

# بيجين بعد عشر سنوات

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Beijing at 10, 2005: Achieving gender equality, development and peace

# Aid & Security

**F**or the past 30 years women's organisations have engaged with government and international policy-making institutions to secure consensus on global agreements that lay out concrete areas of action to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. The agreements are vast and visionary. From the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979 and now ratified by 185 countries, to the Beijing Platform for Action formulated at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, to Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 passed in 2000 and SCR 1820 adopted in June 2008, there is no shortage of globally-agreed commitments to advance gender equality as part of inter-linked efforts to achieve development, security and human rights (see Figure 6.1).

Multilateral organisations and international security institutions have a critical role

to play in supporting countries to enhance their accountability to implement national commitments and track investments in gender equality. At the same time, the commitment of these organisations to adequately resource and implement their own gender equality policies needs strengthening. Their accountability could be enhanced if they agreed to a coherent system to track and report on allocations and expenditures for gender equality. The need to address this accountability gap is particularly critical in a changing aid environment, marked by concrete targets and indicators to measure progress toward the Millennium Development Goals.

This chapter examines the changing context of aid and the role of international development and security organisations in assisting countries to meet promises to achieve gender equality in development and build sustainable peace. It questions whether the institutional and decision-

making ‘architecture’ for gender equality has adequate positioning, authority and resources to be able to support better implementation of and accountability for gender equality commitments, especially to the most excluded women. It presents examples of the ways in which gender equality advocates working within and outside of international organisations are building alliances to strengthen calls for greater accountability to advance women’s human rights and gender equality in view of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, in the United Nations reform process, and the mandates adopted by the United Nations Security Council.

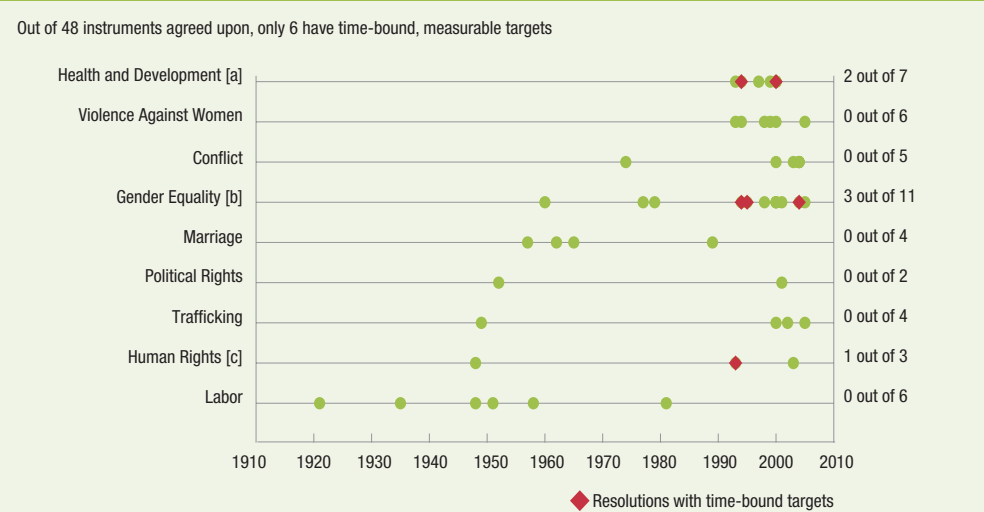
### Development assistance: Where is the money?

Where is the money to finance progress towards the commitments that countries have made to advance gender equality? Official Development Assistance (ODA) is a critical part of the overall picture in any assessment of accountability of international institutions for supporting gender equality. In 2006, net disbursements of ODA from donors to re-

ipient countries stood at roughly US\$103.9 billion – equivalent to 0.3 per cent of developed countries’ combined national income.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of ODA is delivered through bilateral agreements between individual donor countries and a recipient country. About 30 per cent of aid is delivered through international organisations, such as the United Nations, the World Bank and global funds like the Global Fund on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Accountability for ensuring that ODA advances gender equality and that international organisations support gender equality efforts in individual countries is the focus of this chapter.

Government budgets are the largest single source of financing for gender equality and women’s empowerment in most countries. It is through national and sub-national budgets that government promises are translated into policies and programmes.<sup>2</sup> ODA covers on average 5 to 10 per cent of a recipient country’s budget,<sup>3</sup> and the way it is spent can be revealing about power and accountability relationships, not just between donors and recipients, but also between governments and citizens.

**FIGURE 6.1** | Landmark Resolutions & Commitments to Gender Equality, 1921-2005



Notes: The resolutions with measurable targets are: [a] United Nations Millennium Declaration [2000]; International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) Programme of Action [1994]; [b] Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action [1995]; Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa [2004]; Jakarta Declaration and Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women in Asia and the Pacific [1994]; [c] The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action [1993]

Source: See Annex 2.

## Accountability for financing development

In 2008, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) published, for the first time, indicative forward spending plans for gross country programmable aid (CPA)<sup>4</sup>, covering 22 donor countries in the DAC, the “soft” funds of the World Bank, African, Asian and Inter-American Development Banks, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Global Fund on HIV/AIDS, and the Global Environment Facility. These donors accounted for US\$60 billion of CPA in 2005, with predictions that the amount will rise to US\$72 billion in 2010. CPA from countries outside the DAC (for instance, Middle Eastern funds, China, India, Russia, Brazil, Mexico, Singapore and Thailand) that support international development is estimated at between US\$6 billion and US\$8 billion in 2005 and is also expected to rise sharply in the coming years. In addition to official donors, private grants are becoming more significant, including major private foundations (whose ODA-type spending in 2006 was roughly US\$5 billion) and other NGOs (whose spending from their own resources in 2006 was some US\$10 billion).<sup>5</sup>

Global agreements at United Nations-sponsored conferences – from the Monterrey Consensus at the 2002 International Conference on Financing for Development (FfD, 2002) to the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed to at the Millennium Summit (New York, 2000) – increasingly highlight concrete targets to be reached in both development financing and performance as a means for achieving greater accountability. While the financing commitments that donors have made are far from being met, the growing use of targets and indicators to signal development priorities has led to a stronger emphasis on costing tools and estimates for meeting agreed requirements.

Gender equality advocates and specialists have been reluctant to put a price tag on the complex project of advancing gender equality. Costing tools to do so, however, are beginning to emerge at country, regional and global levels. A study commissioned by the World Bank, for instance, identified the minimum resource envelope needed to meet the goals of gender equality and women’s empowerment. The study proposes that interventions directly aimed at promoting gender equality would cost on average US\$7 to US\$13 per capita from 2006 to 2015. Presenting a number of scenarios and projections for costing, the study notes that the gender equality financing gap was between US\$12 billion and US\$30 billion in 2006 and is expected to rise to between US\$24 billion and US\$83 billion by 2015.<sup>6</sup> These global estimates are now being validated through tools for national level analyses.<sup>7</sup> In addition, an increasing number of countries, including recipient countries, are strengthening their ability to use gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) to track allocations and expenditures for gender equality priorities.

Costing estimates and GRB provide measures against which to assess fulfilment of commitments at the national level. There are also emerging examples of efforts to account for allocations and expenditures on gender equality by bilateral donors that are members of the OECD. Many of these donors code their ODA programmes according to the Gender Equality Marker (GEM) system (see Figures 6.2, Figure 6.3 and 6.4). Analyses of the GEM suggests that of the US\$26.8 billion in ODA disbursements that donors using the reporting system accounted for in 2006, US\$7.2 billion (roughly 27 per cent) is allocated to programmes that have gender equality as either a principle or significant objective.

The GEM represents an important step forward in efforts by the international community to account for financing gender equality. But gaps remain. An analysis of Figures 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 raises three areas for further exploration. First, though donors

have clear guidelines for designating projects as having gender equality as a ‘significant’ or a ‘principal’ objective, they do not yet indicate the specific financial portion that targets gender within a given project tagged as having a ‘significant’ gender focus. Second, analysis of the ‘principal’ and ‘significant’ gender-marked funds shows that less is allocated in the economic infrastructure sector than in areas like health, education and social infrastructure. Finally, despite gaps, funding appears to be increasing under the gender-marked category (Figure 6.2). The results and lessons learned from the GEM hold the potential to inform the efforts of those bilateral agencies and multilateral agencies that have yet to institute a system for tracking expenditures on gender equality. An agreement by the entire bilateral and multilateral community to use a consistent system to track allocations and expenditures would go a long way toward enhancing their accountability for gender

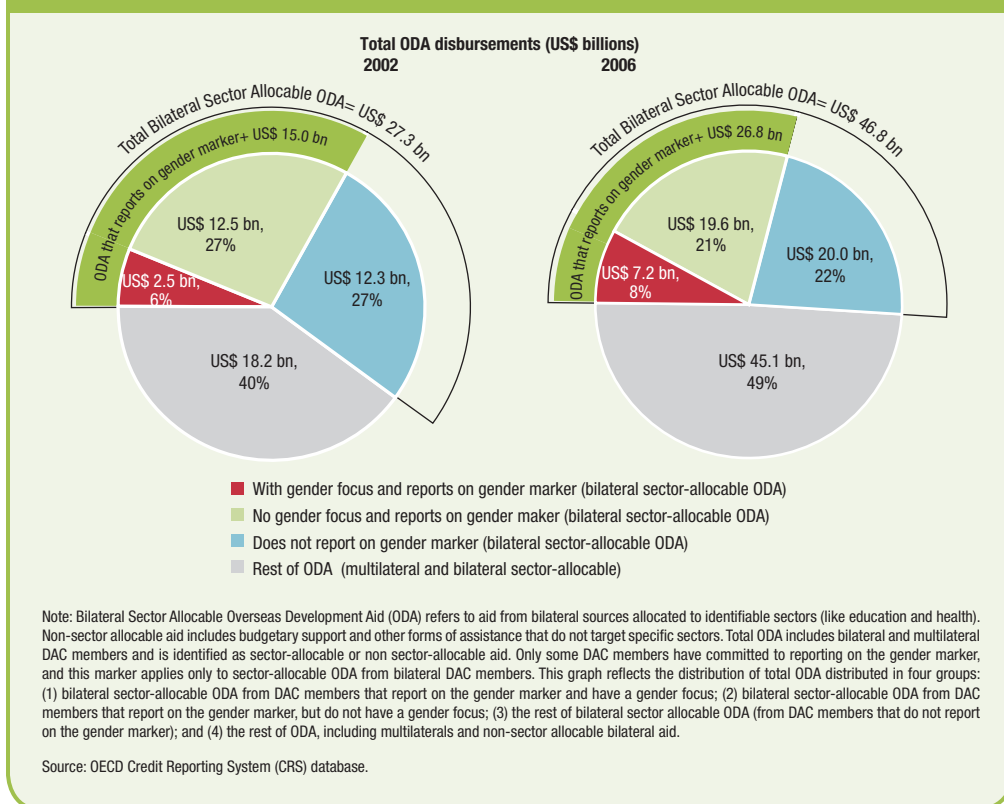
equality and would be consistent with principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness discussed later in this chapter.

### Accountability for financing gender equality in the multilateral system

Defining the accountability of international organisations to support gender equality with the 30 per cent of aid that is delivered through them is a complex task. This chapter primarily uses examples from multilateral organisations – the United Nations, International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and global funds. These organisations are not necessarily more or less accountable than others, but information on gender equality is more easily accessible from them.

Accountability in multilateral institutions varies according to a number of factors: their governance structures, mandates, leadership, as well as the leverage and internal positioning of gender-equality advocates within the organisation, and the access

**FIGURE 6.2** Gender Equality Focus in Bilateral ODA Has Increased Since 2002



points and influence of external gender-equality advocates. Indeed, the authority, positioning and resources of gender equality staff and units in these institutions can be treated as indicators of accountability. With regard to financing for gender equality as an indicator of accountability to women, glaring gaps remain. For instance:

- Virtually every multilateral organisation has a policy and/or strategy committing them to support gender equality in their programmes and policies. Yet, *virtually no multilateral organisation* has set up a tracking system to regularly account for their revenues, allocations and expenditures on this. Nor have the governing

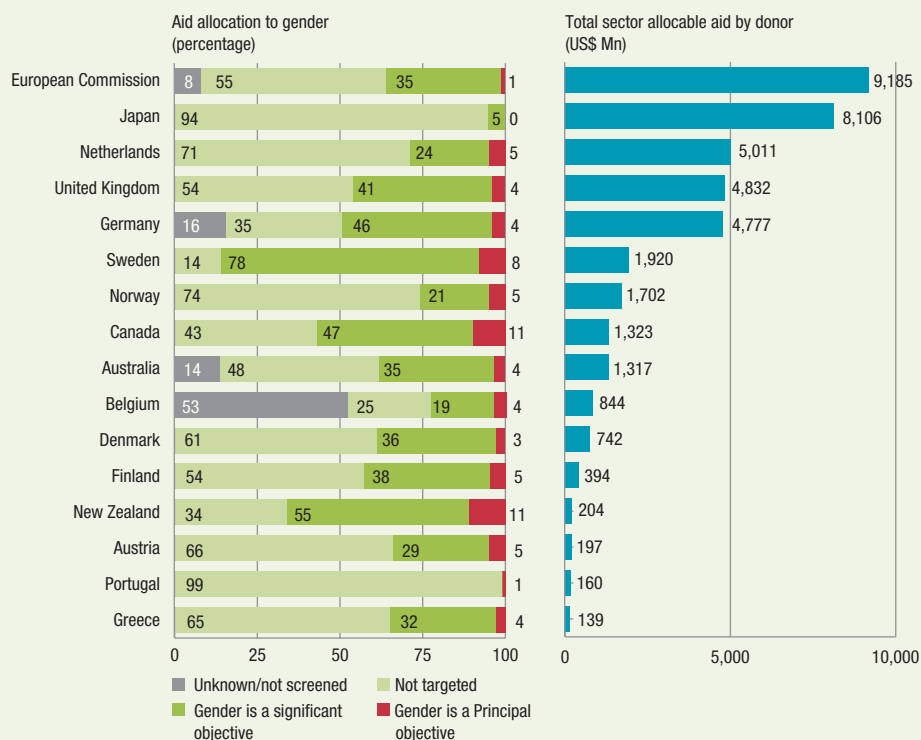
boards to which they are accountable required this. Incipient models for tracking what percentage of budgets is allocated and spent on support to countries to advance gender equality and women's empowerment are currently being tested by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), UNDP, UNFPA, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the World Health Organisation (WHO).<sup>8</sup> However, there is no system-wide United Nations agreement or standard that would make tracking resources a routine activity.

- There is evidence that the amount of aid reaching women's rights groups through

**FIGURE 6.3** Gender Equality Focus in Bilateral ODA, 2006

Among the DAC members that report on the gender equality marker, only a fraction of ODA is allocated to gender equality as a principal objective. When gender equality as a principal and secondary objective is combined, two donor countries surpass 50% of ODA commitments to gender equality.

Proportion of aid allocated on gender as significant objective and principal objective as percentage of total sector allocable aid



Notes: 'Principal' means gender equality was an explicit objective of the activity and fundamental in its design. 'Significant' means gender equality was an important, but secondary, objective of the activity. 'Not targeted' means that the activity was screened for promoting gender equality, but targeting was not found. 'Not screened' means the activity has not been screened for the policy marker, representing an unknown situation. OECD countries that do not report on the gender equality marker; whose reporting on the gender marker is unclear; or for which the marker coverage over 2006 is too low, are not included [e.g. France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Spain, Switzerland, United States]. For some members such as Australia, Belgium and Germany and the EC, some amount of ODA has not been screened, which makes it difficult to determine the exact proportion of funds allocated for gender.

Source: OECD 2008.

mainstream international organisations is declining. A 2007 study by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) raised serious concerns about the flow of resources to support women's organising. AWID's survey of 729 women's organisations – which, in 2005, had a collective income of US\$77 million – showed that the largest source of income for these organisations came from private foundations (increasingly, from independent women's funds, as well as from foundations like the Ford or MacArthur Foundations) and international NGOs (such as Oxfam International or the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (HIVOS)).<sup>9</sup> Among multilateral organisations, only the European Commission, UNIFEM and UNFPA were identified among the top 20 donors to women's organisations in 2005.<sup>10</sup>

### Enhancing accountability for gender equality through the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness

The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness presents a framework for the management of ODA, and advocates have focused on this as a key entry point for strengthening accountability for financing gender equality. The Declaration has been heralded as a commitment to change the development 'architecture' as we know it and lays out a set of five principles (see Box 6A), with corresponding targets and indicators that are intended to encompass the responsibilities of partners.

At the heart of the Paris Declaration is the principle of *national ownership* of development planning, priority-setting, and oversight processes. It reflects the recognition that recipient governments must be accountable to their citizens for results agreed through broad-based national consultations. They must also be accountable to donors for efficient management of aid. Donors, for their part, must support national priorities and deliver aid in a timely and predictable manner.<sup>11</sup>

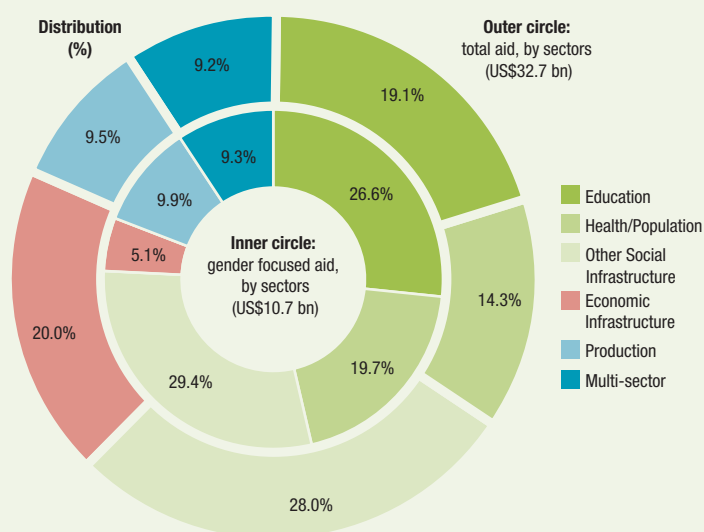
The aid effectiveness agenda represents an important shift in the development architecture, signaling the intention to channel an increasing amount of funds through a country's treasury, rather than through specific programmes negotiated by individual donors with specific ministries. Donors also pool their funds in support of specific sectors through Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAs) or 'basket funds.'

The mutual accountability of donors and recipient countries is a subject of intense debate and lies at the heart of the aid effectiveness agenda. Who is accountable to whom for meeting international commitments to gender equality? Will the principle of national ownership take into account the nationally-owned policies, strategies and laws that countries have instituted to advance women's empowerment and rights? And what role will multilateral organisations play in this process? These questions are far from receiving clear answers. A study commissioned by the

**FIGURE 6.4** | Sector-specific Allocation of Bilateral Aid

A comparison of the sectoral allocation of ODA in general with the ways gender-marked funds are allocated by sector shows a rough correspondence in priorities, with allocations to social sectors predominating. The exception is allocations for economic infrastructure, with a great deal less earmarked for this within the gender-marked pool than in total sector-allocable aid: 5% compared to 20%.

Distribution by sectors of total amount and gender marked amount, 2006



Notes: The chart only includes committed amounts of bilateral sector-allocable ODA from those DAC members that report on the gender equality focus of their ODA, which amounts to US\$33.3 billion. The total committed amount of bilateral sector-allocable ODA including members not reporting on gender equality policy marker was \$ 56.6 billion. See also notes in figure 6.2.

Source: OECD Credit Reporting System (CRS) database.

**Principle 1 NATIONAL OWNERSHIP: Partner countries exercise effective leadership over their development policies, and strategies and co-ordinate development actions*****Gender Equality Advocates Recommend:***

- Partner countries should create opportunities for gender equality advocates and national women's machineries to participate in and shape decisions about aid delivery at country level.
- Donor and partner countries should strengthen the capacities, resources and authority of national women's machineries to monitor the impact of national development planning and spending on gender equality and women's rights.
- Indicators for monitoring and evaluating national ownership tend to check for the presence of Poverty Reduction Strategies. They need to measure how far these strategies integrate the national gender equality priorities.

**Principle 2: ALIGNMENT: Donors base their overall support on partner countries' national development strategies, institutions and procedures*****Gender Equality Advocates Recommend:***

- Donors should support partner countries' efforts to align their Poverty Reduction Strategies with existing gender equality and women's empowerment commitments, including National Action Plans on Gender Equality, and to translate these plans into budget-linked and results-oriented operational programmes.
- Partner countries should adopt Gender Responsive Budgeting as a tool to enhance results-based management and accountability and ensure financial allocations for gender equality priorities.

**Principle 3: HARMONISATION: Donors' actions are more harmonised, transparent and collectively effective*****Gender Equality Advocates Recommend:***

- Division of labour and planning among donors (e.g. Joint Assistance Strategies) and between donors and partner countries (Poverty Reduction Strategies) should promote mutual accountability for national policies and commitments to gender equality.
- Donors should undertake joint analysis and reviews of implementation gaps at national and sectoral levels in order to improve dialogue, decision-making, implementation and monitoring of gender equality commitments.
- Joint assessment missions in fragile states and conflict countries should integrate gender analysis and develop specific interventions in support of gender equality and women's empowerment.

**Principle 4: MANAGING FOR RESULTS: Managing resources and improving decision-making for results*****Gender Equality Advocates Recommend:***

- Donors and partner countries should invest more in building the capacities and strengthening the systems for collection, analysis and use of sex disaggregated data in aid management as a way to measure the impact of aid on gender equality.
- Donors and partner countries should agree to track resources invested in gender equality and women's empowerment as part of performance assessment frameworks.

**Principle 5: MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY: Donors and partners are accountable for development results*****Gender Equality Advocates Recommend:***

- Donors and partner countries should integrate gender responsive indicators and targets in performance assessment frameworks for monitoring results and impact of development assistance.
- Donors and partner countries should agree to assess the extent to which international agreements on gender equality are being translated into national-level policies, and the extent to which these efforts are supported by donor funding.

OECD-DAC Network on Gender Equality in 2006, for example, found that:

“While the MDGs and the Paris Declaration have facilitated the promotion of gender equality, [it is] difficult to monitor gender equality results in sector-wide approaches and to hold program implementers accountable...Program-based approaches have tended to make ministries of finance particularly powerful actors in determining development actions, and these ministries often are unaware of...gender equality as a development issue, as are many staff on the donor side.”<sup>12</sup>

International women’s rights networks have raised concerns about the lack of gender equality indicators in the Paris Declaration. This limits the demand for data on the

impact of aid on gender equality, women’s rights, or social justice.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the fact that assessments about national readiness for budget support are based on World Bank evaluation mechanisms may likewise reduce attention to gender equality issues. The influence of donors and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) – on support for national development priorities, and the reliance on aid modalities such as budget support and joint assistance strategies, could limit the space for participation of all stakeholders in influencing development plans and funding priorities.

In response, networks of gender equality advocates in the United Nations, the European Commission, the OECD-DAC, and many government and non-governmental

#### BOX 6B | The Kenyan Gender Equality Basket Fund<sup>1</sup>

The Gender and Governance Programme in Kenya was developed by a group of donors, women leaders and gender equality-focused community support organizations. Funders of this basket fund include the Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. These donors are also members of the basket fund steering committee. UNIFEM provides programme and financial management support.

The programme is based on the principle of stakeholder engagement and ownership. Its 30 constituent civil society organisations are viewed as implementing partners and are, equally importantly, key stakeholders in programme development, monitoring and evaluation. In 2005 and 2006 more than US\$2.5 million was allocated for implementation of this programme. In 2006-2007, the donor commitment to this programme was over US\$6.6 million.

The programme aims to ensure that gender equality is addressed in national planning processes and governance structures and to ensure women’s leadership and participation in development planning and policy implementation.

The basket fund modality has been an important vehicle for donor harmonisation. It has enabled coordinated and long-term support for women’s participation in democratic governance. Its outreach component engages 2520 community mobilisers as well as media in 188 constituencies. It seeks to encourage women’s political participation as voters and candidates and it has contributed to increased numbers of women running for public office. In 2002 there were only 44 women parliamentary candidates; while in 2007 there were 269. A similar increase was seen in women candidates for local elections (increase from 382 in 2002 to 1478 in 2007).

The programme has also advocated for important policy initiatives, such as the issuance of the presidential directive requesting the public sector to ensure at least 30 per cent representation of women in public positions, the establishment of Women’s Enterprise Support Fund by the government and political party manifests on gender equality.

organisations have been working together since 2005 to develop a common agenda to lobby for a more explicit commitment to accounting for gender equality in the aid effectiveness agenda when it is reviewed at the Ghana High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in September 2008 (see Box 6A).

### **Making aid work for women: Better data and a stronger ‘voice’**

Evidence from recent studies undertaken by the EC/UN Partnership on Gender Equality for Development and Peace<sup>14</sup> identified two major challenges to making aid effectiveness work for women: obtaining data on gender equality spending, and ensuring that women’s rights advocates — including government ministries or units dedicated to gender equality, as well as women’s NGOs and networks — have the capacity and voice to secure commitments to gender equality in national priority-setting. Securing a seat at the table remains a key challenge. In Ghana, for instance, the Gender Equality Sector Group advocated for the Ministry for Women and Children to be included, with other Ministries, in the Multi-Donor Budget Support negotiations in 2006. However, the Ministry received only observer status, and was unable to put gender equality issues on the agenda.<sup>15</sup>

A strategy for addressing this gap is calling for more systematic and rigorous analysis of funding provided for programmes to advance women’s empowerment. Thus, making available sex disaggregated data on revenues, allocations and expenditures for gender equality is a key area of support that multilateral organisations could offer. In Ghana, a recent case study of development assistance found that while specific projects aimed at gender equality were reflected within the Social Protection, Gender and Vulnerability Sector, it was impossible to determine the total amount of aid spent on gender equality and women’s empowerment. During 2004-2006, the Social Protection, Gender and Vulnerability sector received 0.1 per cent of total donor assistance of over US\$3 billion. If one were looking for individual projects focusing on gender equality,

the percentage would be even smaller: Of the US\$3.21 million allocated to the Social Protection, Gender and Vulnerability Sector, only US \$390,000 was set aside for stand-alone projects on gender equality.<sup>16</sup>

Learning from successful examples is important for creating stronger accountability for gender equality in the aid effectiveness agenda. In Kyrgyzstan, women’s-rights campaigners succeeded in integrating the National Action Plan for Achievement of Gender Equality (2007-2010) in the key development results of the Country Development Strategy (2007-2010), with corresponding costing estimates and indicators for measuring progress.<sup>17</sup> In Cambodia, where gender equality was made central to achieving the MDGs at the national level, the National Strategic Development Plan includes specific gender targets and indicators.<sup>18</sup> In Kenya, Cameroon, Suriname, and Indonesia, donors have joined together to create multi-donor or “basket” funds to support different aspects of gender equality (see Box 6B). There have also been proposals to experiment with Sector Wide Approaches for Gender Equality or to End Violence Against Women, in recognition of the fact that dedicated financial support flows to sectors, not to ‘cross-cutting issues’ like gender equality.<sup>19</sup>

There is growing demand from gender equality advocates — including those from national, bilateral and multilateral institutions — for greater investments in gender equality at the national level, but they are sorely in need of concentrated support from powerful advocates in donor countries who focus on accountability in development assistance policy and budgets. Gender equality and women’s rights groups in the North have lobbied to increase aid for gender equality, but stronger partnerships are needed between women in the North and the South to have an impact on strategic development assistance in this area. A positive example is the work of Women Thrive, a U.S.-based NGO that advocates for a strong focus in US development assistance policy to bring women out of poverty. Women Thrive is supporting development of an unprecedented piece of legislation in the

U.S. Congress, the International Violence Against Women Act, which will make helping women in poverty and preventing violence against women a priority in the United States government.<sup>20</sup>

## Security

Security, along with development, is an essential pillar of the international commitment to gender equality and the promotion and protection of women's rights. The passage of Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 in 2000, as well as the agreement in 2008 to

Security Council Resolution 1820 (see Box 6D), were significant advances in enhancing accountability of international security institutions to women. SCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, for example, recognises the impact of conflict on women, their role in preventing and resolving conflict, and calls for their equal participation in international security and peace-making efforts. This should mean that women are no longer absent from peace tables and that peace-building must prevent sexual and gender-based violence experienced by women and girls.

### BOX 6C | Resolutions 1612 and 1325<sup>i</sup>

| <b>Accountability mechanisms:</b>                        | <b>Resolution 1612 (2005):<br/>Children and Armed Conflict</b>  | <b>Resolution 1325 (2000):<br/>Women, Peace and Security</b>   |
|--|---|--|
| <b>Monitoring and reporting mechanism</b>                | System-wide Action Plan to stop recruitment of children and other violations. Contains an agreed monitoring and reporting mechanism.  | System-wide Action Plan lacks agreed indicators for effective monitoring. Focuses on United Nations agency implementation plans, not on violations or on programming results.  |
| <b>'Answerability' mechanism: exposing perpetrators</b>  | Secretary-General's report to the Security Council includes lists of parties in violation of the Resolution.  | None   |
| <b>Regular procedures for review</b>                     | Working Group of the Security Council consisting of all 15 members, and chaired by a permanent member of the Council, meets bi-monthly, reviews the reports of the compliance mechanism, reviews progress in the development and implementation of action plans by parties to armed conflict. | Up to 2008, no formal mechanism beyond one annual Open Debate, an annual report and oral briefings from the United Nations Secretary-General on request of Security Council members, and informal Council meetings on the subject. |
| <b>Member State accountability</b>                       | Parties to armed conflict are expected to prepare concrete time-bound action plans to halt the recruitment of children in close collaboration with United Nations peacekeeping missions and United Nations Country Teams.   | National Action Plans currently exist for 12 countries. These are not a requirement of parties to armed conflict, nor are they reviewed by a Council Working Group or any United Nations entity.                                   |
| <b>Focal Point/ Leadership within the United Nations</b> | Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict.  | Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues plays a coordinating role but without adequate resources or cooperation from an operational counterpart.  |
| <b>Compliance mechanism</b>                              | United Nations Country Team or country-level Task Force on Children and Armed Conflict to monitor rates of child soldier recruitment and to press violators to comply with the resolution. Support from UNICEF.   | None. Support in some contexts for women's peace coalitions, women's access to peace talks, services for survivors, provided by a range of United Nations entities, not coordinated. No compliance mechanism.                      |

### Accountability gaps: SCR 1325

Eight years after the adoption of SCR 1325, these new standards for peacemaking are a long way from being met. International and regional security institutions have remained somewhat resistant to accountability for gender equality and women's empowerment, including in ensuring women's leadership and participation, protecting women from violence, and allocating budgets needed to support implementation of the resolution.

*Leadership:* As of April 2008, there was just one woman heading a United Nations peacekeeping mission, as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Liberia, and there were just four women Deputy Special Representatives in UN peacekeeping missions. Women represented 17 per cent of senior staff in the United Nations' Department of Peacekeeping Operations, averaged 1.9 per cent of the military personnel contributed by Member States, and 7.6 per cent of police.<sup>21</sup> The Secretary General has made it a priority to bring gender balance to this situation, declaring to a June 2008 meeting of the Security Council: "I am eager to deploy more women worldwide, not just as police, military and civilian personnel but also at the highest levels of mission leadership."<sup>22</sup>

Representation of women in peace negotiations is also poor. In 2007 and 2008, peace processes to resolve conflicts in northern Uganda, Darfur, and Somalia, showed remarkably little progress in supporting women's inclusion on negotiating delegations or even among observers. In the peace talks for Northern Uganda in 2007-2008, for instance, there were never more than two women out of 17 negotiators on the delegations of either the government or the Lord's Resistance Army.<sup>23</sup>

A dramatic illustration of the accountability deficit for SCR 1325 emerges from a direct contrast between its accountability mechanisms and those for another important thematic resolution, SCR 1612 (2005) on Children and Armed Conflict, which comes equipped with the accountability tools stressed throughout this report: leadership, mandate reform, incentives, moni-

toring, reporting systems, and a compliance regime (see Box 6C.)

### Accountability gaps: SCR 1820

Gender-specific aspects of conflict – including widespread and systematic rape – have not triggered a protection response commensurate with other actions considered national and international security threats. This is despite growing evidence that the nature of conflict is changing, and that armed forces, insurgents, and rebels now target women and children for sexual violence as a tactic of warfare. The statistics on sexual violence are staggering: in South Kivu in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) alone there were 27,000 reported rapes in 2006; in 2005 in Liberia levels of sexual violence in camps for internally displaced persons were so high that almost 80 per cent of women and girls had been subject to attack.<sup>24</sup> The brutality of these rapes is so severe and the intention to inflict permanent harm is so manifest that the "destruction of the vagina" is being treated as an officially recorded war injury in the DRC.<sup>25</sup> Reports of high levels of sexual mutilation, sexual slavery, and forced pregnancy in conflicts in the North Kivu province of the DRC as well as in Darfur suggest that the absence of a preventive response creates a climate of impunity in which such abuses multiply. Nevertheless, strategies for protecting women are not systematically instituted.

A number of United Nations agencies, including UNIFEM, are working jointly via a coordination mechanism, United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, to build the coherence and impact of the United Nations' efforts to prevent sexual violence and support survivors.<sup>26</sup> UNIFEM identified a gap in the United Nations' peace-keeping practice in this regard: in those peacekeeping missions that currently have a mandate to protect civilians, there is little concrete guidance for peacekeepers on how to prevent widespread and systematic sexual violence, particularly where it is deployed as a method of warfare. UNIFEM worked with the United

Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, and the governments of Canada and the United Kingdom, to review operational guidance for troops to enable them to identify women's needs for protection and to deploy forces and use response tactics that prevent attacks on women.<sup>27</sup> This work became part of the groundswell of concern in early 2008 to take action to prevent sexual violence in conflict. The outcome of this groundswell was SCR 1820, a resolution with the potential to bring about strong accountability measures (see Box 6D).

Unfortunately, the credibility of United Nations peacekeepers in preventing widespread sexual violence has been undermined by individual cases of peacekeepers engaging in serious human rights violations, from trafficking in women and girls to sexu-

al exploitation. These abuses have received an accountability response from the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, which followed up a high-level investigation of sexual exploitation and abuse in 2004-2005<sup>28</sup> with conduct and discipline reforms, pressure on Member States to prosecute perpetrators sent home in disgrace from peacekeeping missions, a victim compensation programme, and the appointment of senior staff to field missions in order to ensure attention to the issue.<sup>29</sup> The effectiveness of these measures depends on the commitment of Troop Contributing Countries to prosecute repatriated peacekeepers, and on the willingness of survivors to report the abuse. Much more needs to be done by international actors to ensure that local communities have confidence in the system.

**BOX  
6D**

#### **Security Council Resolution 1820: Sexual Violence as a Tactic of Warfare**

A former United Nations force commander recently noted that "it is more dangerous to be a woman than to be a soldier in Eastern DRC".<sup>i</sup> In contemporary conflicts, women are increasingly on the front-line. Sexual violence against displaced women collecting fuel has become so common that camp workers in Darfur have abbreviated the phenomenon to 'firewood rape'. But is the sexual violence they suffer a matter for the world's foremost peace and security body? On 19 June 2008, the United Nations Security Council answered that question with a resounding yes – voting unanimously for a resolution that describes sexual violence as a tactic of war and a matter of international security. SCR 1820 (2008)<sup>ii</sup> stands as an essential complement to the full implementation of SCR 1325 on women, peace and security. Among other provisions, the Resolution:

- recognises that efforts to prevent and respond to sexual violence as a tactic of war may be linked to the maintenance of international peace and security – underlining that, as a security issue, it deserves a security response and therefore rightly belongs on the Council's agenda;
- affirms the recognition of sexual violence in conflict as a war crime, crime against humanity and constituent act of genocide, and hence a matter that can be referred to the sanctions committee;
- strengthens the prohibition on amnesty for such crimes;
- calls for stronger and clearer guidelines to United Nations peacekeepers to prevent sexual violence against civilians;
- calls for more systematic and regular reporting on the issue; and
- asserts the importance of women's participation in all processes related to stopping sexual violence in conflict, including their participation in peace talks.

## Enhancing multilateral organisations' accountability to gender equality

A 2006 review<sup>30</sup> of the extent to which several United Nations agencies have incorporated accountability for gender equality in their policy and programming guidance makes the following important points:

- A major focus of United Nations reform has been to link accountability to results-based management (RBM). Under RBM, the main area for which agencies and staff are accountable is *managing* for results, rather than delivering them. Development results are the responsibility of countries themselves. So staff are accountable for the processes underpinning achievement of gender equality – including gender mainstreaming – but not gender equality *results*.
- Even with regard to *processes*, none of the policies and plans reviewed indi-

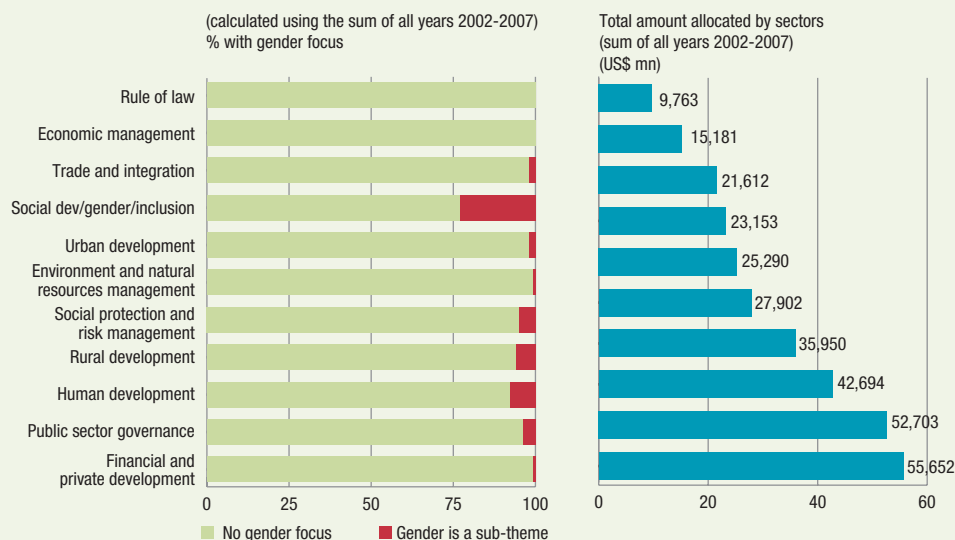
cated any *consequences* for poor performance on gender equality or requirements to undertake tracking of financial commitments.

- While it is often highlighted as a lead strategy, there is no agreement on a minimum United Nations standard for assessing *performance* of staff or agencies in applying gender mainstreaming.

There is a similarly ambiguous accountability chain for gender equality in the International Financial Institutions (IFIs). All have gender equality policies, though they differ in enforceability. The IFIs are becoming increasingly vocal in presenting plans supporting stronger commitments to gender equality. The World Bank's Global Monitoring Report 2007 advocates for better monitoring and mainstreaming of women's empowerment and equality in international assistance. The World Bank calls on IFIs to use their considerable capacity of analysis, coordination and high-level policy

**FIGURE 6.5** | Gender as a Sub-theme in World Bank Lending, 2002-2007

Gender is identified as a sub-theme in less than 5% of lending projects between 2002 and 2007. This does not mean that projects fail to incorporate gender, but rather that gender equality objectives are not indicated amongst the main thematic focus area of these programmes.



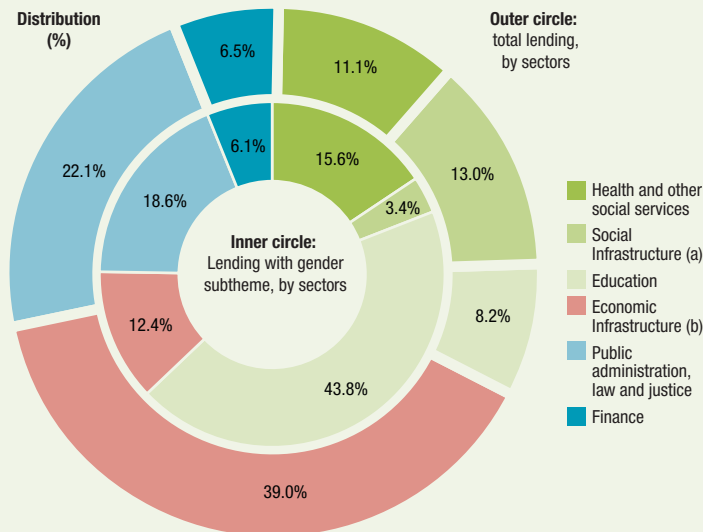
Notes: In order to assess whether projects had a gender focus, the database was analysed to incorporate all projects mentioning the "Social development, gender and inclusion" theme and within it, the "Gender" sub-theme. This graph shows information for proportions allocated to projects that (a) do not have a gender sub-theme, regardless of whether they have mentioned the theme "social development, gender and inclusion", or (b) have a gender focus, that is, have mentioned the theme "social development, gender and inclusion" and have a "gender" sub-theme within it. It is worth mentioning that calculations were made considering all themes (up to five) mentioned by projects, disregarding the order given in the database, hence, a project could be counted more than once within thematic categories.

Source: World Bank Projects Database.

**FIGURE 6.6** | Sector-wise Allocation of World Bank Lending, 2007

A comparison of the sectoral allocation of total lending against lending with a specific gender sub-theme shows a striking divergence in relation to economic infrastructure, which accounts for 39% of total lending but just 12% of allocations under the gender sub-theme. A much greater proportion, in contrast, is allocated to education within the gender sub-theme: 44% compared to 8% in total lending.

Distribution by sectors for total lending and lending with a gender “sub-theme”, 2006



Notes: See notes in Figure 6.4

(a) Includes water, sanitation and flood protection; and information and communications  
(b) Includes transportation; energy; agriculture, fishing and forestry; and industry and trade.

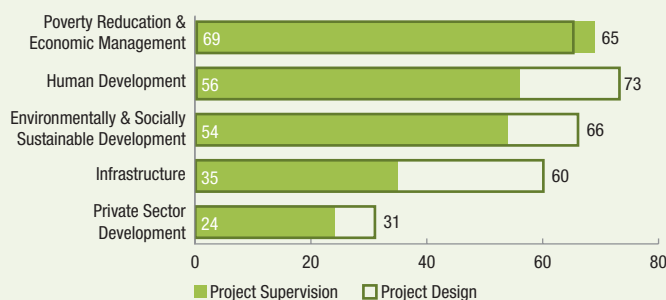
Source: World Bank Projects database.

dialogue to take a leadership role in investing resources to include gender equality and women’s empowerment in the results agenda. More systematic gender analysis is needed for the US\$43 billion that IFIs disbursed in 2006 and for future years.<sup>31</sup> Some IFIs do currently make an effort to identify areas of lending that have gender equality as a primary target or goal. The World Bank for instance lists gender as a sub-theme amongst a number of others that may be selected by project managers to help classify individual projects. To capture the fact that the primary goal of a project may not be to address women’s empowerment, but secondary goals may include attention to gender issues, project managers have the option of listing individual projects against up to five sub-themes. Figure 6.5 shows the frequency of the identification of gender as a sub-theme in the projects listed in the publically available database. Figure 6.6 is an analysis of the sectoral location of spending in projects with a specific gender sub-theme, and this indicates that, as with OECD gender marked funds, there is a concentration on social sectors.

**FIGURE 6.7** | Attention to Gender Issues in Project Design and Project Supervision in World Bank Lending Focuses More on Social Sectors

Overall, social sectors have a higher attention to gender issues than infrastructure and private sector development, both in the design but particularly in the supervision of project.

% projects with satisfactory attention to gender issues by network and sector, fiscal years 2002-2006



Note: Attention to gender issues is measured by the World Bank Quality Assessment Group, which performs in-depth analysis of the attention to gender issues — or relative degree of gender mainstreaming — within projects, rating them on a scale from 1 to 4 according to the extent to which World Bank Staff incorporate gender issues (from highly satisfactory to highly unsatisfactory) within the design of the project or its supervision. The information refers to the period from the fiscal year 2002 to fiscal year 2006. The classification used corresponds to the sector breakdown provided by the original source.

Source: World Bank (2007b).

While the gender sub-theme marker provides project managers with the opportunity to indicate activities targeting or benefiting women, this tool is imperfect as it may not be consistently applied: projects focusing on areas that may well be of enormous significance to women’s rights – such as school infrastructure – may not be identified by their managers as having gender as a primary focus. To capture qualitative elements of gender mainstreaming, Bank staff have developed a quality assessment system that indicates the relative level of gender mainstreaming in project design and project supervision. According to the Bank’s 2006-2007 data, 60 per cent of this sample demonstrate attention to gender issues in the design phase, declining to 45 per cent in the implementation phase. Figure 6.7 shows that the level of gender mainstreaming thus identified is lower in the lending areas of private sector development and infrastructure.<sup>32</sup>

### **The gender mainstreaming mandate: Is it time for reform?**

“Gender mainstreaming,” a strategy that calls for gender analysis in every development intervention to identify different impacts on men and women, was promoted by gender equality advocates at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.

Reliance on gender mainstreaming as a core strategy for advancing gender equality has had some positive effects in generating better analysis of accountability of international institutions. The World Bank, as noted above, now publishes an annual monitoring report on its Gender Mainstreaming Strategy that assesses the extent to which gender is mainstreamed into country diag-

noses, development sectors and bank lending, although it does not include the amount of funds flowing to gender equality.<sup>33</sup> The United Nations Development Group (UNDG) annually tracks the extent to which reports from United Nations Country Teams reflect activities to advance gender equality and women’s empowerment – and has found significant increases over the past three years in reporting on programmes that support ending violence against women, mainstreaming gender equality in HIV/AIDS programmes and in national development strategies, girls’ education, and support for collection of sex disaggregated data – although this analysis still does not capture financial flows.<sup>34</sup>

#### **BOX 6E | New Funds for Gender Equality**

##### **THE SPANISH MDG ACHIEVEMENT FUND (2007)**

A US\$700 million fund to stimulate action on the MDGs through the United Nations system. Of this amount, over \$100 million was earmarked for joint programming in support of gender equality by United Nations Country Teams.

##### **THE NETHERLANDS MDG3 FUND: INVESTING IN EQUALITY (2008)**

A €50 million fund to support activities in priority areas for accelerating achievement of MDG3: women’s property and inheritance rights, women’s formal employment in the labour market, representation of women in politics, and combating violence against women. It is open to non-governmental organisations dedicated to equal rights for women and girls in developing countries, including regional organisations.

##### **THE DANISH MDG3 GLOBAL CALL TO ACTION (2008)**

A campaign to deliver a torch to 100 leaders, asking them to “do something extra” to promote gender equality and women’s empowerment. It aims to produce a doubling of development aid targeted to women. Denmark plans to double its own aid for women’s economic empowerment from approximately DKR 200 million to DKR 400 million by 2010.

##### **THE NIKE AND NOVO FOUNDATIONS’ “GIRL EFFECT” INITIATIVE (2008)**

A combined US \$100 million fund to help adolescent girls in developing countries bring social and economic change to their families, communities, and countries.

##### **GOLDMAN SACHS “10,000 WOMEN” (2008)**

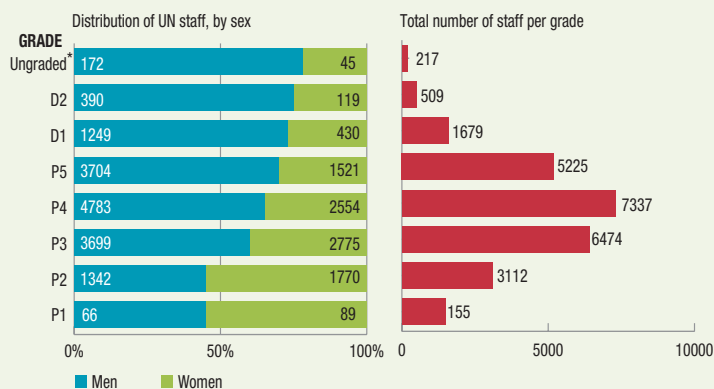
A US \$100 million global initiative to provide at least 10,000 women, mostly in emerging markets, with an education in business and management to support growth of women’s enterprises.

##### **THE UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUND TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

Founded in 1996, it received less than US\$10 million in contributions until 2004. For the period 2005-2008, total contributions, including pledges, climbed to nearly US\$40 million.

**FIGURE 6.8** | Distribution of UN Professional Staff by Sex and by Grades, 2006

The distribution of UN staff by sex and grade show a very clear pattern: numbers of women staff to men diminish significantly at higher grades, reaching less than a quarter at the highest level.



Notes: This information only includes staff with contracts of 12 months or longer; data does not include information on National Professional Officers, which are published separately. \*Ungraded staff include positions of the under secretary-general, deputy secretary-general, etc.

Source: UN System, High Level Committee on Management website.

However, some argue that gender mainstreaming has resulted in hiding rather than illuminating efforts, and especially budgets, to achieve gender equality. If every sector – health, education, infrastructure, agriculture – has a gender dimension, this is interpreted to mean that gender equality is itself not a sector and thus needs no separate budget allocation. For example, it is difficult to assess the portion of allocations and expenditures on gender equality in the Multi-Donor Trust Fund established in 2005 to assist Sudan in implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.<sup>35</sup> At the Third Sudan Donors' Consortium in May 2008 in

Oslo, one presenter to a forum for women activists estimated that of the US\$2 billion committed in 2005 for Sudan's recovery/reconstruction investment plan, less than 2 per cent is dedicated to programmes that address women's empowerment.<sup>36</sup>

In recognition of the limitations of gender mainstreaming as an operational strategy, a stronger focus on direct investments in promoting women's empowerment seems to be emerging. Major bilateral donors and private sector partners have recently dedicated funds to support programming directly aimed at gender equality and women's empowerment that could be a harbinger of the future. An indicative list is shown in Box 6E.

### Can the gender equality architecture demand greater accountability?

Most international and regional multilateral organisations have a gender 'architecture' composed of gender units, networks of gender focal points, and gender advisors. The positioning, authority and resource base of these entities tasked with promoting and monitoring gender equality in international organisations directly shape their capacity to support and monitor system-wide accountability for gender equality. Within the United Nations, the gender architecture consists of four gender-specific entities – the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues (OSAGI), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (see Box 6F), the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (UNDAW), and the International

### BOX 6F | UNIFEM: Large Mandate, Scant Resources

Since 2005, a range of high level decision makers and women's rights networks have raised questions about whether the United Nations 'architecture' has the necessary capacity to make a difference to women's lives. One of the first such official documents raising this point was produced by an Independent Advisory Panel convened by the Consultative Committee of UNIFEM to assess the structural impediments to UNIFEM's ability to fulfill its mandate. The panel found that inadequate status, ambiguous authority and insufficient resources constrained UNIFEM's effectiveness. A clear pattern emerged of a gender equality architecture composed of "marginalised mechanisms that are established but hamstrung from adequately fulfilling their roles."<sup>ii</sup> The resource constraints identified were significant. While not strictly comparable, the report stated that according to 2003 data on staffing levels, UNICEF had 2,794 core staff, UNFPA had 980 core staff and UNIFEM had 47 core staff.

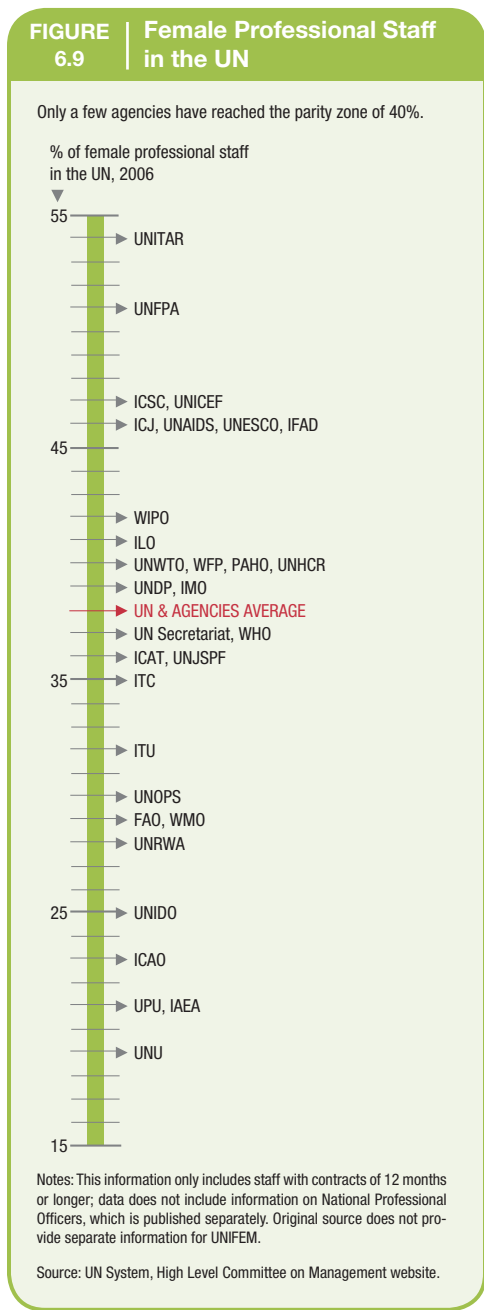
Institute for Research and Training for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) – as well as a wide network of gender units, focal points, and advisers in United Nations organisations across the system.

The inability of gender specialists and units to call their own multilateral organisations to account – even to implement the policies and strategies that have been agreed – is a systemic problem. The positioning, authority and resources of gender units in the United Nations and other multilateral organisations need to change so these units have voice and leverage to call for accountability to implement agreed gender equality policies, as well as to monitor allocations and expenditures.

In 2006, the United Nations High Level Panel on System Wide Coherence – composed of 12 high-level decision makers and chaired by the Prime Ministers of Mozambique, Norway and Pakistan – arrived at the conclusion that “the UN needs...a dynamic UN entity focused on gender equality and women’s empowerment. This entity should mobilize forces of change at the global level and inspire enhanced results at the country level”.<sup>37</sup> In 2007<sup>38</sup> and again in 2008<sup>39</sup>, the Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations issued a note to the General Assembly, reiterating that, although the United Nations system has made a significant contribution at the normative and policy levels, deficiencies in coordination, accountability, authority and resources have hindered the provision of adequate support at the national level. The urgency and opportunity to act has also generated a global campaign, Gender Equality Architecture Reform (GEAR), with women’s networks from every region calling for the creation of a stronger, fully resourced women’s entity, headed by an Under Secretary-General and with extensive country presence.<sup>40</sup>

### The need for unswerving leadership

Evaluations of the gender equality performance of international – and national – organisations have highlighted the critical role of leadership and the importance of



an unswerving message that staff are expected to deliver on the promise to achieve gender equality results in performance improvements.

At the same time, leadership is expected to deliver on its commitment to achieve gender parity in leadership positions in international organisations. On the positive side, the numbers of women in international institutions have been increasing. Figures 6.8 and 6.9 show that in the United Na-

tions numbers of women are up. However, women remain at the bottom of power hierarchies and have only reached the 'parity zone' in a few United Nations agencies. While this critical mass at lower levels could bode well for women's eventual access to leadership ranks, there is concern that women are leaving the system before they reach authority positions because of inadequate incentives to remain, including weak family-friendly policies.

The concrete value of unswerving leadership support for gender equality in words and actions cannot be understated. The United Nations Secretary-General's decision to launch a global campaign to end violence against women in March 2008 is an important example of a leader of an international organisation demonstrating that he will take a public stand against this pandemic. These types of leadership actions are sorely needed to inspire action.

## Conclusion and recommendations

Governments are ultimately accountable for advancing gender equality and women's empowerment, but multilateral aid and security organisations have an essential role to play in supporting them. This role is increasingly important in a changing environment for aid and security. The analysis in this chapter leads to a number of priorities for enhancing the accountability for gender equality of multilateral organisations and security institutions:

- *All key elements of organizational accountability in multilateral institutions – mandates, incentives, performance indicators and monitoring – need an overhaul to build gender responsiveness both in the development aid and peace building resources these institutions provide.* Numerous assessments have demonstrated that the progress of multilateral organisations and security institutions in implementing their own gender equality policies and strategies has been too slow. Gaps range from inadequate implementation of SC reso-

lution 1325 to slow progress in meeting targets to achieve gender parity in leadership of most multilateral organizations. The much stronger accountability mechanisms established for other issues – for instance, accountability for SC resolution 1612 on Children and Armed Conflict – demonstrate a way forward for gender equality and women's rights.

- *Multilateral organisations and security institutions must enhance their accountability by regularly tracking and reporting on the resources – human and financial – that they dedicate to gender equality and women's empowerment.* This is an appropriate complement to the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. It also complements the growing number of Gender-Responsive Budget initiatives that are part of public financial management reforms at country level. Tracking and reporting is essential to determining whether adequate resources are dedicated to achieving the gender equality and women's empowerment goals of the MDGs and the Millennium Declaration. Tracking and reporting is practical, achievable, and helps identify areas of under-investment such as economic infrastructure. Continued failure to agree on a coherent system to account for allocations and expenditures on gender equality by multilateral organisations represents an accountability gap that needs to be addressed.
- *The debate on the gender architecture of the United Nations is an encouraging sign that policy makers are beginning to recognise the structural impediments to accountability in their practices and policies.* There is a growing consensus that gender equality experts within mainstream development and security institutions need a stronger voice, greater authority, and expanded resources to enhance the accountability of their own organizations.
- *Alliances between national governmental and non-governmental women's or-*

“As we celebrate the achievements of Timor-Leste as one of the world's youngest nations, we remain deeply committed to building a country of equal rights for all citizens, both men and women, of equality for all citizens in the eyes of the law. We have come a long way in building a society based on respect for human rights and the ideals of justice, liberty and equality. But great challenges remain. We must continue to create an atmosphere of stability, so that people do not feel afraid and have confidence in the future. We must put an end to domestic violence. We must ensure that the principles to which we have committed ourselves by signing the Convention for the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women translate into real improvements in the lives of women and girls, not only in Timor-Leste, but all over the world. As a nation, we shall never forget the important contribution and sacrifice of the women of Timor-Leste during our struggle for freedom. Accountability to women is the key to building a nation based not on violence but on peace and security, development and human rights. Men and women must work in partnership towards these goals. This is our hope for the future. The women of Timor-Leste expect nothing less.”



**Dr. José Ramos-Horta**

*President of Timor-Leste and Nobel Peace Prize Winner, 1996*

*ganisations and networks, international and regional women's rights networks, and gender equality experts working in regional and international multilateral organisations have been essential to secure pivotal changes in the policies that guide development and security institutions. Pressure from women's rights advocates and organisations on the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria was an essential step in reaching an agreement to increased allocations to women and girls' health needs in its next round of grant-making. Partnerships between gender experts in the OECD-DAC, bilateral organisations, United Nations organisations, women's machineries in recipient countries, global and regional NGO gender equality networks have produced pressure for greater accountability to women's empowerment in the mechanisms for aid management that*

are central to the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.

- *More concerted and systematic efforts must be made by women's rights groups in the North to monitor the extent to which their governments are adequately prioritising and funding gender equality and women's empowerment through their bilateral and multilateral contributions.*

The norms, standards and evidence that underpin the consensus on gender equality and women's empowerment are often generated through processes facilitated by multilateral organisations. As such, multilateral organisations have a special responsibility to model accountability for efforts to advance this goal. Like the countries that they are mandated to support, meeting the challenge of moving from words to action will be the litmus test of their accountability.