

**Cycling in Circles:  
Tackling Institutional Challenges to Achieve Gender Equality Results  
in International Development Programming**

Madeleine Sourisseau  
Student number: 4874032

Major Research Paper

Submitted to: Professor Isabelle Engeli

Graduate School of Public and International Affairs

August 9, 2015

## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	3
Introduction .....	4
The case for gender equality in international development programming .....	5
Why has process towards gender equality been slow? .....	7
The argument: moving past procedures, individuals, and concepts to substantive, institutional, and actual change .....	9
Limitations of scope .....	11
Defining and discussing key vocabulary .....	12
Outlining the paper .....	15
1. Gender equality frameworks and approaches in international development .....	17
1.1. Historical overview of women and gender equality in development .....	17
1.1.1. First World Conference on Women, Mexico City, 1975 .....	18
1.1.2. Second World Conference on Women, Copenhagen, 1980 .....	19
1.1.3. Third World Conference on Women, Nairobi, 1985 .....	19
1.1.4. Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995 .....	20
1.1.5. Millennium Development Goals, 2000-2015 .....	22
1.1.6. Paris Principles and Aid Effectiveness, 2005 .....	23
1.2. Progression from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD) ....	25
2. Policy, process, and institutional challenges: the Canadian example .....	27
2.1 CIDA’s key documents and policy guidance .....	27
2.2. Institutional and procedural challenges .....	35
2.2.1. Embracing the terminology and getting a policy into place .....	36
2.2.2. Internal receptiveness and resistance .....	37
2.2.3. Senior management support.....	39
2.2.4. Unclear accountability among staff .....	40
2.2.5. Gender equality-lead unit’s status and resources or the absence of a dedicated unit ...	42
2.2.6. Limited staff capacity .....	44
2.2.7. Availability of expertise and the use of gender focal points.....	45
2.2.8. Conflation of women and gender.....	46
2.2.9. Changing priorities and cross-pressures .....	47
2.2.10. Foreign policy discourse, coherence, and drivers.....	48
2.2.11. Translating theory into practice and the risk of “policy evaporation” .....	52
2.3. Critiques and limitations of gender mainstreaming.....	53

3. Programming for gender equality results throughout the project life cycle.....	57
3.1. Conception and planning: initial gender analysis.....	57
3.2. Implementation: following through on gender equality commitments .....	60
3.3. Monitoring: checking up on commitments and adjusting accordingly .....	62
3.4. Evaluation: taking stock and learning lessons.....	65
3.5. Special considerations for fragile, conflict-affected, and humanitarian situations.....	66
4. The way forward: conceptual and operational recommendations and conclusions .....	70
4.1. Returning to the fundamentals and learning from the past.....	71
4.2. Better monitoring and evaluation .....	74
4.3. Greater bureaucratic openness and transparency .....	74
4.4. Increased sensitivity for intersectionality and “diversity mainstreaming” .....	75
4.5. Bringing men and boys into gender equality.....	76
4.6. Concluding thoughts on progress and potentials.....	77
Bibliography.....	79

## **Abstract**

Since the 1970s, it has been recognized that the inclusion of women and gender equality are essential to achieve international development objectives. While donor countries, such as Canada, maintain strong rhetorical commitments, they face barriers within their own development agencies to promoting and achieving gender equality results. These challenges include: embracing terminology and developing a policy, internal receptiveness and resistance, senior management support, unclear accountability among staff, gender equality-lead unit's status and resources, the absence of a dedicated gender unit, limited staff capacity and expertise, the conflation of women and gender, changing priorities and cross-pressures, foreign policy discourse, coherence, and drivers, and the risk of policy evaporation when translating theory into practice. Although progress has been made towards developing sound procedures and building acceptance on individual and conceptual levels, gender equality in development assistance must now progress to substantive, institutional, and actual achievements. This paper calls for a return to fundamentals and a renewed appreciation for lessons learned, better monitoring and evaluation to demonstrate results and diminish policy evaporation, greater bureaucratic openness and transparency to more clearly communicate results to the public and promote accountability, increased sensitivity for intersectionality and diversity, and, finally, bringing men and boys into gender equality.

## **Introduction**

The promise of international development assistance is to alleviate poverty, reduce inequalities, and improve the well-being of individuals such that they can live full and freer lives. Such enterprise is enriched by its anecdotes; one anecdote<sup>1</sup> goes like this. Having realized that girls and boys had drastically disparate enrollment and performance rates at a school in a remote village of Uganda, an international organization designed a project to address this inequality. Based on an initial analysis, it was determined that one of the causes of low female enrollment was that children had to walk long distances to and from school, which not only influenced how often the girls attended, but also affected their performance if they were tired from the long walk. To address this issue, the project gave all the female students bicycles to speed up their commute and ease the effort it required. The intended result was initially achieved; the bicycles helped more girls attend school and contributed to better concentration on their studies. However, there were unintended consequences. The boys, quickly attuned to the newly created inequality, bullied the girls, stole their bicycles, and in some cases hurt the girls and broke their bicycles. Thus, a project that was designed to minimize one kind of inequality ended up creating others, causing harm to the intended beneficiaries and their community, and requiring further adjustments to reduce the additional inequalities. This example illustrates the challenges and complexities of designing projects outside of their contexts and then reacting to realities on the ground as they play out.

Despite decades of international development programming aiming to address gender inequalities throughout the developing world, anecdotes like this, realms of academic research, and plenty of project and program evaluations point to a continuing need for discussion and concrete actions to best conduct successful gender equality programming.

---

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote was shared by a participant at a lecture given by Dr. Irene Tinker in 2012, at what was then the Canadian International Development Agency.

## **The case for gender equality in international development programming**

The case for the importance and inclusion of women and gender equality in international development programming arrived on the agenda in the early 1970s and has now been broadly accepted by donor and recipient countries, aid agencies, multilateral institutions, and international and local non-governmental organizations. Key actors at all levels – domestic, regional, international – all acknowledge, at the very least rhetorically, that women and gender equality make up an important aspect of international development efforts. Initially, the emphasis was on bringing women into development considerations, by the mid-1990s the focus had shifted to champion gender equality and gender mainstreaming, with the aim of addressing the relational inequalities and roles between men and women. The arguments in favour range from imperatives for fairness and equal opportunities and the equal realization of rights, to instrumental gains to help achieve objectives across all sectors of development programming, to economic efficiency benefits. In recognizing that “gender inequality exists as a social, economic, and political reality in most societies, to women’s detriment” (Sweetman, 2013, p. 11), to many it becomes apparent that on fairness grounds alone, such inequalities should be addressed to correct historic disparities that affect half of the population. Whether overt and procedural, in laws or regulations, or more attitudinal and substantive, in terms of perceptions about gender roles, it has been recognized that inequalities based on sex and gender harm individuals and society as a whole. Women’s and gender equality advocates have succeeded in convincing policy makers, key private sector actors, and international institutions, that gender equality should be a key component of any work that they do. Ameliorating these inequalities is grounded in the aim of realizing universal rights and equal opportunities.

In addition to its intrinsic value, by linking gender equality to broader development goals, it can be seen to have an instrumental value. It has been accepted since the 1970s that “women’s

contribution to economic and social processes is central to international development” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 579), and thus important for the goal of poverty alleviation. Although some, such as Ferguson, suggest that gender equality is “constructed not as a goal in its own right, but as a means for achieving other development outcomes” (2010, p. 6), this still demonstrates a recognition that gender inequalities are entwined in various economic, political, and social development challenges, and dimensions of poverty. While some argue that this “coupling of gender and poverty is viewed as a strategic way to address women’s practical needs and strategic gender interests” (Sohal, 2005, p. 668), it has been useful for gender equality advocates to point to the fact that women’s equality and rights are key to achieving economic and social aims (Heyzer, 2005, p. 9). Because it was unlikely that actors uninterested in, or blind to, gender would promote gender equality of their own volition, linking gender equality to broader instrumental and strategic interests is less obvious way to advance the objective (Sohal, 2005, p. 671).

A gender perspective has also been important for understanding how poverty and inequality are related at national and sub-national levels (Johnson, 2005, p. 58), thus providing another analytic lens through which to examine and address roots of development challenges and alleviate poverty. Because poverty is multidimensional and often the result of inequalities along numerous lines, such as ethnicity, religion, language, ability, education, or employment status, a gender perspective infuses the analysis with another layer. The amplifying effect of supporting women in development has been noted in that “when women are given economic opportunity, the benefits are also large for their families, their communities, and ultimately for national development efforts” (World Bank, 2007, p.5 quoted in Ferguson, 2010, p. 6). The benefits extend past individuals and their communities to advancements in various sectors and towards broader, transformative aims. Michelle Bachelet, former executive director of UN Women, articulated this when she said that “empowering women is not just good for women ... it is good for all of us – for

peace, the growth of our economies, for food security, for human security – in short, for the well-being of current and future generations” (quoted in Ferguson, 2014, p. 9).

Part of this instrumental value argument leads into an efficiency justification for including gender equality programming in development work. If the imperative and the supporting role it can play in achieving other aims are not enough, gender equality is also necessary for improving the efficiency of economic systems. Excluding, or at least limiting the involvement and talent potential, of a large portion of the population is simply a poor use of human resources in an economy. The World Bank, for example, has made the case “for gender almost entirely on efficiency grounds, constructing a convergence between the interests of women and the promotion of economic liberalization” (Baden & Goetz, 1997, p. 9). The United Nation Development Program’s *World Development Report 2012* on the state of global human development noted the inherent value of gender equality, “even if hopefully connected to economic growth” (Parpart, 2014, p. 384). Whether recognized as a good in itself, or as a means to achieve other valued goals, gender equality has been accepted as a key component for sustainable development results.

### **Why has process towards gender equality been slow?**

Despite the recognition that gender equality is essential in and of itself, as well as for international development efforts as a whole, there is still considerable work to be done on an institutional and procedural level. Donor agencies, international multilateral organizations, and non-governmental organizations have spent years articulating calls for action and taking steps in programming to address gender equality, yet the results have not been as hoped (see for instance: Alexander, 1995; Baden & Goetz, 1997; Black & Tiessen, 2007; Bytown Consulting & C.A.C. International, 2008; COWI A/S, ADE, Itad, 2015; Derbyshire, 2012, Ferguson, 2010; Hales, 2007; Holvoet & Ingberg, 2012; Johnson, 2005; Moser, 2006; Moser & Moser, 2005; Parpart, 2014; Prügl, 2009; Rao, 1991; Rao & Kelleher, 2005; Rathgeber, 2005; Staudt, 2003; Sweetman, 2013;

Tiessen, 2005). Naturally, changes to gender roles and relations in any society, to say nothing of change on a global scale, require time and sustained efforts. The literature has shown that one cannot expect deeply ingrained economic, political, social, and cultural dynamics and attitudes to change in a relatively short period of time, whether that is the life of a single project or a generation (Staudt, 2003, p. 49; Haider, 1995, p. 36).

While there have been significant successes and advancement in making development programming respond to women's needs and gender equality concerns, there have also been "*staggering failures*" (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 57). Failures span a continuum from the sort of unintended harmful consequences in the previously mentioned anecdote, to shortcomings in realizing in practice the rhetorical commitments made. The inclusion of women, and then gender equality, in the agendas of many donor countries, multilateral organizations, and implementing agencies, has meant that attention has been paid, but often with disappointing results.

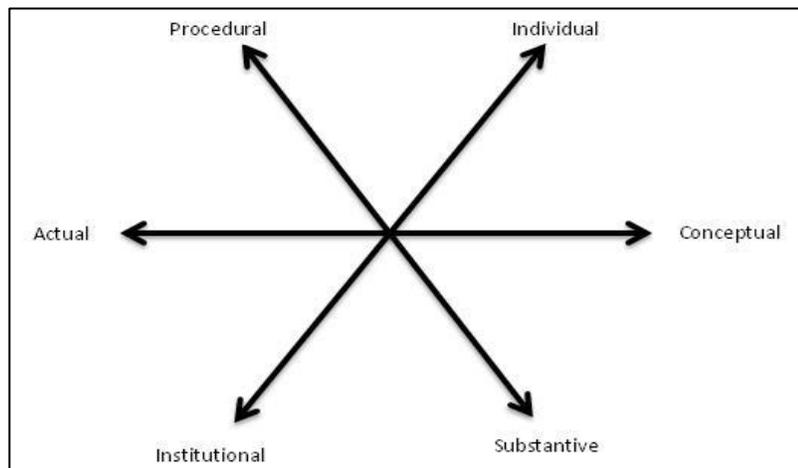
It is therefore worth asking why scholars, practitioners, civil society groups, and evaluation after evaluation continue to find that part of the reason changes are not realized is due to institutional challenges within these organizations themselves. This paper addresses the crucial question of why, on an institutional and procedural level, despite rhetoric and commitments, progress been slow towards achieving gender equality results. One particularly vocal donor on gender equality in development has been Canada, priding itself on being an early and continual defender of the importance of gender equality internationally in diplomatic and development work. This reputation makes Canada a useful case, with examples from its Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD), formerly the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). Using Canada as an example, this paper first asks, what are the challenges that donor agencies face within their own organizational structures, cultures and processes to achieving gender equality

results through their programming? Second, on the level of achieving real results, how do these challenges manifest and affect each stage in the planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of delivering a development project? Third, given these challenges, what can be done to improve Canada’s international development efforts?

**The argument: moving past procedures, individuals, and concepts to substantive, institutional, and actual change**

This paper argues that progress towards achieving gender equality development results from the donor agencies’ perspectives requires advancement on a number of axes, some of which have progressed while others have stalled. While procedures have been developed, individuals within institutions have embraced it, and conceptually it has been accepted, gender equality in development assistance must now progress to substantive, institutional, and actual achievements.

The figure below provides a visual depiction to capture this idea.



The first axis runs from procedural to substantive change, where the initial measure of progress may be drafting a policy on gender equality, but an advanced substantive move would be its true embrace and implementation, manifested by sustained engagement and true action.

A second axis addresses the variance between individual agency and acceptance of principles to institutional values and priorities. In other words, while individual actors within an institution may value gender equality and take steps to integrate it into the work they do, without higher level institutional support, their actions may have limited reach.

A third axis spans the difference between conceptual attitudes and actual action for change; in a way, the other two axes are part and parcel of this one. Driven by conceptual attitudes, the creation of procedures and their substantial realization, based on the actions of individuals and institutional frameworks in which they work, all contribute to actual actions and changes.

While the procedural, individual, and conceptual pieces are there, albeit at times uneven, the substantive, institutional, and actual results are lagging. This is not to say that they are absent, but rather that focus has been placed on the former elements without paying sufficient meaningful attention to the importance of the latter. In many ways, the introduction of procedures and the articulation of accepting certain concepts have masked inaction towards more substantive and actual change sustained on an institutional level. Although perhaps unintentional, and by no means malicious, this masking explains part of the reason that donor agencies have struggled to overcome the challenges they face within their own workings to achieve successful gender equality results in international development programming. In other words, while procedures, individuals' acceptance, and concepts are necessary, they are not sufficient for the sort of substantive, institutional, actual change that is needed on the part of donor institutions to advance the gender equality agenda in international development. As Staudt so perfectly puts it, "process and results are quite different" (2003, p. 40). Without a concerted push towards the more meaningful changes, donors are left going in circles.

Canada's CIDA, DFAIT, and now DFATD, provide excellent illustrations of how strong vocal and policy commitments to the concept of gender equality, sound bureaucratic processes,

and the hard work of individuals, have not been sufficient over the past several decades to achieve the transformative results to which the institutions aspire (Prügl, 2009; Parpart, 2014, Rao & Kelleher, 2005; Espinosa, 2013; Sandler & Rao, 2012; Sweetman, 2013). Despite solid efforts, the various internal constraints and challenges have limited the impact of substantive, institutional-level, actual advancements at individual project levels, country program levels, thematic priority sectors, and at the highest levels of poverty alleviation agenda. Canada's experience with gender equality in international development provides a useful example because Canada was an early advocate for the inclusion of women, and then gender equality, in the global agenda and has continued to see itself as a key player in advancing the cause. Given this self-perception, it is worth asking what challenges Canada has encountered in achieving its commitments and what improvements could be made to better realize these worthwhile objectives.

### **Limitations of scope**

The achievement of gender equality aims in international development programming is influenced and impacted by a multitude of forces, pressures, histories, and actors. Despite several decades of the recognition that women, and then gender roles and relations, play an important part in international development, such fundamental and transformational change will take time. Changing attitudes and undoing centuries of entrenched gender roles requires political will on the parts of international bodies, national and local governments, and the individuals who work within them. It also requires changes to the daily relations between men and women, boys and girls, in a society. This is a massive undertaking. Therefore, recognizing the limitations of scope for this paper is important. The aim here is to look specifically towards the international donor institutions, and Canada in particular, that have taken up gender equality as one of their causes in international development. Their efforts are not sufficient alone to bring about the sort of broad and meaningful change that advocates desire and that would be beneficial for the equality of societies. Given that

donors have committed to including gender equality in their programming, it then becomes worthwhile to ask how effective they are and what constraints and challenges they encounter within their own workings. This paper therefore discusses some practical and possible solutions to help donor institutions, such as DFATD, bring about the substantial, institutional, and meaningful promotion and actual achievement of gender equality results in international development.

### **Defining and discussing key vocabulary**

Before delving further into the content of this paper, it is necessary to discuss some key vocabulary. This section defines the following terms: development results, sex, gender, gender equality, equity, empowerment, and gender mainstreaming. First, development results are defined as “positive changes observed at the individual level ... as well as changes at the institutional and policy levels” (Bazinet, Sequeira & Delahanty, 2006, p. 105). While different organizations may describe them differently, DFATD, formerly CIDA, considers a development result to be “a describable or measurable change in state that is derived from a cause-and-effect relationship” (2014). These changes are the culmination of a results chain that builds its way from inputs and activities in a project or program, up to outputs, which are the direct products or services produced by the inputs and activities, to immediate outcomes that demonstrate changes in capacities, skills, and awareness, and then to intermediate outcomes that reflect changes in performance and behaviour. A results chain peaks at the ultimate outcome, denoting a “sustainable change of state among the beneficiaries”, to which all the components below have contributed. Results and outcomes are often used synonymously.

The terms sex and gender are not to be confused. Whereas sex is understood to be related to biological and physical distinctions between men and women, “gender is social and cultural,” based on what a society considers to be masculine or feminine (Haider, 1995, p. 43; 35). Just as second-wave feminism was pushing for the inclusion of women in international development

discourse, it was also making a distinction between “biological ‘sex’ and socially constructed ‘gender’” (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005, p. 497). Gender focuses on how the roles and relations between men and women are shaped by the social, cultural, historic, and contextual situation. Incorporating gender into political analysis shows how conceptions of masculinity and femininity influence individuals’ lives (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005, p. 497), and shape what is considered “appropriate behaviour or activity for women and men” (Haider, 1995, p. 35). Gender also goes beyond simple, binary distinctions between men and women and instead envisions a spectrum. The concept of gender is meant to be “more inclusive and relational, addressing women *and* men, along with the relations between them” (Staudt, 2003, p. 48). However, as will be discussed at length later, the terms gender and sex are often conflated; or more often, gender and women are interpreted to be the same. Accordingly, the ways in which women, men, girls, boys, and gender are understood by development actors affects how gender equality is addressed and promoted in development outcomes and processes (Ferguson, 2010, p. 4).

Having understood that gender is about constructed identities, acceptable roles, behaviours, and relations, gender equality is another key term. As Staudt writes, “socially constructed categories perpetuate inequalities” (2003, p. 41). CIDA’s 1999 *Policy on Gender Equality* states that men and women should “experience equal conditions for realizing their full human rights, and have the opportunity to contribute to and benefit from national, political, economic, social and cultural development” (quoted in Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 12). There is some discussion about the difference between *equality* and *equity*. According to CIDA documents, “gender equity is the process of being fair to women and men ... equity leads to equality” (quoted in Hales, 2007, p. 155). In some cases these may mean steps to correct past disparities and historical discrimination in order to level the playing field. Part of gender equality includes ensuring that women and men have equal value in society, despite their similarities and differences, and the roles they choose to

take (Hales, 2007, p. 155). Equality also implies the recognition of the fundamental legal principle of equality before the law and includes notions of dignity and worth (Rai, 2003, p. 17). Of course, there is also the difference between formal equality as written in legislation or regulations, and the more informal dimensions of equality as it relates to perceptions and attitudes. Programming in gender equality often attempts to address both.

Empowerment has been seen as an important component to support the advancement of equality, especially as it relates to equality of choices; it is defined as “the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability” (Kabeer, 2005, p. 13). Empowerment encompasses agency, resources, and achievements, requiring all three to be fully realized (Kabeer, 2005, p. 14). Women’s empowerment programming has meant supporting their voices and participation in decision-making on personal levels, as well as at the level of their communities and beyond (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 12).

One of the key means or processes of said programming is gender-mainstreaming. Although it has many definitions, the “pioneering definition of Rounaq Jahan, puts women ‘at centre-stage, part of the mainstream’ in either an ‘integrationist’ or an ‘agenda-setting’ approach ... an integrationist approach ‘builds gender issues within existing development paradigms,’ whereas an agenda-setting approach uses gender perspectives to transform the existing development agenda” (Staudt, 1998, p. 177). In other words, while an integrationist approach inserts gender throughout policies, sectors, and project phases, an agenda-setting approach is inherently transformative because it seeks to make real changes around the relations between men and women (Holvoet & Inberg, 2012, p. 2). Gender-mainstreaming recognizes that no policy is gender-neutral (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005, p. 502) and that because men and women are affected differently by a given policy, gender analysis should be integrated into policy and decision-making

(Hankivsky, 2005, p. 976). The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has a comprehensive and widely used definition:

“Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in any area 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 the 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” (quoted in Hankivsky, 2005, p. 980)

Gender mainstreaming is also described as both a “technical and a political process” (Thiessen, 2002, p. 85) because while it may be actioned through procedures, it also requires will and attention to fully implement, champion, and make part the routine activities that make up the work of development actors (Tiessen, 2005, p. 706). The gender analysis that underlies gender mainstreaming is also at least partially political in that it examines how differences between men and women have been “shaped over time by sociocultural and economic factors” and is thus infused with relational dynamics of power (Moser, Rhyne & Holt, 1993 quoted in Haider, 1995, p. 36). Taken together, gender analysis and gender mainstreaming have formed the core of the toolkit for promoting and advancing gender equality.

### **Outlining the paper**

Section one provides an overview of gender equality frameworks and approaches in international development programming and an historical overview of key moments in the trajectory of women and gender equality on the broader international development agenda. It shows that since first recognizing the importance of including women in development, the focus has since shifted to a broader recognition of the importance of gender.

Section two delves into the Canadian case and examines the process-based elements of its gender equality development programming. After exploring the key documents used by CIDA and

the foreign policy directions used by DFAIT, the paper presents the main results of a detailed analysis of the institutional and procedural challenges encountered by Canada. These challenges include: embracing terminology and developing a policy, internal receptiveness and resistance, senior management support, unclear accountability among staff, gender equality-lead unit's status and resources, the absence of a dedicated gender unit, limited staff capacity and expertise, the conflation of women and gender, changing priorities and cross-pressures, foreign policy discourse, coherence, and drivers, and the risk of policy evaporation when translating theory into practice.

Section three analyzes how these processes and the related challenges influence results and affect each stage in development programming from project conception and planning, to implementation, to monitoring, and finally to evaluation. While these institutional challenges affect standard development programming, there are slightly varied results for gender equality programming when it comes to fragile and conflict-affected situations and humanitarian assistance efforts; section three also includes a brief exploration of some of these implications.

Section four synthesizes the procedural and institutional challenges, along with their impact on results, into a series of recommendations and conclusions for a more wholesome move towards progressing the gender equality agenda and producing meaningful results. These recommendations call for a return to fundamentals and learning from the past, better monitoring and evaluation, and greater bureaucratic openness and transparency, increased sensitivity for intersectionality, and bringing men and boys into gender equality. Finally, the paper concludes by suggesting that despite considerable progress since the inclusion of women first appeared on the development agenda, there is still much work to be done to realize the transformative potential of gender equality. Canada's recently amalgamated Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development must seize on the opportunities for meaningful changes now or risk repeating the same mistakes and shortcomings of the past.

## **1. Gender equality frameworks and approaches in international development**

The inclusion of women, let alone gender equality, has not always been a key component in international development efforts. Through extensive academic research, the work of development practitioners, advocacy by local and international women's and human rights groups and civil society actors, and several high-profile global conferences, first the role of women and then the importance of gender has been firmly cemented into the development agenda. This section provides a historical overview of key moments in the inclusion of women and gender equality in the field of international development, followed by a discussion of the progression from simply looking at women to the more holistic picture provided by applying a gender lens and gender equality analysis to development programming. The overview and discussion provide background for later analysis of how Canada's international development programming on women and then gender equality has led the charge and aligned with international efforts.

### **1.1. Historical overview of women and gender equality in development**

It was not until the 1970s and second-wave feminism that the inequalities between men and women were pushed onto the international development agenda (Sweetman, 2013, p.2). With her 1970 book *Women's Role in Economic Development*, Danish economist Ester Boserup is largely seen as the first to suggest that given the important role women play in the development of their societies, they too should be taken into consideration when designing and delivering international development programming (Staudt, 1998, p. 47). Boserup made both "an efficiency and justice argument" in suggesting that modernization strategies had harmed women farmers and agricultural production (Staudt, 1998, p. 48). Her work, and those who took it up after her, for example Ferguson, Haider, Hankivsky, Hayes, Hendriks, Jahan, Kabeer, Caroline and Annalise Moser, Parpart, Rathgeber, Staudt, and Tiessen, laid the groundwork for extensive academic study, considerable work by practitioners across donor agencies, multilateral and non-governmental

organizations, and various prominent global conferences that have advanced the gender equality agenda over the past several decades. By provoking discussion and momentum in the lead-up to conferences and with some generating action plans and follow-up, the conferences contributed to legitimizing attention for women's and gender equality issues on the international stage, in international development bureaucracies, across the United Nations system, in aid agencies, and national governments (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 584). An historical overview of the conferences provides a snapshot of the state of women and gender equality in development across time.

### **1.1.1. First World Conference on Women, Mexico City, 1975**

The First World Conference on Women, held in Mexico City in 1975, showed that despite their long-standing presence in societies around the globe, women had finally arrived on the international development agenda. To bring further attention, the United Nations designated 1975 as International Women's Year. The United Nations General Assembly set three themes to focus the conference: "1) full gender equality and elimination of gender discrimination, 2) the integration and full participation of women in development, 3) an increased contribution by women in the strengthening of world peace" (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 581). Not only did the conference raise the profile of women in development initiatives, it also led to the creation and mandate of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, later re-named UN Women) and produced a World Plan of Action and global goals for the next ten years (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 581). Whereas the minimal inclusion of women in development projects had generally been related to their welfare, the Mexico City conference helped to spark the view that women could be seen "as active participants in making their history" instead of passive victims (Staudt, 1998, p. 49). The period from 1976 to 1985 was declared the UN's Decade for Women. The conference also catalyzed the discussions that eventually resulted in the 1979 General Assembly adoption of the *Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW).

### **1.1.2. Second World Conference on Women, Copenhagen, 1980**

Five years later, the Second World Conference on Women, held in Copenhagen, reviewed progress from the first and led participants to realize that “without targeted efforts, it would be difficult to exercise rights that had been gained” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 581). In the interests of defining clearer goals, with measureable results, it was decided that the focus for the conference and the next several years should be: “1) equal access to education, 2) employment opportunities, 3) adequate health care services” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 581). These goals are considerably more tangible and less ambitious than those of the First Conference, recognizing that part of the key to success was setting reasonable aims. Likewise, by focusing on key sectors of development – education, the economy, and health – interventions could be targeted towards those areas and flow towards the overarching aim of equality. Improved education, employment status, and health would likely improve women’s conditions and equality.

While recognizing the need to refine goals and targets, it was also realized that the lack of sex-disaggregated data available to researchers and policy makers meant that they did not have a clear picture of the disparities between men and women in various sectors. The conference called for the collection of accurate, sex-disaggregated statistics and statistics that specifically addressed the status of women (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 582). Although this may seem like a fairly obvious realization, it is worth noting that “even today, the collection of disaggregated statistics is not routinely undertaken within all sectors of the United Nations system” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 582), or among other international non-governmental organizations, or national or local governments.

### **1.1.3. Third World Conference on Women, Nairobi, 1985**

The Third World Conference on Women, held in Nairobi in 1985, focused on poor women, who are especially marginalized, and concentrated on the themes of “1) constitutional and legal steps; 2) equality in social participation; and 3) equality in political participation and decision-

making” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 582). Having addressed the sectors of education, economy, and health at the Second Conference, it was realized that the political and legal sectors were also important. Without access to justice and political engagement, women could not voice their views and actively participate in their societies; the Third Conference’s themes expanded into these sectors. Following this conference, the UN General Assembly asked the UN to establish focal points for gender issues in the various arms and agencies of the UN. By doing so, the UN “tacitly recognized that women needed to have champions to ensure that their interests were integrated into United Nations programs and policy-making” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 582). At the same time, the Third Conference planted early seeds for better gender mainstreaming, moving beyond simply including women, and thus marking the shift from women to gender (Staudt, 2003, p. 51).

#### **1.1.4. Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995**

While the other conferences provoked conversations and modest actions, the Fourth Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, and the Declaration and *Platform for Action* that it produced are seen as monumental. As Staudt so candidly puts it, “that human rights are and should be women’s rights may seem obvious to most readers, but until the 1990s, humans and women were categories that overlapped little in international legal terms” (1998, p. 159). At the Beijing Conference, participants articulated the realization that had been building for some time that addressing inequality between men and women needed to reach a deeper level that went beyond women to looking at the relations with men and the social constructs and constraints in which they existed; thus, the shift from women to gender (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 582). It was at the Beijing Conference that countries were encouraged to endorse and prioritize gender mainstreaming as a means to achieve gender equality (Baden & Goetz, 1997; Holvoet & Inberg, 2012; Moser & Moser, 2005; Rathgeber, 2005). As Parpart notes, in the 1990s and with the Beijing Conference,

“gender mainstreaming emerged as the operational wing of the development community’s growing commitment to women’s empowerment and gender equality” (2014, p. 383).

Besides promoting gender mainstreaming, the Beijing Declaration and *Platform for Action* identified twelve areas for attention: “1) women and poverty, 2) education and training of women, 3) women and health, 4) violence against women, 5) women and armed conflict, 6) women and the economy, 7) women in power and decision-making, 8) institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women, 9) human rights of women, 10) women and the media, 11) women and the environment, 12) the girl child” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 583). Even without the benefit of hindsight, the breadth of these themes and the accompanying *Platform for Action* were ambitious. Not only had the number of areas of focus quadrupled, they covered all sectors of development. If the strength of the previous conferences’ themes had been their relatively narrow focus, the Fourth Conference planned to be everything to everyone everywhere. It is possible that having so many themes was positive for inclusivity and the recognition that different countries with different priorities could all advance towards gender equality together. However, so many areas for attention were certainly unwieldy.

Even at the conference, it was difficult to convince all countries to accept the use of the term ‘gender’ (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 582). The lack of clarity and directives on how to actually implement gender mainstreaming in practice were also not conducive to achieving the ambitious goals set (Moser, 2006, p. 585). On the level of rhetoric at least, the Beijing Conference demonstrated that gender had entered the mainstream (Baden & Goetz, 1997, p. 4), while the creation of policies and their sound implementation remained nascent (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 11). Overall, despite its limitations, Staudt sums it up when she writes that “the Beijing *Platform for Action* is remarkable for the strength of the language and the ways it builds common ground

among diverse groups of women and men, committed to gender equality” (2003, p. 46). Its legacy and goals are still very much a part of the international development agenda for gender equality.

### **1.1.5. Millennium Development Goals, 2000-2015**

As the world convened to set the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) to guide efforts for the first fifteen years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, gender equality had found a place in the conversation. The third goal is to “promote gender equality and empower women,” while the other seven, along with the Millennium Declaration, “identif[y] gender equality as an essential ingredient for achieving all the MDGs and affirm the need to combat violence against women and to implement CEDAW” (Hayes, 2005, p. 68). It is easy to see how the other goals aiming to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and develop a global partnership for development all have key implications for women and gender equality. It is a testament to the efforts of the women’s movement and advocates over the years that a groundswell of support led to the inclusion of such a goal and highlighted its importance in all areas of development work (Heyzer, 2005, p. 9; Hayes, 2005, p. 67). Having an entire goal devoted to gender equality and women’s empowerment demonstrates that those objectives are “an intrinsic goal rather than an instrumental goal, explicitly valued as an end in itself rather than as an instrument for achieving other goals (Kabeer, 2005, p. 13).

Since the MDGs were intended to drive development programming for the first fifteen years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the inclusion of gender equality and women’s empowerment as its own goal also helped to highlight its continued importance. There was optimism that the MDGs and efforts towards achieving them would raise awareness about how women’s roles in development were connected across the various eight goals (Heyzer, 2005, p. 9).

While the third goal was hailed as a success for the inclusion of gender equality and women's empowerment, some have warned against becoming complacent and have urged real follow-through on the goal and its sub-targets (Hayes, 2005; Heyzer, 2005; Kabeer, 2005). In the lead-up to the agreement on the MDGs, many in the on-line discussions noted that "in much of the work on MDGs, the gender dimensions were often missing or treated as afterthought ... this [was] just one symptom of a larger epidemic, that puts gender and human rights on a back burner" (Heyzer, 2005, p. 10). Some have described the targets and indicators as gender-blind (Hayes, 2005, p. 68). Others have pointed out that while education, employment, and political participation have the potential to bring about positive changes for women, actions toward change are deeply reliant on resources allocated by national and local governments, who may themselves be constrained by certain perspectives on gender inequality (Moser & Moser, 2005; Sweetman, 2013 Rathgeber, 2005). Furthermore, as Kabeer asserts, "it is the social relationships that govern access to the resources in question that will determine the extent to which this potential is realized" (2005, p. 13). There is also a need for donors to make commitments and actual disbursements to finance not only women's economic empowerment, but their inclusion in other development efforts (Heyzer, 2005, p.11). Despite the awareness and importance raised by the third MDG, "practice often seems to continue to place gender equality as a secondary goal" and even if some of the sub-targets for women and girls are reached, the overall goal, as ambitious as it is, seems unlikely to be met (Johnson, 2005, p. 56). Nonetheless, the MDGs presented unparalleled global consensus and commitment to worthy aims, with the inclusion of gender equality and women's empowerment recognized as a key advancement.

#### **1.1.6. Paris Principles and Aid Effectiveness, 2005**

Part of the effort on the eighth MDG to develop a global partnership for development involved the crafting of the Paris Principles on aid effectiveness in 2005, which was followed by

the 2008 Accra Agenda for Action and the 2011 Busan Partnerships for Effective Development Cooperation. At the Paris conference, under the auspices of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee, donors and recipient countries agreed to a series of principles that they hoped would promote more effective development practices. These principles were: ownership exercised by recipient countries, alignment to local aims, harmonization across donors' approaches and efforts, management for development results to report on progress or highlight shortcomings, and mutual accountability between donors and recipients (OECD/DAC, 2005).

Noticeably missing from such a key piece of development policy was gender equality. Holvoet & Inberg, among others, have analyzed not only the absence of gender issues and gender equality, but also the unintended impact the principles have had on gender equality as an aspect of development programming. For example, they note that the "ambitious reform agenda" has involved "changes in aid instruments, staff expertise, organizational structures and operational guidelines" (2012, p. 3), all of which have diverted attention away from gender equality. Holvoet & Inberg also point out that in aligning to local aims, the importance placed on gender equality will only be as strong as the recipient country's policies, which might continue to re-enforce inequalities (2012, p. 4). Furthermore, while harmonization is generally seen in a positive light, Holvoet & Inberg argue that "in reality, harmonization and coordination often follows the principle of the lowest common denominator, which often entails the adoption of the policies and practices of the least gender-sensitive donor and a general pressure towards 'over-simplification' and 'reductionism'" (2012, p. 4). They suggest that this has led to a further marginalization and under-funding of gender equality-focused projects and components within larger projects. Likewise, they warn against relying too heavily on quick-win measured results because gender equality takes longer-term, sustained efforts to realize (2012, p. 6). While it is shocking that such a

key set of principles made no mention of gender equality, it is perhaps illustrative of the challenge of truly mainstreaming gender at all levels, including the highest, in global international development policy. Despite the immense progress that has been made, it remains a challenge to keep gender equality on the agenda in a meaningful way. As the world convenes to agree to a post-2015 development agenda to follow on when the MDGs conclude this year, it will be interesting to watch for the inclusion and extent of inclusion in the planned Sustainable Development Goals.

## **1.2. Progression from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD)**

A historical overview of key moments for women and gender equality in international development would be incomplete without an analysis of the progression from women in development, often abbreviated to WID, to gender and development, often called GAD. While the conferences provide tangible points in time, the conceptual currents flowing through them are just as important to inform the eventual discussion of institutional challenges that donor institutions continue to face to implementing successful gender equality programming. Having realized that women were indeed involved in development, the term “women in development” was coined in the early 1970s (Moser, 1993, p. 2). The early work on women in development saw women’s inclusion from an efficiency and anti-poverty perspective, in that women were an “untapped resource who [could] provide an economic contribution to development” if they were fully incorporated into the economy (Moser, 1993, p. 2-3; Sohal, 2005, p.666). By the late 1970s and early 1980s, many donors had begun programming that tried to respond to the needs of women (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 580). The approach took an integrationist view, seeking to add women into already existing development initiatives and provide them with similar resources to those that had traditionally been focused on men. In doing so, it attempted to look at how past development processes had affected women and adjust accordingly (Haider, 1995, p. 36). Typically, this involved giving women micro-loans and training to make them efficient producers, but it did not

consider the double-burden of work inside and outside the home that was immediately placed upon women, a challenge most men did not face (Sweetman, 2013, p.2). In other words, these efforts “did not consider the totality of women’s lives and work” (Rathgeber, 2005, p 580) and inevitably led to criticisms (Sweetman, 2013, p. 2).

Narrowly viewing women in isolation to men did not respond to the true source of the inequalities that were, in fact, relational. With this realization, development efforts shifted to embrace a gender equality approach that went beyond merely including women to instead reforming and transforming development (Sweetman, 2013, p. 3). Thus, the language moved from women to gender (Staudt, 1998, p. 50). Whereas women in development had a limited impact, gender analysis recognized that men and women have different interests and needs (Sweetman, 2013, p. 2) and broadened the scope to look at women’s position in terms of decision-making, economic, and social power (Johnson, 2005, p. 57). Gender and development also considered women’s roles beyond economic ends, looking at their identities as mothers, wives, and autonomous individuals (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 580). By adopting gender mainstreaming, the new approach attempted to include gender equality analyses and actions systematically throughout all development projects and policies, not simply by adding a few women to the beneficiaries list (Philips, 2005, p. 654). This shift was first advocated by academics, feminist advocates, and non-governmental organizations in the 1980s, but donor agencies and multilateral organizations were slower to take up the language (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 580). Canada, however, was one of the first to make the conceptual leap and distinguish between women in development and gender and development (Staudt, 2003, p. 49).

## **2. Policy, process, and institutional challenges: the Canadian example**

As one of the first donors to recognize the importance of women in development, and then make the eventual shift to gender equality, Canada provides an interesting example of sound attempts at process and the broad institution challenges that arise despite best efforts. Since the 1970s, CIDA, responsible for the majority of Canadian foreign aid, has had policies and guidelines in place to provide direction for the implementation of programming intended to benefit women and girls, and reduce gender equality in developing countries' societies. In many ways, CIDA was at the forefront of donors' efforts (Turenne Sjolander, 2005, p. 28). While it is easy to see that the procedural elements and conceptual backing are there, supported by individual efforts, the substantive, institutional, and actual changes have not yet reached their full potential.

This section begins with an overview of CIDA's key documents on the topic over the past several decades. Next, the section launches into an analysis of the key institutional challenges that CIDA has encountered in attempting to implement successful gender equality programming. These challenges include: embracing the terminology and getting a policy into place, internal receptiveness and resistance, senior management support, unclear accountability, the gender equality-lead unit's status and resources or the absence of a dedicated unit, capacity of staff, availability of expertise at headquarters and the field, conflation of women and gender, foreign policy discourse, coherence, and drivers, changing priorities and cross-pressures, and translating theory into practice. Finally, the section concludes with an exploration of additional critiques and limitations of gender equality mainstreaming as it affects process-level elements.

### **2.1 CIDA's key documents and policy guidance**

Following a 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the 1975 First World Conference on Women, the Government of Canada announced a policy of integrating women into all programming and called on all departments to identify individuals or units responsible

(Alexander, 1995, p. 80). CIDA's first formal commitment to including women in its work was the 1976 Guidelines, which were developed with the help of cross-country workshops with women's groups and civil society organizations (Alexander, 1995, p. 80). The policy, employing the women in development approach, was a single page document with a set of five, broad guidelines calling for the "equitable integration of men and women into the mainstream of the Agency's work in all sectors" (quoted in Alexander, 1995, p. 81). It highlighted the need for women's equal participation both as agents of change in their societies and as beneficiaries of development programming (Jahan, 1995, p. 23). However, there was no accompanying action plan, nor timeframe to achieve these goals (Jahan, 1995, p. 23). The document could be considered a conceptual acceptance of the importance of women's role and a first attempt at including them.

Seven years later, CIDA took the next major step and established the Women in Development Directorate; the following year, they launched the Women in Development Policy Framework. The goal of the 1984 Policy Framework was "to ensure that the full range of [CIDA's] development assistance will contribute to the realization of the full potential of women as agents and beneficiaries of the development process" (quoted in Alexander, 1995, p. 82). There were seven policy objectives that covered a range of goals from including women in the design and implementation of projects, to better understanding their multiple roles, to putting special emphasis on helping women generate income, and working with recipient governments to close economic inequalities between men and women. It was recognized that women were both agents and beneficiaries, whose full potential was not yet being tapped and could only be realized through an integrationist approach (Jahan, 1995, p. 23). Overall, the focus was on supporting equality of opportunity and countering systematic discrimination, with an emphasis on changing institutions and their organizational biases, instead of on altering individuals' attitudes (Alexander, 1995, p. 81). The Policy Framework generated considerable national and international attention and Canada

became recognized in donor circles for being at the leading edge of women in development programming (Alexander, 1995, p. 82).

However, it was not until two years later that operational measures were developed to meaningfully integrate the Women in Development Policy into CIDA programming; this took the form of the 1986 Five Year Plan of Action outlining nine operational measures and five additional areas for further policy development. The plan set up internal organization structures, mechanisms for working with implementing partners such as non-governmental and multilateral organizations, called for training of CIDA officials and the collection of sex-disaggregated data, and made it mandatory to include an annex on women in development in each project approval memorandum (Alexander, 1995, p. 83; Morrison, 1998, p. 241). These measures drew attention to the cause and ensured that some level of operational effort was made on a project-by-project basis, instead of simply through high-level commitments without clear follow-through.

As part of the global shift from women in development to gender and development, CIDA began to revise their policies in 1992 and reissued the document as the Interim Women in Development Policy. The four objectives of the new policy moved beyond simply promoting women's equal access to development's benefits, to a broader approach that attempted to address gender equity in different areas, including economic, political and social processes, access to health and family planning services, educational attainment, and the exercise of human rights (Alexander, 1995, p. 83). Supporting women's participation and empowerment in decision-making in these various aspects of their lives pushed CIDA's work towards a "growing sensitivity towards an agenda-setting approach" (Jahan, 1995, p. 23), instead of simply an integrationist one. In the Interim Policy, CIDA also aimed to promote gender equality policies and practice among its partners and to build its own institutional capacity to better integrate gender into policies, programs, projects, and activities. A document produced by the Women in Development

Directorate in 1993 identified six key issues to support the achievement of the policy: senior management commitment, accountability of all staff, Agency-led capacity building, work with executing partners, the sufficient allocation of resources, and a well-defined mandate for their unit (Alexander, 1995, p. 86). At this time, while the transition to gender equality promotion had certainly begun and new language was used, a gender equality lens was not yet official policy.

The 1993 evaluation of CIDA's programming on women in development provided an opportunity for CIDA to check its progress after approximately a decade of programming on the subject and to make plans for future directions. Examining the period from 1984 to 1992, the evaluation "clearly stated what had been evident for a few years: that WID at CIDA had lost vital momentum, especially in the years 1990-1993", and it argued that "much of this was related to the ambivalence towards WID ... [and] a lack of strategic, corporate commitment" (Alexander, 1995, p. 84). The evaluation made seven major recommendations: refine the women in development policy, allocate appropriate resources, concentrate women in development efforts appropriately, upgrade the skills of CIDA staff and partners, improve women in development in CIDA's human resource development programs, clarify and strengthen accountability and incentives, and review CIDA's organizational structure for women in development (Alexander, 1995, 84). CIDA stated that it would not act on everyone recommendation, but would focus its efforts on revising and clarifying the policy, responding to accountability issues, and defining clear and measurable operational responses to document gender-related change (Alexander, 1995, p. 85).

Over the next two years, women in development continued to gain a prominent role in Canada's international development efforts. The 1994 Interim Planning Priorities for Canada's official development assistance placed supporting "the full participation as equal partners in the sustainable development of their societies" as a priority (Alexander, 1995, p. 85). In 1995, partly driven by the higher profile gained from the Beijing Conference, CIDA's women in development

policy was revised to include gender equality. The new policy was very similar to the Interim Policy from 1992, but it attempted to add practical tools to operationalize the framework (Alexander, 1995, p. 86). By now, gender equality had superseded women in development and been cemented as a key component of CIDA's work.

As the turn of the century approached, Canada made it ever clearer that gender equality was an important part of its international development efforts. The 1999 Policy on Gender Equality asserted that "gender equality contributes substantially to improving the well-being of women, men, girls and boys" and that CIDA remained committed to reducing inequality on any grounds (CIDA, 1999, p. ii). It was by far the most comprehensive document CIDA had produced on the topic yet. While trumpeting CIDA's past progress, the policy acknowledged that there was still much work to be done and laid out three over-arching objectives: "to advance women's equal participation with men as decision-makers, ... to support women and girls in the realization of their full human rights, and to reduce gender inequalities in access to and control over the resources and benefits of development" (CIDA, 1999, p. ii). These goals had not significantly changed from past iterations of the policy. However, some new guiding principles elaborated on how these changes would be achieved. For example, it was recognized that gender equality should be considered integral to all CIDA policies, programs, and projects and that each of these would affect men and women differently. Women's empowerment was acknowledged to be key to achieving gender equality, as was the necessity for partnerships between men and women. It was also noted that achieving gender equality required specific measurable steps to support equal participation and reduce inequalities in economic, social, and political processes; thus the beginnings of a results-based approach were planted.

With the new focus on gender equality, the policy also emphasized the importance of gender analysis as a tool to understand the local context and respond to inequalities stemming

from differing gender roles, expectations, relations, and norms (CIDA, 1999, p. 16; Bazinet, Sequeira & Delahanty, 2006, p.105). By using gender analysis throughout the project cycle, CIDA planned to have a greater impact on responding to the differences between men and women's needs, and thus a gender analysis was required for all CIDA policies, programs, and projects, varied by the scope and nature of the initiative (CIDA, 1999, p. 18). Other strategies identified to support gender equality included: policy dialogue with implementing partners, recipient governments, and civil society organizations; programming frameworks that integrated gender equality as a cross-cutting issue and planned to measure and assess the impact; drawing attention to gender equality in sectoral program assistance arrangements and pooled funds; supporting institutional strengthening and capacity development of partner organizations and national governments; and, actively identifying and acting on opportunities in bilateral and multilateral projects and programs to direct analyses and research towards gender equality. Responding to past shortcomings, the 1999 Policy also included plans for a performance assessment and clearer accountabilities for results. The Gender Equality Division of Policy Branch would take responsibility for developing indicators to measure implementation, but programming branches would report to them against progress achieved in their individual projects as part of the normal annual reporting cycle. Thus, with its comprehensive policy guidance, CIDA entered the 21<sup>st</sup> century ready to take meaningful action to improve the state of gender equality in the world.

In 2008, the implementation of CIDA's policy on gender equality was evaluated to take stock of the Agency's commitment, the steps taken to build an internal enabling effectiveness, achievements towards development outcomes, and determine whether the policy remained relevant. The evaluation found that while staff were committed in principle to the gender equality policy's objectives, they had limited guidance on how to apply it in a practical sense and felt that senior management's support had been inconsistent, which made for weak corporate-level

commitment and undermined internal effectiveness (Bytown Consulting & C.A.C. International, 2008, p. 5). In terms of achieving development outcomes, the evaluation asserted that “too often in the case of investments that are not specifically focused on gender equality, actions to promote gender equality appear to be an ‘add-on’ to the design and planning that is not carried through, or not fully integrated into implementation” (2008, p. 9). Gender strategies were not often transformed into implementation plans, performance reporting was weak, and sufficient resources were not sustained over necessary time periods to show results (2008, p. 10-11, 19).

The evaluation made nine recommendations under the themes of policy commitment, enabling environment, development outcomes, and relevance. To reaffirm the policy commitment, it recommended the development of a corporate gender equality action plan, secure budgeting for gender equality integration and initiatives, and additional investments in research and development (2008, p. 23). In order to support CIDA’s internal enabling environment, the evaluation suggested further investment in training for all staff, including middle and senior management, strengthening the Equality between Women and Men Division to engage more broadly with programs at headquarters and in the field, and the creation of a “Help Desk” to provide information, tools, and capacity building for CIDA staff as well as partners (2008, p. 24). To respond to the finding of CIDA’s limited ability to capture gender equality results in performance reporting, the evaluation recommended strengthened accountability for gender equality performance in instances of core-funding and multilateral programming and the development of stronger reporting tools and data systems, including the collection of sex-disaggregated data (2008, p. 24). Finally, in reaffirming the vital relevance of gender equality in CIDA’s programming, the evaluation suggested the development of a strategic approach to ensure gender equality would be properly captured by new and evolving modalities of delivering aid through bilateral and multilateral channels (2008, p. 24). In the management response to the evaluation, CIDA agreed with all of the recommendations

except the call for a “Help Desk”, which it felt was already covered with a unit dedicated of gender equality advisors (2008, p. 25). Of note, CIDA committed to developing an action plan and asserted that “gender equality is a ‘CIDA brand’”, which required efforts to ensure senior management support, strong internal capacities, and sound reporting to Canadians (2008, p. 26).

The 2010 refresh of the 1999 policy launched the Gender Equality Policy and Tools suite. A considerably sleeker communications product than the 1999 policy, the 2010 document maintains most of the same content and remains the policy presently in use. In order to address the evaluation’s finding on the state of performance reporting, one of the tools in the suite was a framework for assessing gender equality results intended to help development officers better design, implement, and measure the gender equality cross-cuts in projects. In response to the evaluation’s recommendation, a gender equality action plan for 2010-2013 was developed to support planning, implementation, and reporting on results (Tiessen, 2014, p. 54). This plan included concrete and measurable activities to improve the capacity of headquarters and field staff, ensure management accountability for implementation, increase the proportion of investments that aimed to improve gender equality, improve reporting, work with implementing partners to help them provide better results reporting on gender equality programming, and development education to present results to Canadians (CIDA, 2010, annex A).

However, progress towards the implementation of the action plan has not been publically reported, and neither of the two most recent major annual reports, the Report on Plans and Priorities and the Departmental Performance Reports, make mention of the plan. In fact, for at least the past five years, the only references to gender equality in those documents is in a generic sentence to say that gender equality is a cross-cutting theme, integrated into all of Canada’s development programming. While there may be a considerable amount of gender equality programming happening at the individual project level, it appears it is not being rolled up into the

higher-level reports. This in turn calls into question whether CIDA, and now DFATD, is successfully integrating gender equality if they were not measuring and publically reporting on it. Given the proclaimed importance of gender equality, one would imagine the Department would be eager to showcase key results and progress. Indeed, it seems the commitment has not been translated into meaningful, reportable results and without access to internal files, it would be difficult to determine the level at which, whether project, program, or branch, gender equality is incorporated into annual reports. It also contradicts past evaluations and reports that have pointed to the necessity of sound performance measurement to support the implementation of good gender equality projects. All of this points to a continuing challenge of enacting procedures that produce substantive change, building an institutional setting that goes beyond individuals' efforts, and moving past conceptual commitment to actual results.

## **2.2. Institutional and procedural challenges**

Donor agencies such as CIDA, now DFATD, have long recognized the importance of including women and have expanded to promote the broader goal of gender equality. Yet, despite decades of making national and international commitments, many argue that Canada has not successfully mainstreamed gender and has only given “gender issues very superficial attention” (Thiessen, 2002, p. 86). Moreover, the difficulty of moving from policy to practice can be found within the Agency, now Department, itself (Thiessen, 2002, p. 94). Likewise, Hendriks asserts that bureaucratic machineries may “provide little institutional support for the integration of women’s interests within mainstream development projects and programs” (2005, p. 621) and Holvoet & Inberg note that “commitment to gender equality policy discourse does not automatically lead to gender-sensitive practice” (2012, p. 10). To avoid so-called policy evaporation of commitments, institutions need sufficient human and organizational capacities and incentives (Holvoet & Inberg, 2012, p. 10).

This then raises the question: what institutional and procedural internal challenges have CIDA, and now DFATD, encountered that have hindered realization of sound gender equality promotion and programming? The following section focuses on eleven broad challenges: embracing the terminology and getting a policy into place, internal receptiveness and resistance, senior management support, unclear accountability, the gender equality-lead unit's status and resources or the absence of a dedicated unit, capacity of staff, availability of expertise at headquarters and the field, conflation of women and gender, foreign policy discourse, coherence, and drivers, changing priorities and cross-pressures, and translating theory into practice. Most of these challenges are what Moser & Moser refer to as institutional constraints, covering "internal responsibility, organizational culture, resistance, mechanisms for accountability, and gender training" (2005, p. 16). They separate these from operational constraints, which include the "need for monitoring and evaluation, and dilemmas with participation" (2005, p. 16) that will be discussed later. Perhaps most disheartening of all, these challenges have persisted over several decades since women and development and gender equality programming began and have remained largely consistent across time, demonstrating their deeply entrenched institutional nature. While steps might be taken immediately after an evaluation, the patterns and the cycle persist.

### **2.2.1. Embracing the terminology and getting a policy into place**

The first challenge, although likely the easiest to tackle, is "embracing the terminology" (Moser, 2006, p.576) of gender equality and putting a gender mainstreaming policy into place in a donor institution. As described, CIDA has done this and updated it over time to incorporate different concepts and put emphasis on slightly altered objectives and goals. Hidden from the final product of these documents, however, would be the internal discussions and debates that went into their writing. It must be remembered that while documents may emerge fully grown from institutions, they were developed and consulted across multiple internal groups and actors.

At the same time as Canada was developing its own policies, it was also participating in global discussions with other donors, national governments, local and international non-governmental organizations to agree on common definitions and strategies. Given the international nature of development work, having donors, implementing organizations, and recipient countries on the same page is a worthwhile effort and demonstrates the importance all actors should place on gender equality programming. Moser has analyzed all major donors' gender equality policies and found several key components that most share: a "dual strategy of mainstreaming gender equality issues into all policies, programmes and projects, combined with supporting targeted actions for gender equality; need for gender training; need for systems and tools for monitoring and evaluation; some form of gender analysis; combined approach on the issue of responsibility for gender mainstreaming" (2006, p. 580). With everyone largely speaking the same language and employing similar strategies, "now the most difficult problem is one of people pretending they agree" (Moser, 1993, p. 117). Although Moser wrote that over two decades ago, the challenges as yet unconquered would suggest that at least part of the constraint remains moving beyond rhetoric.

### **2.2.2. Internal receptiveness and resistance**

Often, institutional cultures and the individuals within them struggle to adapt to change. Integrating women into development and then gender equality into programming at CIDA required countering resistance, building receptiveness, and encouraging its acceptance as a key part of the Agency's work. As Moser & Moser argue, "program success on gender equality and organizational culture are intrinsically linked" (2005, p. 16). When the first evaluation of CIDA's work on women in development was evaluated in 1993, the evaluators found that 56 percent of staff in bilateral branches "did not regard gender as a serious constraint to development" (Alexander, 1995, p. 84). Despite CIDA's reputation for trumpeting the importance of women in development to other donors, in international fora, and to recipient countries, shockingly, it was

not “winning the battle for hearts and minds ... back home at headquarters” (Alexander, 1995, p. 86). Alexander attributes part of this to women in development being “undeniably political,” which provoked personal biases that may not have been elicited by other types of development (1995, p. 87). Thus, in the early days of women in development and gender equality programming, outright resistance would have been encountered within donor agencies.

Having largely countered that resistance by now, the next challenge is fostering receptiveness in both thought and action. As van Eerdewijk & Dubel argue, “ground floor commitment is ... important to prevent the evaporation of gender mainstreaming policies” (2012, p. 499). It is not so much that individuals might fundamentally object to the value of gender-sensitive policy and programming on the whole, it may instead be that they do not place a high value on it and therefore do not regard it as essential and high priority, amidst their other responsibilities. Hendriks notes that development officers and managers may see gender equality integration as “peripheral” or “trivial” (2005, p. 621). While it is unlikely now that someone would outright question the normative importance and the practical utility of integrating gender equality considerations into programming, they may employ limited or partial efforts to do so. The result is the same: gender equality is not properly addressed.

Likewise, gender advisors or specialists encounter opposition from development officers who accuse them of “wanting to make every project a gender project”, wrongly assuming that gender analysis only matters if women are the main beneficiaries of a specific initiative or suggesting that gender equality issues are insignificant compared to more “major” development issues (Hendriks, 2005, p. 622). Similarly, field staff may see instructions from headquarters as a top-down approach that does not respect the local context (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 16). These “ingrained institutional attitudes” continue to present a challenge to realizing successful gender equality results (Maneepong & Stiles, 2007 quoted in Tiessen, 2014, p. 199). Especially

concerning perhaps, is that CIDA, which had had a women in development policy since 1976, has struggled to mainstream gender and convince all its staff of the importance; one can only imagine that other organizations would have experienced even more resistance (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 584). While explicit resistance may have been stamped out now, the hidden reluctance or passive receptiveness may still hinder progress.

### **2.2.3. Senior management support**

A separate challenge, but deeply related to staff receptiveness, is securing strong senior management support for gender equalities policies and programming. When CIDA's 1984 Women in Development Policy Framework was launched, it was immediately recognized that support from the top levels of management would be essential to ensure the policy came to life (Alexander, 1995, p. 82). Despite this early recognition, CIDA has suffered from inconsistent senior management support (Derbyshire, 2012, p. 417; Tiessen, 2014, p. 199) that in turn influences how those below them in the hierarchy value gender equality's integration into programming. As with development officers, there is a difference between quiet resistance, passive receptiveness, and active support. Senior managers and decision-makers may be skeptical about gender mainstreaming (Parpart, 2014, p. 385), may not fully appreciate the importance of integrating gender equality considerations, and may not have any expertise or even basic understanding on the matter (Tiessen, 2014, p. 199, 203; Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 61). Usually the hierarchical structures of bureaucracies separate the gender specialists from senior management, such that information on gender equality, possible improvements and constraints, does not transfer upwards (Parpart, 2014, p. 385; Thiessen, 2002, p. 95). Even if senior management does indeed accept the validity of gender equality programming and makes commitments to implementing it, supportive statements do not results make (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 588). There is also a disconnect between rhetorical commitments and resource provision. Without the allocation of sufficient

human and financial resources, a verbal commitment does not have the actual results intended. As found in several evaluations, CIDA has certainly struggled with this (Tiessen, 2014, p. 199).

On the other hand, strong senior management support can be an enabler and catalyst towards real action and CIDA has benefited from this at various times. As Parpart notes, “a few gender-sensitive leaders can shake up complacent employees, raise uncomfortable questions and steer programmes in a more transformative direction” (2014, p. 391). Management creates the organizational culture that filters down to employees and influences greater support and work towards benefits for gender equality (Derbyshire, 2012, p. 418). There is also a role for middle management to play here, as they are the ones who most often oversee the translation of policy into practice (Tiessen & Carrier, 2015, p. 10). Key individuals in middle management can, and do, guide the work of their teams towards meaningful gender equality actions, but often without recognition from senior management. When senior management speaks, everyone listens, and if gender equality is not on their agendas, it gets pushed to the edge of everyone else’s desk as well.

#### **2.2.4. Unclear accountability among staff**

Even with a sound policy that staff embrace and that senior management actively supports, without clear accountability among those involved throughout the planning and life of a project, realizing and reporting on gender equality results is a challenge. Institutional accountability is essential and it is widely acknowledged that specific mechanisms beyond broad guidelines are needed (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 17). Staudt argues that accountability has two dimensions. First, accountability denotes an ability to demonstrate programming results, through monitoring or evaluation, which includes recognizing lessons learned and improvements for future programming (Staudt, 1998, p. 180). Donors’ focus on meeting disbursement targets and “moving money” has hindered the more meaningful work to establish accountability for programming that would promote and improve gender equality (Staudt, 1998, p. 180). If accountability is dispersed to all

staff, the pressure is more often on getting projects approved and money out the door, instead of on developing solid gender analyses, integrating them into the work of the project, and then following up with monitoring. At the same time, the second dimension of accountability involves tracking spending on women- or gender-specific projects and the gender equality components of broader projects (Staudt, 1998, p. 180). The 2008 evaluation found that CIDA could not provide an accurate measure of investments that benefited gender equality programming because “an unknown proportion of ... investments with significant gender equality-designated programming components are not explicitly or correctly captured through the coding system” (Bytown Consulting & C.A.C. International, 2008, p. 4). Ultimately, the Government of Canada is accountable to report to Canadians on funding to and results from international development assistance; however, breakdowns of funding to gender-specific or gender equality components within projects are not available in the public annual reporting.

Although CIDA recognized the need for accountability early, in its 1984 policy, it has not successfully created systems and measures to address it, and despite efforts, has failed to institutionalize genuine accountability (Alexander, 1995, p. 82; Jahan, 1995, p. 44; Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 61) even to the present time (Tiessen, 2014, p. 199). Approaches and strategies have differed and shifted over time, but have often cycled back to past ideas whose shortcomings were forgotten. Ideally, gender mainstreaming should “form part of the responsibility of all staff” (Derbyshire, 2012, p. 409). The assumption is that everyone will “take care of gender” (Tsikata & Kerr, 2000, p. 10 quoted in Hales, 2007, p. 159). However, as found in the 2008 evaluation, when gender mainstreaming is “everybody’s business”, it becomes “no one’s business” (Bytown Consulting & C.A.C. International, 2008, p. 6). Similarly, Moser & Moser have found that when gender mainstreaming is the responsibility of all staff, “gender issues can be diluted or disappear altogether, through non-committed decision makers” (2005, p. 15). When integrating gender issues

is part of everyone's work, but not accounted for or followed-up, it becomes more about ticking boxes (Hendriks, 2005, p. 623) and receives less concentrated and specialized attention because it is simply part of other day-to-day tasks (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 588-9).

Concerted attempts to establish individual or dedicated-units' accountability have not been overly successful. In the 1980s and early 1990s, CIDA used annual staff performance reviews to hold staff accountable for women in development programming, hoping that staff would dedicate time and effort if they were going to be evaluated on it (Jahan, 1995, p. 45). When the program was assessed later, it was found that using performance reviews did not work well because commitments were still too "vague and diffuse"; it was suggested it would be more effective to hold only key managers, such as the country program chiefs of operations, directors and vice presidents, accountable for results on women in development and gender equality (Jahan, 1995, p. 45). Despite this recommendation, the 1999 policy maintained broad accountability that assumed with staff training everyone would successfully mainstream gender equality (Staudt, 2003, p. 49). Instead, often successful gender mainstreaming and advocacy for the inclusion of women and gender equality is dependent on key individuals with initiative and commitment (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 16; Alexander, 1995, p. 82; Derbyshire, 2012, p. 417). Incentives for positive behaviour and sanctions for lacking behaviour might also drive staff towards accountability (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 17), but Canada's current gender equality strategy makes no mention of these.

#### **2.2.5. Gender equality-lead unit's status and resources or the absence of a dedicated unit**

The status of the gender equality unit within Canada's development apparatus, whether part of policy branch or situated within programming branches, the resources available to it, the influence it holds, and whether it is staffed with sufficient human resources have been key challenges in realizing gender equality results. CIDA's women in development, and then gender equality units, have undergone various relocations and reincarnations. The unit has been situated

in policy branch with a strategic and leadership role and access to senior management and it has been part of social development programming branches where the gender equality mandate blended with other work and dimmed the spotlight on it (Alexander, 1995, p. 82-4; Hendriks, 2005, p. 621). There is a risk, however, that compartmentalizing gender equality issues into one unit, separate from the rest of the agency, can marginalize and devalue their activities, externalizing gender equality to something that is only used in policies on the outside, but not taken seriously within (Ferguson, 2014, p. 7).

Although it has been recognized that a separate core staff is ideal for policy development, advocacy and catalytic work, if they are not well-resourced and staffed, their impact is minimal (Jahan, 1995, p. 80). As Staudt notes, “gender equality outcomes cannot occur in sideline, peripheral units” (2003, p. 41). Even with sufficient resources and staff, it is a challenging role to engage widely and build relationships with project staff, reduce marginalization or exclusion of the gender unit, develop influence on programming, and share experiences and best practices (Derbyshire, 2012, p. 417; Hendriks, 2005, p. 629; Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 61; Parpart, 2014, p. 385). Often gender equality units are given low organizational status and staff have limited decision-making authority and influence, which means that establishing working relationships where their colleagues rely on them for sound work and informal consultation is key (Thiessen, 2002, p. 91; Thiessen, 2005, p. 711; Hendriks, 2005, p. 621). Multiple evaluations of CIDA’s women in development and gender equality programming have found that the respective units were under-resourced. One evaluation noted that unit staff were occupied day to day with requests from project officers, such that they had limited time for research, policy, and strategy development. With too few staff, the unit was unable to be both a resource and policy shop (Jahan, 1995, p. 40). DFATD’s currently public organizational chart, which goes down to the director-general level, does not make any mention of an unit dedicated to gender equality (Canadian

Association of Development Professionals, 2013); if such a unit exists, it would at best be headed by a director and thus wield less influence than were it managed at a higher level.

#### **2.2.6. Limited staff capacity**

If all staff are responsible for the inclusion of gender equality considerations in programming, and have limited support from over-stretched gender units, it is essential for staff to be well-trained and have strong capacities themselves. However, this has not been the case. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, official CIDA policy required all staff to take gender mainstreaming training, but later evaluations found that the supposedly mandatory training had resulted in only about half of the staff actually attending (Staudt, 1998, p. 201). High staff-turnover has meant that many staff have never received gender training (Moser & Moser, 2007, p. 17). Even still, merely attending a session on gender does not mean that staff fully internalize the material or learn practical ways to incorporate largely theoretical concepts into their daily work (Staudt, 2003, p. 86; Tiessen, 2005, p. 712). It takes time to break down biases, build understanding about basic concepts, such as how gender and sex differ and how gendered human relations affect development, show staff how gender analyses and mainstreaming would benefit their work, cultivate analytical thinking, and then provide useful technical tools and practices (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 17; Parpart, 2014, p. 391). A review by several CIDA gender specialists found that “there was a lack of clarity for staff and partners on how to support gender equality and insufficient attention paid to measuring the actual gender equality results” (Bazinet, Sequeira & Delahanty, 2006, p. 105). To be most effective, training should be more than simply a one-off occurrence and instead happen on an on-going basis with tailoring to practical, operational programming needs relevant to individuals’ work and skill-levels (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 17; Alexander, 1995, p. 86). While everyone would benefit from introductory training, graduated training to more advanced levels would develop the capacity of key staff who could then

contribute to playing a catalytic role. Indeed, ensuring adequate training among bureaucrats is key for successful mainstreaming (Hankivsky, 2005, p. 982), and its shortcomings have held back Canada's gender equality programming.

### **2.2.7. Availability of expertise and the use of gender focal points**

With limits and challenges to capacity building for staff to integrate and implement gender analyses and gender equality promoting programming, CIDA, and more recently DFATD, has tried to mitigate with outside expertise and designated individuals within teams as gender focal points. This has come with its own challenges and, therefore, not had the desired impacts. Gender expertise is generally undervalued (Ferguson, 2014, p. 9), and because gender is often seen as an “extra” in projects, and therefore non-essential, it is difficult to justify the added expense of bringing in substantive and sustained gender expertise. Even with policies and senior management commitments, the redistribution or addition of resources rarely occurs to support these promises (Ferguson, 2014, p. 9; Thiessen, 2002, p. 85; Staudt, 2003, p. 62; Derbyshire, 2012, p. 415). In cases where resources are allocated to hire a gender advisor or specialist, their influence as an outsider consultant is more incomplete than were they an integral member of the team and their access to decision-makers is restricted (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 17; Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 66). It takes time to build relationships, develop influence, and expend it to advance gender equality objectives. As outsiders with narrow mandates and shorter timeframes of involvement, gender expert consultants may have limited impact.

To respond to the limitations around bringing in outside expertise, gender focal points may be designated within program teams and projects to oversee all gender-related aspects (Tiessen, 2005, p. 709). Due to lack of resources, new positions are rarely created and instead individuals are chosen from existing staff to provide often voluntary services (Tiessen, 2005, p. 710). It is usually female staff who are given the task because gender issues are seen as “women’s work”

(Tiessen, 2005, p. 710). Focal points are frequently junior staff with little impact on decision-making and minimal access to senior management; thus, they and their work are marginalized (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 17; Tiessen, 2005, p. 710; Jahan, 1995, p. 41). Despite best intentions, because they have other tasks in addition to their gender responsibilities, gender issues often fall to the side amid more pressing priorities or focal points do not have the time required to dedicate sufficient effort to gender equality (Tiessen, 2005, p. 710; Tiessen, 2014, p. 199).

#### **2.2.8. Conflation of women and gender**

Without strong internal capacity among staff and the substantial support of experts, women and gender are conflated, posing an immense challenge to realizing meaningful results. All too often, “‘gender’ becomes a synonym for ‘women’, rather than a shorthand for gender differences and conflict and the project of transformation in gender relations” (Baden & Goetz, 1997, p. 3) and the distinction between the terms becomes clouded (Hales, 2007, p. 152; Parpart, 2014, p. 389; Rathgeber, 2005, p. 580). In the shift from women in development to gender and development, many institutions simply replaced the word “women” with “gender” without making the corresponding shift to analyzing relations (Staudt, 2003, p. 49). Likewise, when transferred from the theoretical policy level to that of practice and implementation, the relational elements of gender inequalities are lost and “doing gender” becomes “helping women [and girls]” (Ferguson, 2010, p. 5). In doing so, the social, economic, and political roles and relations of men and women are ignored and men are often left out altogether (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 589).

Even with an approach to highlight the differences between men and women, “donor agencies usually reduce the concept of ‘women’ to a generalized norm that conforms to the specific gender mainstreaming needs” (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 590). This means that women are treated as a homogenous group, when there are diversities and other inequalities that differentiate the experiences of women; intersectionality is neglected. The idea of intersectionality or

cumulative inequalities reflects the fact that inequalities come from multiple sources. For example, in the bicycle anecdote, there is an intersection of the inequalities of both gender and poverty; the problem of girls being under-enrolled in school cannot simply be solved by giving bikes to the girls because the boys are poor too. The different factors and their impacts on inequalities need to be considered, recognizing that women have varied experiences. It is also often assumed that the simple presence of women, as beneficiaries, staff, or members of an organization, means that gender equality results have been achieved; needless to say, this is not an indicator of the substantive removal of inequalities (Rathgeber, 2005, p. 585). Just as men can be strong advocates for gender equality, women can be resistant, or unable to influence, advances in gender equality. Therefore, without moving beyond the use of gender as a synonym for women, institutions struggle to achieve real results.

### **2.2.9. Changing priorities and cross-pressures**

Although it has been a challenge to de-conflate women and gender, both have remained on the development agenda for decades, while other priorities fluctuate, going in and out of style. This makes women and gender an anomaly for “refusing to disappear” (Moser, 1993, p. 1), but also means that it must contend with other changing priorities. At the individual level, staff face competing pressures for their time and thus consider gender an “add-on” rather than core to their work (Derbyshire, 2012, p. 415). At an institutional level, amid shifting policies, re-alignments to new sectors of focus, and so-called “flavours of the month” based on political or international pressures, not only do gender implications need to be re-assessed and re-analyzed to fit into these changes, but there is a risk that gender will be inadvertently dropped or ignored as staff address new priorities (Black & Tiessen, 2007; Rathgeber, 2005; Thiessen, 2002; van Eerdewijk & Dubel, 2012). Black & Tiessen argue that “frequent shifts in priority seem to indicate a lack of analytical confidence on CIDA’s part and to be, on the whole, inadvisable for maximizing effectiveness”

(2007, p. 194). As focus re-calibrates to new objectives, gender equality is a secondary consideration, never primary, and often “easily ignored or sidelined” (Tiessen, 2005, p. 712).

With uncertainty and a lack of clarity on programming directions, staff must focus on re-aligning existing and planned programming to changing priorities, which leaves less time to consider the gender implications. Given the previously discussed limitations related to resources for expertise and staff capacity, changing priorities exacerbate an already challenging situation. As Rathgeber writes, “there is little doubt that the wholesale adoption of gender mainstreaming has been impeded by the fact that most development agencies are also under pressure to integrate other important development issues” (2005, p. 585). In CIDA’s case, these pressures come from elsewhere in the bureaucracy and from the political masters on Parliament Hill, preventing it from sustaining a stable mission (Black & Tiessen, 2007, p. 192, 200). As objectives change, “the lack of re-prioritization of gender over competing objectives” creates a void and continually undermines past progress towards gender equality in any given certain sector (van Eerdewijk & Dubel, 2012, p. 499). The effect, then, is substantial. Although effects reach down to the individual staff working under these cross-pressures, the impact is also institutional as gender equality considerations are not quite able to take hold amid ongoing changes to priorities and focuses.

#### **2.2.10. Foreign policy discourse, coherence, and drivers**

Some of these cross-pressures and changing priorities can be attributed to foreign policy discourse, coherence, and objectives. For more than three decades, through participation in the World Conferences and in other multilateral fora, “Canada has prided itself on the leadership role it has shown in moving forward the agenda for gender mainstreaming in international policy and practice” (Turenne Sjolander, 2005, p. 19) and promoted itself as “one of the pioneers of gender equality policy” internationally (Tiessen & Carrier, 2015, p. 2). Although development programming has its own policy directions, and until the recent amalgamation of CIDA and

DFAIT was situated separately from the foreign policy apparatus, development assistance is seen as a softer arm of foreign policy (Keeble & Smith, 2001, p. 132). As such, development policy is directly influenced by, and subject to, foreign policy considerations and directives. However, just as is the case with development objectives, despite the “rhetorically robust” foreign policy commitment (Turenne Sjolander, 2005, p. 20), results are not clearly achieved and it “is not always clear whether the government is interested in women’s equality or gender equality” (Keeble & Smith, 2001, p. 136). Likewise, there is a difference between the “promotion of gender equality” and the “achievement of gender equality” (Keeble & Smith, 2001, p. 130), the former of which Canadian foreign policy has excelled at, while lagging on the latter.

Some argue that the challenge of moving from foreign policy attention to meaningful action is due in part to a lack of women in the upper tiers of the foreign service (Turenne Sjolander, 2005; Keeble & Smith; 2001). For example, Turenne Sjolander notes that Canadian foreign policy making “continues to be – at least in part – an activity dominated by senior (white) men, with an occasional woman thrown into the mix” (2005, p. 20). Canada has only had two female foreign ministers, both of whom were in that role for a relatively short period of time; Flora MacDonald served for one year under Prime Minister Joe Clark and Barbara McDougall served for two years in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney’s cabinet (DFATD, 2015). A woman has never been the deputy minister of foreign affairs, the top-ranking public servant of the Department (DFATD, 2015). It would be essentialist and incorrect to argue that the limited presence of women at the top levels of Canadian foreign policy is a major reason for the shortcomings of transforming rhetoric into actions. Men, as well as women, can be strong advocates for gender equality, and despite six of CIDA’s ten ministers having been women, CIDA has itself struggled to realize meaningful gender equality results. However, as Keeble and Smith assert, “the fact that few women have been at the top echelons of Canadian foreign policy is symptomatic of a general

institutional and governmental tendency to treat women and gender in a superficial and rhetorical manner” (2001, p. 131). While it is not within this paper’s scope to examine the challenges that women face within the foreign service and in advancing upwards, it is worth reflecting that their relative absence at the top may have implications for the level of awareness and strength of commitment to gender equality in foreign policy. As previously discussed, senior management support is essential for the issue to remain on the agenda and receive attention.

Others suggest that a recent discursive shift from gender equality to “equality between women and men” has effectively erased gender considerations from Canadian foreign policy, instead returning to an approach that simply looks at women and girls as passive recipients of so-called life-saving assistance (Carrier & Tiessen, 2013; Tiessen, 2014; Tiessen & Carrier, 2015). Tiessen & Carrier argue that in 2009, gender equality was edited out of official Canadian foreign policy and replaced with “equality between women and men” (2015, p. 1). While the adjustment may simply be an attempt to put government policy into plain language for more easily communicable talking points, Tiessen & Carrier suggest that this change intentionally removed the focus from equality not only in treatment, but also in outcomes (2015, p. 2). Whereas gender equality recognizes that when men and women have the same opportunities, it does not always produce equal results given the relational elements inherent in social, political, and economic constructs, the new “equality between men and women” is concerned simply with providing both sexes with the same rights and resources (Tiessen & Carrier, 2015, p. 2). It should, however, be noted that the gender equality policy has remained unchanged, suggesting that while the public communications strategy varies, the policy stands.

At the same time, the public discourse on women and girls has remained prominent, but in a way that casts them as objects receiving charity instead of agents of their own destiny within relational constructs and power dynamics that must be challenged in order to promote gender

equality (Tiessen, 2014, p. 54; Tiessen & Carrier, 2015, p. 13). For example, former Minister of Foreign Affairs John Baird made a public commitment in 2013 for Canada's support to ending early and forced child marriage, but there was no mention of the role that men and conceptions of masculinity play in sexual and gender-based violence and early and forced marriage (Tiessen, 2014, p. 55). Without examining the gendered dynamics and implications in programming intended to prevent early and forced child marriage, it seems unlikely that progress will be made. As Carrier & Tiessen write, "an approach focused on 'equality between men and women' has different entry points and objectives than an approach on 'gender equality'" (2015, p. 13). With the language shifted to "equality between women and men" the emphasis becomes on the physical presence of women beneficiaries, there to be counted, as opposed to the more difficult to measure changes in perceptions, attitudes, and relations that gender equality promotes (Tiessen & Carrier, 2015, p. 13). As the women in development approach demonstrated, simply including and counting women is not nearly enough to bring about meaningful change.

Another illustrative example of this shift from gender equality to "equality between women and men" is Canada's flagship programming on maternal, newborn, and child health (MNCH), often called the Muskoka Initiative. Announced by Prime Minister Stephen Harper in 2010 at the Canadian-hosted G8 summit in the Muskokas, the initiative was intended to spark action on the fifth MDG to improve maternal health. Initially, it was applauded by domestic, international, and multilateral organizations because progress towards that MDG had been slow and the injection of Canadian funding was promising (Carrier & Tiessen, 2013, p. 185). However, the plan soon came under scrutiny for its lack of gender equality considerations and ambiguity over whether family planning and abortions would be covered under the initiative (Carrier & Tiessen, 2013, p. 186). Under MNCH programming, projects focus mostly on healthcare service delivery to women and girls, which is essential, but does not address the gendered barriers and underlying challenges that

women face and that perpetuate health risks in pregnancy, delivery, and in the postnatal period (Tiessen, 2014, p. 55; Tiessen & Carrier, 2015, p. 13; Carrier & Tiessen, 2013, p. 188). Simply put, the “Muskoka Initiative fails to acknowledge that poor maternal health is a symptom of broader societal, cultural, and gender issues” (Carrier & Tiessen, 2013, p. 194).

By treating women as mothers and vulnerable individuals in need of saving, they are not seen as active participants who would benefit from empowerment and control over their own development with the broader dynamics of gender relations and societal norms (Tiessen, 2014, p. 56; Carrier & Tiessen, 2013, p. 187). At face value, this returns Canadian foreign policy to a women in development approach that seems destined to encounter the same shortcomings it did before. These high profile commitments may have been simplified for easy communication to the public, while at a more granular and operational level, they continue to address broader gender equality. All the same, Canada is seen to proclaim that it is supporting the advancement of women, when in fact, it would be more accurate to suggest, as Swiss does that “gender is only a priority in Canadian aid programs when it serves some greater purpose or Canadian interest, ... or making a splash at an international summit around the issue of maternal health” (2012, p. 153 quoted in Tiessen & Carrier, 2015, p. 5). While it cannot be denied that Canada’s MNCH funding makes a difference in the lives of women and children, it is not necessarily promoting gender equality. These specific high-profile examples demonstrate the challenge development faces when having to respond to foreign policy directives.

#### **2.2.11. Translating theory into practice and the risk of “policy evaporation”**

Taken together, all of these challenges illustrate the broader and overarching task of translating theory into practice and overcoming the risk that so-called “policy evaporation” poses to commitments and intentions. Several academics point to the need for better coordination and cooperation between the theoretical research and the applied practice. For example, Baden &

Goetz suggest that there should be more “pragmatic and applied dialogue between researchers and practitioners to ensure that concepts developed for activist arenas are not developed in the isolation of theory” (1997, p. 10). Likewise, Ferguson points out that “despite the richness of feminist literature on gender and development, what is missing is research which aims to explore explicitly the links between different levels of policy-making and practice” (2010, p. 5). Despite a series of analytical tools, policies do not always translate into practical solutions and fall short of systematically translating commitments into methodologies and processes (Rao, 1991, p. 6; Tiessen, 2005, p. 705; Parpart, 2014, p. 384; Moser, 2006, p. 581). As Moser & Moser point out, in implementation, “most efforts are considered inconsistent, and generally involve only a few activities, rather than a coherent and integrated process” (2005, p. 15).

Likewise, treating gender equality as Canada does, as a cross-cutting theme through all development work, does not guarantee that it will be addressed in practice, but instead may be a “blanket commitment” that evaporates before it trickles down to implementation (Thiessen, 2002, p. 96). Translating theory into practice is explored in detail in section three, but it is important to note here that this challenge has its roots in institutional processes, along with the challenges previously discussed. Ultimately, as Parpart notes, the link between policy and implementation must be rethought if gender equality is to be both promoted and achieved (2014, p. 382).

### **2.3. Critiques and limitations of gender mainstreaming**

A discussion of the procedural and institutional challenges for gender equality programming in international development would be incomplete without mention of the debate on gender mainstreaming as a whole. The critiques generally fall on a continuum from those who say gender mainstreaming has failed and diverged from its feminist roots, to those who note successes and failures but still see the potential for its use, to others who say it has delivered irrefutable gains (Sandler & Rao, 2012, p. 549). The limitations fall into several large categories: the impact of

gender mainstreaming has been uneven due to a variety of factors including different understandings, gender mainstreaming has been co-opted and used for instrumental purposes instead of as an end in itself, and it has not gone far enough and instead hidden inaction under a guise of pretending to do gender mainstreaming. It is agreed, however, that there is much debate within the international development community on whether, after several decades and its mixed results, gender mainstreaming is still an effective strategy to advance gender equality (Bazinnet, Sequeira & Delahanty, 2006, p. 104; Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 19; Moser, 2006, p. 576; Rathgeber & Vainio-Mattila, 2005, p. 569).

The harshest criticism comes from those who argue that gender mainstreaming has failed because it has deviated from its feminist underpinnings and instead been co-opted and instrumentalized. Prügl asserts that feminists warn that “gender mainstreaming silences questions of power and domination” (2009, 175). Likewise, Hankivsky writes that feminists remain concerned that “the essence of gender mainstreaming gets lost in translation” when state institutions attempt to employ it (2005, p. 984). For their part, Baden & Goetz argue that bureaucracies, and their desire for the technical, strip away the political advocacy of women’s interests and true gender equality objectives and instead reduce them to a series of needs and gaps that can be filled with more bureaucratic processes, lacking direction towards the real goals (1997, p. 7). Rather than being transformative – by bringing about fundamental changes to gender relations – critics argue that gender mainstreaming has blended into its political and institutional contexts and lost its power (Ferguson, 2014, p. 2; Prügl, 2009, p. 190), something Lawrence described as being “integrated into invisibility” when there are not explicit gender policies (1998, p. 13 quoted in Hales, 2007, p. 159). Technical solutions, such as appointing a gender focal point or running training sessions, have been used instead of steps to transform relational gendered power dynamics (Tiessen, 2005, p. 706). Similarly, the gender mainstreaming approach to sex-

disaggregated data and gender impact assessments is seen by some as reductionist and relying too heavily on distinctions between men and women as binary one-dimensional categories, instead of on the relations between them (Hankivsky, 2005, p. 986). This increasingly technical data and measurement also raises concerns that the relational aspects of gender, and the value of feminist research, will be lost (Baden & Goetz, 1997, p. 7).

Part of this push towards technicality and data is related to the instrumentalization of gender equality – “that is, the positioning of gender equality predominantly as a goal for achieving other ends” (Ferguson, 2014, p. 10), and usually neoliberal, economic ones. In the international development community, the World Bank is the actor most significantly responsible for making the “business case” for including women in development mainly as a means to achieve increased economic efficiency and productivity (Hales, 2007, p. 150). The danger though, as Sohal notes, is a “tendency for feminist goals to be subsumed under broader development goals” (2005, p. 668). Aside from the worries that this instrumental use of gender mainstreaming compromises its feminist roots, Ferguson suggests it “represents a backsliding” from gender and development to the previous integrationist approach of simply adding women (2014, p. 11). The gendered relations and norms are lost when women are treated as merely economic producers, without regard for the social, political, and economic contexts in which they exist. At the same time, some, such as Sohal, argue that affixing gender equality aims to economic ends is a means to reduce resistance and package gender objectives in a way that is less threatening and therefore more likely to be included and resourced (2005, p. 670).

The middle ground between harsh criticism and touting success, are those who suggest gender mainstreaming has been misunderstood, unevenly applied, and under-resourced, preventing the realization of its true potential. These are criticisms of implementation, not of gender mainstreaming’s fundamentals. For example, Rathgeber & Vainio-Mattila argue that poor

understanding of what gender mainstreaming means has led to multiple interpretations and misrepresentations that allow organizations to pretend they are committed to gender equality, without producing results (2005, p. 569). This makes it appear as though gender mainstreaming has been unsuccessful, when really it has been improperly or incompletely used. Likewise, it has been unevenly applied across a diverse range of settings. As Derbyshire writes, “in practice, gender mainstreaming has developed in different directions in different contexts, on the basis of very different conceptualizations, and with different levels of resourcing (2012, p. 406). Unsurprisingly, this produces varied results, some more successful than others. Given this diversity, it seems premature to say gender mainstreaming has failed.

Similarly, there are those who argue that the chronic lack of resources for gender mainstreaming has been the major hindrance. Parpart notes that despite policy commitments, internal support and operational goals for gender mainstreaming are scaled down (2014, p. 387). “Gender fatigue” has set in among donors and governments such that gender mainstreaming is talked about, but the follow-through actions are not done (Smyth, 2007, p. 586). Smyth argues that, paradoxically, the focus on gender mainstreaming has in fact led to a decline in funding for projects that predominantly benefit women and women’s groups because all projects are now supposed to mainstream gender considerations throughout (2007, p. 586). When gender equality is considered a cross-cutting theme, as it is for Canadian development assistance, it appears that all programming has gender implications. However, as one digs deeper into publically available projects results reporting, gender equality is rarely mentioned and the simple best practice of providing sex-disaggregated data is largely absent. Still, this is the result of incomplete gender mainstreaming, and not an indication that the policy has failed. As Moser & Moser write, “ultimately, gender mainstreaming is a process rather than a goal” (2005, p. 15) and it must traverse a fine line between the aspirational and the possible (Sohal, 2005, p. 671).

### **3. Programming for gender equality results throughout the project life cycle**

While the previously discussed procedural and institutional challenges partly explain the limited success of gender equality programming in Canada's international development efforts, it is equally important to explore the manifestation of these challenges on results throughout the project life cycle. From project conception and planning to implementation to monitoring and finally to evaluation, the institutional and procedural challenges described earlier have an impact on the actual work of development. The importance of integrating gender mainstreaming at each step of the project process has been broadly recognized (Hankivsky, 2005, p. 982; Moser, 2006, p. 585), but recognition alone does not ensure action and success. Taken together with the institutional and procedural challenges, the shortcomings at each stage of a development project illustrate why gender equality programming has not always achieved the desired results. The following section describes challenges at each step in the project life cycle and then explores some of the unique challenges for programming in fragile, conflict-affected, and humanitarian situations.

#### **3.1. Conception and planning: initial gender analysis**

In the conception and planning phase of a development project, the problem to be addressed is identified and a theory of change is developed; without the integration of gender equality at this initial stage, it will be an even greater challenge to achieve gender equality results throughout the project. According to Moser, work on gender equality at the first stage "determines from the outset the project's orientation" (1993, p. 159). Therefore, it is essential to conduct a solid gender analysis at the early stages. As Hankivsky writes, "from inception, all policies should be analyzed for their gendered impact so that they can benefit men and women equally" (2005, p. 976). Although this is widely recognized as best practice, donors, including Canada, have struggled to ensure this happens for all projects. Successive internal CIDA reports noted that

gender issues were often considered too late and gender expertise was not tapped early enough (Jahan, 1995, p. 61). Several other major challenges in the planning phase are explored below.

First, the identification of the development problem, or gap to be filled, and the accompanying analysis of the means to bring about the desired change often at best give lip service to gender implications and at worst ignore them entirely. In many cases, “women or gender is simply grafted onto existing planning traditions, without fundamental changes to the conceptual rationale of the planning condition concerned” (Moser, 1993, p. 86). This “just add women” approach does not address the underlying relational political, social, and economic dynamics that should be considered when designing a development intervention. As Moser comically points out, “the most blatant example of this practice occurs when existing project documents add the phrase ‘and women’ in a different type face” (1993, p. 159). If projects are to achieve transformative changes, even in cases where gender is not a prime objective, the differing impacts the project will have on women and men, girls and boys, needs to be fully considered (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 60). Shifting the focus from merely counting women, to including them in the participatory conception of the project is one way to ensure that their voices are heard (Powell, 2005, p. 614). Identifying women as a target group, integrating gender equality specifically and overtly into project objectives and design are a first step to set a project up to achieve gender equality results (Moser, 1993, p. 159; Overholt, Cloud, Anderson & Austin, 1991, p. 15).

Second, part of the challenge for Canadian development may come from the project selection modalities available and the level of engagement possible with the partner before project approval. Projects from implementing organizations are usually submitted through one of four tracks: a request for proposals, a call for proposals, DFATD-initiated, or an unsolicited proposal. Under a request for proposals, DFATD lays out a very detailed plan down to the output level of the project they would like to fund to achieve a certain objective; organizations submit proposals

and one is selected to implement. With this modality, it is up to DFATD to ensure that gender is sufficiently integrated throughout to ensure that the selected partner will implement accordingly, however, depending on the evaluation grid for proposals, gender capacity of the partner may be given less weight than other components, which relates back to a previous point about competing pressures. Under a call for proposals, DFATD outlines the overall objectives it would like to achieve, but leaves how it would be implemented up to potential partners to describe in their proposals. Multiple partners can be chosen in response to a call for proposals, but again, it may not necessarily be the case that their proposals or their organizational capacities have been evaluated based on their gender equality credentials. Under a DFATD-initiated project, DFATD selects a partner with a certain value-added and specific capacity to carry out a project for which they are the best fit. Theoretically, gender mainstreaming capacity could be a component that makes a partner an asset, but it is more likely that the partner is selected because they have a special expertise in a sector or a specific geographic focus. Through this modality DFATD invites the partner to provide a proposal and at this point could, if desired, make clear that gender equality integration would be important. Finally, under an unsolicited proposal, an organization submits a full proposal, one section of which includes a space to outline gender equality. Having received the proposal, DFATD assesses it and then informs the partner whether the project has been approved or rejected. Again, under this modality, the partner's gender capacity may not be the most important aspect assessed.

According to the available assessment guidelines, gender equality is one of the nine assessment criteria; DFATD staff determine whether “the listing of gender issues is complete and practical” and whether “measures identified by the applicant that will contribute to one or more of the three objectives of the Policy on Gender Equality are clear and logical” (DFATD, 2015).

Given restrictions on communications until a project is approved, there is little opportunity to engage with organizations to ask questions about gender capacity or for DFATD to push for more gender integration. This can result in projects because approved that have not sufficiently thought through gender implications, but that have responded to other development needs and thus been approved. As Eerdewijk & Dubel point out, there is a risk that as donors make decisions on project proposals, they are “primarily driven by the overall objectives of the proposed program, and the outcomes of gender scans, regarding the capacity and commitment to gender equality issues, do not take priority over these” (2012, p. 498). Whether or not gender specialists are included in project assessment teams also makes a difference, as they can advocate for proposals that meaningfully include gender and argue against those that do not (Moser, 1993, p. 164). While it is possible to conduct gender analyses and add implications into projects after they have been designed and approved, it is preferable to start with strong gender equality considerations at the initial stages to ensure that implementers know the value placed on gender and ideally carry it through the whole project cycle.

### **3.2. Implementation: following through on gender equality commitments**

After a project is approved, the work of implementation begins. As Moser states, “at this stage it is important to ensure that gender objectives are carried out in practice” (1993, p. 166). If gender is mainstreamed through a project that otherwise focuses on a different development sector, it is here that Porter and Sweetman warn that “policy evaporation” can occur (2005 quoted in Ferguson, 2010, p. 5). Amid the other issues involved in project management, the commitments made to gender equality, which may have been half-hearted to begin with, can fall by the wayside. Without “appropriate methodologies” and “unambiguous policy directives” it becomes difficult to move beyond “symbolic policy” to results through implementation (Moser, 1993, p. 139, 149). DFATD’s Gender Equality Policy has a brief section on good practices to promote gender equality

during implementation, but the suggestions are vague. For example, it says the gender equality specialists should be part of project teams, external buy-in should be sought from women's organizations and key decision makers, the objective of gender equality should not be lost in rhetoric or processes, approaches should remain flexible, and women should be broadly involved in implementation (CIDA, 2010, p. 10). It is concerning, and indicative, that the good practices for other stages in the project life cycle are more substantive and detailed than those suggested for implementation, despite the great importance of that phase. Implementation tactics would vary from project to project, but practitioners suffer from a lack of "easy to use practical tools by which gender can be systematically incorporated in the ... implementation process" (Warren, 2005, p. 188 quoted in Ferguson, 2010, p. 5). This lack of clarity "endangers implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies" (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 61) and means that despite the rhetoric around gender equality and empowerment, these aims are lost in the implementation phase (Parpart, 2014, p. 383; Moser, 1993, p. 138).

Certain tactics are sometimes used by implementing partners to pass off project activities or results that might appear to involve women and redress gender inequalities, but are in fact window dressing. First, sex-disaggregated data, while considered useful, is not an indicator in and of itself that inequalities have been reduced because it does not always speak to the gendered power structures that might exist within the context (Hendriks, 2005, p. 622). For example, if a microloan project reports that half of its beneficiaries are female that does not demonstrate anything about whether women are able to make decisions about their investments or are empowered within their families and communities. Second, the presence of women is sometimes taken to be an indicator that gender equality is being addressed, without consideration as to whether their voices are heard or the work they are doing is comparably valued to that of men. Likewise, equitable hiring "does not constitute a successful gender mainstreaming process"

(Hendriks, 2005, p. 622). As Moser & Moser write, “requiring that women are represented or consulted is necessary but not sufficient”; the strength of their voice, whether they are representative of other women, and whether their presence simply legitimizes men’s decisions must all be considered (2005, p. 19). Third, a gender training session as part of the implementation of a project is not the same as achieving progress towards gender equality. When gender is tacked on in the planning phase as an afterthought, the implementation phase often includes a workshop or training session that is touted as the project’s gender activities. While this is certainly a step in the right direction, single training sessions cannot be expected to undo deeply rooted political, economic, and social gender inequalities (Staudt, 1995, p. 49). If these trainings are not taken seriously, or are primarily attended by women, their impact is minimal. Yet such trainings are often considered the major gender component of projects for which gender was supposed to have been mainstreamed throughout. If attention is not given by both the implementing partner and the donor agency throughout the implementation process, these incomplete and weak activities may be counted as sufficient gender equality programming, when they hardly address deeper inequalities.

### **3.3. Monitoring: checking up on commitments and adjusting accordingly**

A key element of implementation is project and results monitoring, conducted by both the implementing partner and the donor agency, to follow up on commitments and make adjustments accordingly. Importantly, with sound monitoring, projects that are underperforming on their gender equality elements can hopefully be corrected while there is still time for meaningful action. Regular monitoring and evidence collection supports the sound management of projects; as Prime Minister Harper said regarding the importance of data for the Muskoka Initiative, “we cannot manage what we cannot measure.” Ideally, projects should conduct ongoing monitoring that includes women’s participation and sex-disaggregated data for all indicators (Moser, 1993, p. 168). While the value of monitoring and gathering good data is generally recognized, there are still

challenges within monitoring and results measurement for gender equality components. In fact, Moser & Moser argue that among donors, 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” (2005, p. 18).

One challenge is simply that organizations neglect to monitor and collect data on gender mainstreaming. If gender-sensitive and disaggregated indicators have not been included in project performance measurement frameworks, they can easily be forgotten amid the broader project data indicators; this reiterates why the consideration of gender in the planning phase is so important. As Powell notes, “if results are not explicit, there will be tendency for gender equality and women’s rights to be marginalized and to remain unaddressed” (2005, p. 615). Given the pressure for development organizations and implementing partners to demonstrate concrete results, effort may go into other key indicators that speak to the project’s broader aims, without specific reference to gender equality objectives. Despite decades of sex-disaggregated data being recognized as a best practice for reporting, it is too often still a challenge to get that data (Staudt, 2003, p. 41; Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 61; Haider, 1995, p. 64). As Baruah eloquently asserts, “without data, there is no visibility; without visibility, there is no policy priority” (2011, p. 432). A first step in understanding and tracking how development interventions impact men and women differently would be the systematic collection of sex-disaggregated data (Baruah, 2011, p. 432). Through monitoring, staff from the donor agency can remind implementing partners of their responsibility to report on gender equality results and can conduct field visits with beneficiaries to judge the progress of implementation and the integration of gender equality considerations. For example, a field visit to a project that aims to build the capacity of agricultural co-operatives and empower female producers would quickly demonstrate minimal women’s empowerment if the only beneficiaries speaking up were the men, who claimed to also speak for the women. Although this

is a simplistic example, monitoring through data collection and on the ground visits provides opportunities to check up on progress towards implementation to ensure it is not being neglected.

Another challenge is how to properly measure social and attitudinal changes in monitoring and results data collection. Often indicators measure outputs, such as the number or proportion of female beneficiaries in various activities, instead of the larger outcomes and less tangible shifts they should be measuring. The type of intangible change that gender equality requires is not easily measured (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 61) and “measurement systems need to be developed that can capture the full range of gender equality outcomes” (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 63). It is, however, possible and necessary. There is a growing literature on gender-sensitive indicators that can be used to explain and measure gender inequalities that may not be captured by traditional indicators, but there are still challenges (Espinosa, 2013, p. 177). With the logic models of current development projects, it is assumed that change flows linearly, but this may run counter to the deeper societal and transformative change that gender equality programming attempts to achieve (van Eerdewijk & Dubel, 2012, p. 497). Qualitative data generated from surveys, focus groups, and interviews may be best placed to indicate changes in attitudes and feelings of empowerment, but organizations usually prefer quantitative data that may be less costly to collect, but does not reflect the institutional changes required for gender equality advancement (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 64). Requiring both qualitative and quantitative indicators to successfully measure gender equality adds to the complexity (Espinosa, 2013, p. 180).

It may be, however, that these sorts of arguments about the challenges of collecting gender equality data mask resistance. If reasonable efforts and resources were applied, implementing organizations could not continue to use these excuses to explain why they cannot demonstrate progress towards gender equality. If donor organizations are willing to accept these excuses, and sometimes use them themselves, the lessons of the past on the importance of having measurable

baselines and targets will be lost. Depending on whether the donor provides a grant or a contribution agreement, they have different levers to push implementing organizations towards sound reporting. Under a grant, donors have little control over the partner and are less able to influence the partner, whereas through contributions, a donor can tie releases of funds to certain details in reports. Monitoring is only as strong as the donors and implementing partners who conduct it and without strong capacity, or flexibility and steps taken to adjust to underperformance, gender equality components can easily evaporate, with little to show for them.

### **3.4. Evaluation: taking stock and learning lessons**

Whether through mid-term evaluations or final project evaluations, the evaluation phase allows implementing organizations and donors to assess the successes, failures, and lessons learned from the programming. As Moser asserts, “the real litmus test as to whether or not gender mainstreaming has ‘failed’ can only be proved by robust monitoring and evaluation tools” (2006, p. 538). Evaluations also act as a tool for “accountability, learning, and improvement” (Espinosa, 2013, p. 172) and are often shared with the public to demonstrate development results. DFATD does not usually publish individual project evaluations, but it does share country program evaluations, which often have summative comments on the various projects under the country program and address cross-cutting themes such as gender equality.

While evaluations have been found to be essential tools to help ensure against the evaporation of attention to gender equality, they are relatively underutilized and underdeveloped themselves for inclusions of gender considerations (Espinosa, 2013, p. 175). Moser notes that gender evaluation is “still rudimentary by comparison with the sophistication of gender analytical debates” (2006, p. 583). Gender is still not systematically mainstreamed through terms of reference, criteria and questions, indicators, methodological approaches, and reporting in the evaluation process (Espinosa, 2013, p. 175). CIDA’s 2010-2013 Gender Action Plan called for all

evaluations to include gender equality key issues and questions in the terms of reference, but the plan was never publically reported on, so it is unclear whether this was achieved. As in planning, implementation, and monitoring, within evaluations, gender is often a low priority amid analyses of larger development issues (Espinosa, 2013, p. 172). The same challenges discussed elsewhere also play a role in evaluation: women and gender are used synonymously, limited capacity compromises the ability to address gender issues, and assumptions are made about the challenge of measuring changes in gender inequalities (Espinosa, 2013, p. 179).

It is a missed opportunity for donors and implementing organizations not to learn from evaluations for future programming. Unfortunately, as Staudt notes, “performance is rarely connected with funding decisions ... rather, institutional incentives focus attention on proposal design and approval, not on quality implementation” (1998, p. 201). Without concerted efforts to collect lessons learned based on matters such as various organizations’ capacities, implementation tactics, and specific contexts, neither donors nor implementers can hope to improve and achieve stronger gender equality development results. If evaluations are simply placed on the shelf within DFATD after being completed, they provide little value-added and do not provide means by which civil society organizations, academics, students, and the general public can learn from them or hold them to account.

### **3.5. Special considerations for fragile, conflict-affected, and humanitarian situations**

Although programming in fragile, conflict-affected, and humanitarian emergency situations differs from the usual work of development, it is important to briefly discuss the similar and varying challenges for gender equality in Canada’s programming in these areas. As Barayani & Powell note, there are “salient gender differences” in situations of fragility, conflict, and violence, including how men and women are differently affected by human rights violations, how men and women are differently affected by armed violence, recruitment, and combat, and how men and

women have different involvement in peace processes that shape future societies (Barayani & 2005, p. p.2). As such, gender equality is key for the success of programming in fragile, conflict-affected, and humanitarian situations (Tiessen, 2015, p. 84). Several main points characterize the treatment of gender equality in these contexts. First, gender equality, women, men, girls, and boys are generally framed differently in conflict and humanitarian situations than in Canada's usual development programming. Second, if a gender analysis takes place, it is accelerated and may not be as detailed as under "normal" conditions. And third, the already identified challenges and consequences are amplified in conditions of fragility, violence, and humanitarian disaster.

Given the different ways in which women, men, girls, and boys are framed within situations of fragility, conflict, and humanitarian emergency, there are implications for gender equality. Tiessen argues that Canada's gender equality commitments in fragile states "have in fact promoted gender essentialism, treating women as victims of violence rather than as active agents of peace and development" (2015, p. 84). Whereas in standard development programming, women have increasingly been cast as actors and participants with a stake in their own development, this has not yet fully taken hold in fragile states programming. Donor funding and popular support is more likely if beneficiaries are framed as "highly vulnerable" (Tiessen, 2015, p. 98), which especially robs women and girls of their agency. As Charli Carpenter contends, "women make better symbolic victims, especially in wartime, precisely because they – either as bystanders or as mothers of helpless children – can be seen as innocent" (quoted in Tiessen, 2015, p. 98). Thus, the traditional women in development approach is brought back and gender equality, as it relates to both women and men and the differing roles they play, is lost. In the same stroke, the situation of men and boys in fragility, conflict, and humanitarian situations can be ignored, casting them as the guilty perpetrators, when they can also be innocent; all the same, "harmful gender stereotypes are reproduced" (Tiessen, 2015, p. 98). Such a framing forgets, as Barayani & Powell note, that "in

humanitarian crises men and women will experience vulnerability in different ways ... [and] their ability to respond effectively will also be influenced by gender” (2005, p. 2). The simple framing of women as passive victims has yet to be shaken from programming in fragile, violent, and humanitarian emergencies and in turn undermines progress towards meaningful gender inequality.

Because of the different ways that men and women experience the conditions of disaster, it is just as important to conduct a thorough gender analyses, but this is rarely done. Baranyi & Powell reference a study by the North-South Institute, a think tank, that found Canadian policy frameworks on state fragility “contain few considerations of the gender dimensions of state fragility, or the constraints/opportunities for promoting gender equality in different states of fragility” (2005, p. 1). As a result of the way women and men are framed in these situations, it becomes difficult to do a gender analysis that examines the root causes of gender inequalities, power dynamics, and access to resources, and then proposes sound solutions, especially in a context where response must be accelerated to address urgent needs (Tiessen, 2015, p. 85, 93). Under normal conditions, it is already a challenge to carry out a high-quality gender analysis or select implementing partners with good gender equality capacity, but when projects must be designed and partners must be selected quickly, it becomes an even greater challenge. Thus, “issues related to gender ... are overlooked or inadequately addressed” (Tiessen, 2015, p. 93).

Finally, along with the challenge of the accelerated and incomplete gender analyses, some of the other shortcomings previously mentioned are amplified in the fragile, conflict-affected, and humanitarian crises situations. For example, the leadership provided by senior management or key individuals within a team matters as to whether programming will support gender equality or whether gender considerations will be mainstreamed throughout the project (Tiessen, 2015, p. 94). Staff capacity remains an issue with the added challenge of staff having limited capacity to integrate gender issues into specifically security-related programming (Tiessen, 2015, p. 95). As in

“normal” development circumstances, gender is seen as a secondary, less important addition, especially when programming is aiming to address what some would maintain are larger goals related to security (Tiessen, 2015, p. 93). It can be seen as easy to sweep gender aside in the face of programming that needs to be delivered quickly to respond to pressing needs. While Canada has not yet adopted an approach to gender mainstreaming in fragile state programming (Tiessen, 2015, p. 99), this risks doing harm in already fragile circumstances if gender implications are not considered and addressed.

#### **4. The way forward: conceptual and operational recommendations and conclusions**

Gender mainstreaming, and the promotion of gender equality, have come a long way over the past several decades and certainly had many successes in improving the well-being and empowerment of women and girls. However, constrained by institutional, procedural, and at times conceptual challenges, there is still considerable work to be done within donor agencies to advance the cause of gender equality in development assistance programming. In order to address the shortcomings and their effect on results, this section proposes five overarching recommendations for Canada's development programming, drawn from academic literature and evaluations of CIDA's, other donors' and multilateral organizations' work. Some of the recommendations call for a conceptual shift, while others are operational considerations.

First, a return to the fundamental principles for successful gender equality programming that have been the findings of successive evaluations and reviews, and a renewed appreciation and attention for lessons learned; this could reduce the circularity of programming. Second, better monitoring and evaluation are essential not only to demonstrate results, but as a means of ensuring that policy does not evaporate in the planning and implementation of initiatives. Third, Canada could commit to greater bureaucratic openness and transparency to more clearly report on Canadian gender equality programming. Sharing more information with civil society organizations and the general public would drive accountability and provide an incentive to carry out and report on successful gender equality interventions. Fourth, an increased sensitivity for intersectionality and diversity within gender equality programming to diminish essentialization of women and girls, and instead recognize the multiple factors that interplay with gender. Fifth, and finally, the meaningful inclusion of men and boys in gender equality programming; it must be recognized that in order for gender inequalities to be reduced, men and boys must be participants in the discussions in order to become allies and benefit from improved gender equality as well.

#### **4.1. Returning to the fundamentals and learning from the past**

Overall, little has changed across the years in terms of the broad interventions that are recommended to improve gender equality programming. Therefore, it is worthwhile to return to the fundamental areas of recommendation and truly appreciate lessons learned. Often corporate memories are short and follow-through on recommendations wanes over time. If Canada were to do nothing else to improve gender equality programming, simply re-asserting and re-emphasizing work on several key fundamentals, expressed in previous evaluations, would address many of the challenges identified earlier. Senior management support and advocacy, accountability and responsibility among staff, the provision of resources and expertise, and the development of staff capacity have long been extolled as key for successful gender equality programming and a refreshed focus on these factors could make a considerable difference.

Renewed senior management support and advocacy for the inclusion of gender equality in all Canadian development assistance would signal to staff that such considerations are important and valued. CIDA's own most recent evaluation, as well as evaluations on Swedish, British, European Union, and World Bank programming all point to the importance of senior management's commitment to gender equality setting the tone (Bytown Consulting & C.A.C., 2008; Byron & Ornemark, 2010, p. 41; COWI Evaluation Team, 2006; COWI A/S, ADE, Itad, 2015; Independent Evaluation Group of the World Bank, 2010). If staff know that senior management will ask about gender equality considerations before approving projects, there would be increased attention to such work. This also requires senior management to be trained on gender equality and to know, for example, that it goes beyond simple considerations for the increased inclusion of women; therefore, senior management's own awareness, capacity, and knowledge will be essential. It is also a matter of senior management placing a priority on gender issues among the other important considerations they make. As Rao & Kelleher write, "gender equality still has to

displace other important values in decision-making” (2005, p. 64). Gender can often get brushed aside amid what some see as more important concerns. However, there must be increased appreciation that “aid and development interventions will not be effective, let alone efficient, when gender considerations are not taken on board throughout” (Holvoet & Inberg, 2012, p. 9). It may also be possible for senior management to make themselves more accessible, on a sustained basis, to the more junior staff who are often tasked as gender focal points or specialists. Increasing the interaction between the levels may help senior management to understand the importance of gender equality considerations amid broader programming.

In addition to senior management’s refreshed substantive commitment to gender equality, accountability mechanisms for all staff could be strengthened. Whether through individuals’ annual performance reviews, annual reporting on country programs as headed by a director, or at the branch level as headed by associate deputy ministers, accountability for putting forward, planning, and delivering on meaningful gender equality programming by itself and as integrated into other programming is key. The importance of accountability of staff at all levels has consistently been noted in evaluations of Canada’s and other donors’ programming. The EU evaluation notes that adding gender mainstreaming to job descriptions may be a good starting point, serving to remind staff that it is a key part of their responsibilities (COWI A/S, ADE, Itad, 2015, p. vii). The Swedish evaluation suggests accountability is particularly important for project officers and managers who are on the front lines of planning and monitoring projects; it is at this level where operational change can be achieved (Byron & Ornemark, 2010, p. 84). Although DFATD’s internal accountability structures are not publically known, given past evaluations it seems important to reiterate the high priority and the incentives that come from ensuring accountability among all staff, with focused attention at certain levels, for successful gender equality programming. Publically, DFATD has a responsibility to be accountable to Canadian

citizens, and beneficiaries in developing countries, for the delivery of good programming, but this will be addressed later as a separate recommendation.

Another commonly noted fundamental is the need for resources and expertise, in addition to support to develop staff capacity. As the Canadian bureaucracy copes with cuts in budgets and personnel, gender equality resources and expertise are an early casualty. While limited resources are a reality, there are ways their impact can be minimized and mitigated. For example, if resources are not available at the Departmental level, it may be possible to include funding for gender equality programming within project budgets, as done with monitoring and evaluation. If part of an approved project's budget includes resources to hire gender expertise, this reinforces the view that the mainstreaming of gender and the achievement of gender equality aims is essential for the overall success of the project. Budgeting towards line items directly related to gender equality programming can also target funds towards specific activities, so that they are not forgotten alongside other programming areas. With limitations on specialists and their time, supporting the development of staff's capacity is especially important, as recognized in CIDA, Swedish, British, EU, and World Bank evaluations. Ensuring the "diffusion of expertise" (Holvoet & Inberg, 2012, p. 10) and the sharing of knowledge, successes, and failures among staff is an important part of improving their capacity, whether through formal or informal channels. Although single training sessions are insufficient to bring about sustained change, targeted training on key points within the programming cycle, where tangible measures can be taken, would benefit staff and improve their ability to operationalize the policy commitments.

None of these recommendations are novel; yet re-affirming them would provide a first step and reduce the impression that gender equality programming is going in circles, without regard for lessons learned.

## **4.2. Better monitoring and evaluation**

Canadian development programming in gender equality would benefit from better monitoring and evaluation practice and reporting. Indeed, this is often identified as a key recommendation in evaluations of Canada's work and the work of other donors and multilateral organizations. As Hales writes, "applying a [results-based] management approach to gender equality may ultimately increase performance and prove that funds are being efficiently used" (2007, p. 160). While consistently using sex-disaggregated indicators would be a start, gender-sensitive indicators should also be developed to demonstrate success towards Canada's gender equality objectives. In DFATD's most recent *Report on Plans and Priorities* for 2015-16, under the strategic objective for international development assistance, only two of ten performance indicators are planned to be measured with sex-disaggregated data. This is not surprising as gender equality itself receives only a single, passing reference in the fifty page document: "three cross-cutting themes—environment, gender equality and governance—will continue to be integrated into international development programming to ensure sustainability of Canada's investments" (DFATD, 2015, p. 31). While gender equality monitoring and evaluation may be captured at project and country program levels, it is concerning that at the highest level, little attention seems to be paid to measuring progress towards gender equality outcomes. It therefore seems reasonable to recommend increased attention towards results reporting that captures, at a higher level, the work that Canada is doing to promote and improve gender equality abroad.

## **4.3. Greater bureaucratic openness and transparency**

Canada's efforts towards gender equality in international assistance should be more openly shared with the public. The benefit would be two-fold: DFATD will be held to account and the public will be better-informed about the use of public funds to achieve these worthwhile aims. Given that gender equality is, and has been for decades, described as a priority for Canada's

development assistance, public annual reporting against public commitments would be a way for DFATD to internally ensure that data is collected towards such an important and sustained objective. Knowing that each year a report would be compiled and published specifically covering gender equality programming would encourage staff to pay attention to gender equality throughout the year and prevent it from falling off the radar in larger reports that cover the entire Department's work across sectors. As Staudt notes, "accurate and honest results permit public assessment of development" (1998, p. 206) and gender equality-specific reporting would promote transparency and incentivize meaningful work that would be documented over the years. Such a report would re-establish the importance that Canada has traditionally placed on gender equality, focus public awareness on successes, provide the opportunity to learn and compile lessons, and continually draw attention to the importance of meaningful gender equality work.

#### **4.4. Increased sensitivity for intersectionality and "diversity mainstreaming"**

If improvements are to be made to gender equality programming and gender mainstreaming, the importance of intersectionality and diversity of experience must be taken into account. As Hales argues, "empowering women is not only about achieving gender equality, but also equality on the basis of social factors such as race, ethnicity, class, age, ability, marital status, sexual orientation, and type of employment (2007, p. 156). In other words, the inequalities *between* and *among* women must be considered. Although gender equality programming has sometimes treated them as such, and women in development programming especially did, "women are not a single constituency with the same social and cultural backgrounds" (Hankivsky, 2005, p. 987). An approach that is more sensitive to intersectionality and diversity allows for a deeper analytical lens through which to understand and then design programming to respond to inequalities. As such, the broader experiences and marginalization of specific sub-groups can be better captured and addressed (Hankivsky, 2005, p. 994). On a concrete level, "diversity

mainstreaming would influence ... the policy questions that are asked, research design, development of improved research methods to uncover key aspects of intersectional subordination, and data collection” (Hankivsky, 2005, p. 994). This “bigger picture” (Sandler & Rao, 2012, p. 553) would benefit the implicated individuals, in addition to improving the effectiveness of donor programming overall because it would be more aware of its context and able to adjust accordingly.

#### **4.5. Bringing men and boys into gender equality**

Men and boys cannot be forgotten and their inclusion is, in fact, essential for successful gender equality programming and mainstreaming. Too often, gender is used synonymously with women, which undermines the transformative potential of gender equality work, limits the possibility of buy-in from men and boys, and does not address the relational nature of gender roles and conceptions. Gender equality cannot be achieved by women and girls alone (Parpart, 2014, p. 388). In every case, the question guiding programming should go beyond “how does this affect women?” to also ask “how does this affect men?” and “how does this affect relations and roles between men and women?” As Hales argues, “in order for women to become empowered, it is necessary to work not only with women, but also, and perhaps more importantly, with men” (2007, p. 156). Engaging with men to “challenge the ideas which have led to the oppression of women” and to create allies can be just as important as empowering women and girls (Sweetman, 2013, p. 12). The United Nations’ recent “He for She” campaign is an example of such solidarity-building that expands the gender equality conversation beyond women to rightfully include men. Male allies are also able to reach out to other men and perhaps change their perceptions (Tiessen, 2015, p. 91). Instead of seeing men as part of the problem and to be ignored, they must be brought into the discussion (Parpart, 2014, p. 388).

It should also be remembered that men too suffer from certain conceptions of gender and gender roles. As Sweetman notes, “men’s lives are constrained by gender norms relating to

masculinity” (2013, p. 4). These ideas of masculinity can contribute to the oppression of women, but also restrict what it means to “be a man” (Sweetman, 2013, p. 2). Working with men and boys in gender equality programming, or targeting them directly, not only benefits women’s empowerment and creates valuable allies, it also supports men themselves to break out of traditional gender roles and live according to their individual wishes and capacities (Sweetman, 2013, p. 4-5). For Canadian development programming, adopting a more holistic approach, that substantively involves men, would mean that gender equality programming and gender mainstreaming can move beyond its currently limited view towards its transformative potential. Going beyond the men/women binary and looking instead at gender roles, masculinity, and femininity, could also open space for broader programming to promote the acceptance, inclusion, and equal rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and queer people.

#### **4.6. Concluding thoughts on progress and potentials**

Despite considerable progress since the inclusion of women first appeared on the development agenda, there is still much work to be done to achieve the transformative potential of gender equality. The initial realization that women should be involved in the development processes that shape their lives has grown into recognition that gender roles, relations, and equality have a place in promoting development that is fair and advances the well-being of all beneficiaries. It is now widely appreciated that improvements in gender equality are valuable in their own right, support the achievement of aims across all fields of development, and contribute to more efficient and effective sustainable economic development.

As has been explored, donor agencies play a key role in promoting gender equality abroad in their development programming, but face a series of challenges. Some of the challenges that Canada, a long-time supporter of women in development and gender and development, has and continues to experience include: embracing terminology and getting a policy into place, internal

receptiveness and resistance, senior management support, unclear accountability, the gender equality-lead unit's status and resources or the absence of a dedicated unit, capacity of staff, availability of expertise at headquarters and the field, conflation of women and gender, foreign policy discourse, coherence, and drivers, changing priorities and cross-pressures, and translating theory into practice.

In Canada's case, although advancements have been made towards procedural, individual, and conceptual progress, the substantive, institutional, and actual results are lagging. The recent amalgamation of CIDA and DFAIT into the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade presents an excellent opportunity, but it remains to be seen how gender equality will be prioritized and programmed in the new Department. Based on the recommendations in this paper, by returning to fundamentals and learning from the past, developing and using better monitoring and evaluation, and aiming for greater bureaucratic openness and transparency, exercising increased sensitivity for intersectionality, and bringing men and boys into gender equality, Canada could recommit to meaningful engagement on gender equality and live up to its traditionally strong support for the matter. In this way, Canada could cease cycling in circles, and instead help to improve the well-being and empowerment of many.

## Bibliography

- Alexander, R. E. (1995). Evaluating Experiences: CIDA's Women in Development Policy, 1984-94. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 16(4), 79-87.
- Baden, S., & Goetz, A. M. (1997). Who Needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]? Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing. *Feminist Review*, 56, 3-25.
- Baranyi, S., & Powell, K. (2005). *Bringing Gender Back into Canada's Engagement in Fragile States: Options for CIDA in a Whole-of-Government Approach*. Ottawa: The North-South Institute.
- Bazinet, L., Sequiera, T., & Delahanty, J. (2006). Promoting Institutional Change: CIDA's framework for assessing gender equality results. *Development*, 49(1), 104-107.
- Black, D. R., & Tiessen, R. (2007). The Canadian International Development Agency: New Policies, Old Problems. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 28(2), 191-212.
- Byron, G., & Ornemark, C. (2010). *Gender Equality in Swedish Development Cooperation: Final Report*. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).
- Bytown Consulting & C.A.C. International. (2008). *Evaluation of CIDA's Implementation of its Policy on Gender Equality - Executive Report*. Gatineau: Canadian International Development Agency.
- Canadian Association of International Development Professionals. (2013, November 17). *DFATD's New Organizational Structure*. Retrieved from Canadian Association of International Development Professionals: <http://www.caidp-rpcdi.ca/news/dfatd-new-organizational-chart>.
- Canadian International Development Agency. (1999). *CIDA's Policy on Gender Equality*. Gatineau: Canadian International Development Agency.
- Canadian International Development Agency. (2010). *Gender Equality Policy and Tools*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- Carrier, K., & Tiessen, R. (2013). Women and Children First: Maternal Health and Silencing of Gender in Canadian Foreign Policy. In H. E. Smith, & C. Turenne Sjolander (Eds.), *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy* (pp. 183-199). Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada.
- COWI A/S, ADE, Itad. (2015). *Evaluation of EU Support to Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Partner Countries*. Brussels: European Commission, from: [https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/evaluation-cooperation-ec-gender-1338-main-report-201504\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sites/devco/files/evaluation-cooperation-ec-gender-1338-main-report-201504_en.pdf).

- COWI Evaluation Team. (2006). *Evaluation of DFID's Policy and Practice in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment*. London: Department for International Development, from: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/67821/ev669.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67821/ev669.pdf).
- Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. (2014, September 16). *Results-based Management Policy Statement 2008*. Retrieved June 6, 2015, from <http://www.international.gc.ca/development-developpement/partners-partenaires/bt-oa/rbm08-gar08.aspx?lang=eng>
- Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. (2015, January 29). *Apply for Funding*. Retrieved June 20, 2015, from <http://www.international.gc.ca/development-developpement/funding-financement/apply-demande.aspx?lang=eng>.
- Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. (2015, February 4). *Ministers*. Retrieved June 20, 2015, from <http://www.international.gc.ca/history-histoire/people-gens/minister-ministres.aspx?lang=eng>.
- Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. (2015). *Report on Plans and Priorities 2015-16*. Ottawa: Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, from: [http://www.international.gc.ca/department-ministere/plans/rpp/rpp\\_1516.aspx?lang=eng](http://www.international.gc.ca/department-ministere/plans/rpp/rpp_1516.aspx?lang=eng).
- Derbyshire, H. (2012). Gender mainstreaming: recognizing and building on progress. Views from the UK Gender and Development Network. *Gender & Development*, 20(3), 405-422.
- Eveline, J., & Bacchi, C. (2005). What are we mainstreaming when we mainstream gender? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4), 496-512.
- Ferguson, L. (2010). Interrogating 'Gender' in Development Policy and Practice. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12(1), 3-24.
- Ferguson, L. (2014). This is our Gender Person. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1-18.
- Haider, R. (1995). *Gender and Development*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Hales, J. (2007). Rhetoric and Reality: World Bank and CIDA Gender Policies. *Convergence*, 40(1), 147-168.
- Hankivsky, O. (2005). Gender vs. Diversity Mainstreaming: A Preliminary Examination of the Role and Transformative Potential of Feminist Theory. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 38(4), 977-1001.
- Hayes, C. (2005). Out of the Margins: The MDGs through a CEDAW Lens. *Gender and Development*, 13(1), 67-78.

- Hendriks, S. E. (2005). Advocates, Adversaries, and Anomalies: The Politics of Feminist Spaces in Gender and Development. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 26(Supplement 1), 619-632.
- Heyzer, N. (2005). Making the Links: Women's Rights and Empowerment Are Key to Achieving the Millennium Development Goals. *Gender and Development*, 13(1), 9-12.
- Holvoet, N., & Inberg, L. (2012). Changing Aid Policies Through a Gender Lens: an International Perspective and the Case of Dutch Development Cooperation. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 13(3), 1-16.
- Independent Evaluation Group of the World Bank. (2010). *An Evaluation of World Bank Support, 2002-08: Gender and Development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Jahan, R. (1995). *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Johnson, R. (2005). Not a Sufficient Condition: The Limited Relevance of the Gender MDG to Women's Progress. *Gender and Development*, 13(1), 56-66.
- Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal. *Gender and Development*, 13(1), 13-24.
- Keeble, E., & Smith, H. (2001). Institutions, Ideas, Women and Gender: New Directions in Canadian Foreign Policy. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 35(4), 130-141.
- Morrison, D. R. (1998). *Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA and Canadian Development Assistance*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Moser, C. (2006). Has gender mainstreaming failed? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4), 576-590.
- Moser, C. O. (1993). *Gender Planning and Development - Theory, Practice & Training*. London: Routledge.
- Moser, C., & Moser, A. (2005). Gender Mainstreaming since Beijing: A Review of Success and Limitations in International Institutions. *Gender and Development*, 13(2), 11-22.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Development Assistance Committee (OECD/DAC). (2005). *Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action*. Retrieved from Development Assistance Committee: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/parisdeclarationandaccraagendaforaction.htm>
- Overholt, C. A., Cloud, K., Anderson, M. B., & Austin, J. E. (1991). Gender Analysis Framework. In *Gender Analysis in Development Planning* (pp. 9-20). West Hartford: Kumarian Press, Inc.

- Parpart, J. L. (2014). Exploring the Transformative Potential of Gender Mainstreaming in International Development Institutions. *Journal of International Development*, 26, 382-395.
- Philips, L. (2005). Gender Mainstreaming: The Global Governance of women? *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 26, 651-663.
- Powell, M. (2005). A Rights-Based Approach to Gender Equality and Women's Rights. *Canadian Journal of Development*, 26, 605-617.
- Prügl, E. (2009). Does Gender Mainstreaming Work? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11(2), 174-195.
- Rai, S. M. (2003). Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women: mainstreaming gender, democratizing the state? In S. M. Rai (Ed.), *Mainstreaming gender, democratizing the state?* (pp. 15-39). Manchester: Manchester University Press on behalf of the United Nations.
- Rao, A. (1991). Introduction. In A. Rao, M. B. Anderson, & C. A. Overholt (Eds.), *Gender Analysis in Development Planning* (pp. 1-8). West Hartford: Kumarian Press, Inc. .
- Rao, A., & Kelleher, D. (2005). Is There Life after Gender Mainstreaming? *Gender and Development*, 13(2), 57-69.
- Rathgeber, E. (2005). Gender and Development as a Fugitive Concept. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 26, 578-591.
- Rathgeber, E., & Vainio-Mattila, A. (2005). Introduction: Whither GAD? New Directions in Gender and Development. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 26, 569-571.
- Sandler, J., & Rao, A. (2012). The elephant in the room and the dragons at the gate: strategizing for gender equality in the 21st century. *Gender & Development*, 20(3), 547-562.
- Smyth, I. (2007). Talking of Gender: Words and Meanings in Development Organizations. *Development in Practice*, 17(4/5), 582-588.
- Sohal, R. (2005). Strategic Engagement: Exploring Instrumentalist Approaches to Engendering Development. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 26(1), 665-676.
- Staudt, K. (2003). Gender mainstreaming: conceptual links to institutional machineries. In S. M. Rai (Ed.), *Mainstreaming gender, democratizing the state?* (pp. 40-66). Manchester: Manchester University Press on behalf of the United Nations.
- Staudt, K. A. (1998). *Policy, Politics & Gender: Women Gaining Ground*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Sweetman, C. (2013). Introduction: Working with men on gender equality. *Gender & Development*, 21(1), 1-13.

- The McLeod Group. (2013, October). *Gender Equality*. Retrieved from The McLeod Group: <http://www.mcleodgroup.ca/topics-3/a-place-for-women-gender-equality-and-canadian-development-policy/>.
- Tiessen, R. (2002). Challenges to gender mainstreaming in environmental planning: International policies and institutional practices. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 9(3), 85-98.
- Tiessen, R. (2005). What's New about Gender Mainstreaming? Three Decades of Policy Creation and Development Strategies. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 26(sup1), 705-720.
- Tiessen, R. (2014). Canada's Changing Priorities (2006-2014) and What They Mean for the Promotion of Gender Equality in Development. *Undercurrent*, 2(fall/winter), 54-57.
- Tiessen, R. (2014). Gender Equality and the "Two CIDAs": Successes and Setbacks, 1976-2013. In S. Brown, M. den Heyer, & D. R. Black (Eds.), *Rethinking Canadian Aid* (pp. 195-210). Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Tiessen, R. (2015). Gender essentialism in Canadian foreign aid commitments to women, peace, and security. *International Journal*, 70(1), 84-100.
- Tiessen, R., & Carrier, K. (2015). The erasure of "gender" in Canadian foreign policy under the Harper Conservatives: the significance of the discursive shift from "gender equality" to "equality between women and men". *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 1-17.
- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). (2009). *Who Answers to Women? Gender & Accountability (Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009)*. New York City: UNIFEM.
- van Eerdewijk, A., & Dubel, I. (2012). Substantive gender mainstreaming and the missing middle: a view from Dutch development agencies. *Gender & Development*, 20(3), 491-504.