there are available tools and techniques for gender mainstreaming in your work?
 3. More than enough
 2. Enough
 1. Not enough
 0. None at all
9. Does DFIDM provide sufficient information on, and practice in, the use of instruments to conduct gender analyses, and to incorporate the conclusions of these analyses into all stages of the design process of programmes and projects? Based on your answer to this question, how capable would you say the organisation is in this regard?
 3. Very capable
 2. Sufficiently capable
 1. Not capable enough
 0. Not at all
10. Do you consider that you are expected to introduce gender issues in different stages of programme or project design and implementation at any level? How well do you fulfil these expectations?
 3. Very capable
 2. Sufficiently capable
 1. Not capable enough
 0. Not at all
11. Do you consider it important to include gender mainstreaming outcomes in your programme or project reporting procedures?
 3. Very important
 2. Important
 1. Not very important
 0. Unimportant
12. How often do you integrate gender explicitly in your work? For example, in the choice of activities, the choice of methods used.
 3. Always
 2. Usually
 1. Seldom
 0. Never

B. Organisational issues

13. Does DFIDM have an active policy to promote gender equality and respect for diversity in decision-making, behaviour, work ethics, information etc.? If so how would you rate its effectiveness?
 3. Excellent
 2. Sufficient
 1. Insufficient
 0. It does not have such a policy
14. Does DFIDM do enough to discourage expressions of gender inequality, such as disrespectful jokes etc.?
 3. More than enough
 2. Enough
 1. Not enough
 0. Nothing at all

15. How much attention do you pay to ensuring respectful relations between men and women in your workplace in DFIDM?
 3. Very much
 2. Some
 1. Not enough
 0. None at all
16. Have you undertaken activities to identify existing gender-related problems or constraints in your workplace in DFIDM?
 3. Yes, many
 2. Yes, some
 1. Yes, but very few
 0. No, none at all
17. Have you ever taken any actions in relation to a gender-related problem in DFIDM?
 3. Yes, many
 2. Yes, some
 1. Yes, but very few
 0. No, none at all
18. Do you think it would be useful to establish a working group on gender issues in the workplace in DFIDM to further explore these issues?
 3. Yes, very useful
 2. Yes, quite useful
 1. Not very useful
 0. Not useful at all
19. If yes, can you elaborate why?
20. Are there any further workplace gender issues that you consider important?
21. Do you consider further capacity-building on gender mainstreaming is useful? Please elaborate any specific requirements.....

The survey is anonymous but it would be helpful if you could tick one response in each of the following three categories:

Sex

Male

Female

Nationality

British

Malawian

Other

Position in DFID

Adviser

Administrative staff

Consultant

Many thanks for your help

Annex 2: Focus group guidelines

1. Introduction: objectives of gender audit

We are currently undertaking a gender audit for DFIDM. What is an audit?

This focuses on two aspects of DFID's work in mainstreaming gender

- An operational assessment of DFIDM's development objectives in relation to gender mainstreaming outside DFID in its policies, programmes and projects
- An organisational assessment of institutional objectives to mainstream gender within DFIDM as an institution

To undertake this we have worked at a number of different levels

- Quantitative data
- Field visits
- Review of documentation
- Interviews

2. Objective of focus group

To triangulate results from other sources on operational assessment of development objectives
BUT also to have the opportunity to raise a few issues relating to institutional objectives inside DFID as an institution

3. A number of very short participatory exercises in time available

Background information

i. Most important gender issues in Malawi today (excluding poverty)

- Listing
- Ranking

ii. DFID gender mainstreaming strategy

- ZOPP: Definition of gender mainstreaming: What does it mean?
- Clarification of gender mainstreaming: the twin-track approach

i. Objective: Gender equality

ii. Strategy

a) Ensuring both women and men's needs and interests are integrated into policies, programmes and projects

b) Empowering women in decision-making (c.f. political agenda)

- Outcome: Gender equality and women's empowerment

General definition: To integrate gender equality in all aspects of the organisation's objectives, activities, systems, structures and resource allocation (personnel as well as financial). Gender is not an add-on: it directs the organisation's performance and thereby partially determines the organisation's choices

4. Constraints on adopting or integrating GM strategy into DFIDM's programme

Matrix

Constraints	Recommendations to overcome the problem

5. An organisational assessment of institutional objectives to mainstream gender within DFIDM as an institution

Here we are talking about the ‘institutional culture’ inside DFID. Is it a ‘male’ culture?

If we are asking other institutions to implement gender mainstreaming, we also need to do so inside the institution and get our own house in order. Indeed, for many institutions a gender audit means an internal audit from a gender perspective.

6. Discussion about gender institutional issues

- SWOT exercise to try and unpack some of these
 1. Can you please identify:
 - a) The main institutional strengths in DFID to mainstream gender
 - b) The main weaknesses in DFIDM in mainstreaming gender
 - c) The main opportunities we can make use of
 - d) The main constraints that we need to overcome

7. Open discussion

Annex 3: Synthesis table of gender mainstreaming in 10 DFIDM programmes/ projects

Basic information				Assessment								
Name	Budget	Sector	Gender strategy	Preparation/design inputs				Implementation outputs			Completion	Comments
			Mai or Empowerment	Gender objectives	Gender OVs	Gender analysis	Gender in budget	Gendered components	Training undertaken	Staff responsible	OPRs gendered	
1.Improving Livelihoods TPWP	£4.95m	PPG	M (S)	N	3	3	N	Y	N	N	Y	Even though includes 30% of women, the project is not sustainable
2. Shire Highlands SLP	£1m	PPG	M (-) E	Y	3	3	N	Y	Y	N	N	HRBA with strong GM, including empowerment component, evaporated in OPR
3. HIV/AIDS NAC	n/p	HIV/ AIDS	M (-)	N	0	1	N	n/p	n/p	N	n/p	Gender profile needs to be raised far more prominently; resisted from the design phase
4. Sexual/ Reproductive Health	£24m	Health	M (S)	Y	2	3	N	n/p	n/p	N	N	OPRs focus on institutional constraints, recommend reassessment of gender ToRs
5. TB Equity	£9.5m	Health	M (S)	Y	0	1	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Shows the importance of DFID-funded research to GM in TB and resistance encountered
6. Banja la Mtsogolo	£11m	Health	M (S) E	Y	2	3	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Process focused project changed to include empowerment components; but OPRs mask gender disparities
7. Support To PACE	£1m	Educat.	M (S)	Y	1	2	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Need to ensure gender interventions are followed through
8. Support to Education Sector FA	£61m	Educat.	M (S)	N	2	1	N	N	N	N	N	Field visit data provided important gendered components not in documentation
9. MaSSAJ Programme	£34m	MaSSAJ	M (S)	Y	1	3	N	Y	N	N	Y	OPR critical of lack of GM; example of way this can get invisibilised in sector-level programme
10. MaSSAJ Community Police	£7m	MaSSAJ	M (S)	Y	2	2	N	Y	N	N	Y	Focus on police more than on gender-sensitive community policing structures

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