

GENDER MAINSTREAMING;

-Equality lost in translation?



Abstract

2008 has been yet another year, where women's empowerment and gender equality has tried to reach the International Development Agenda. Previous years were; Beijing 10+, Beijing 5+, Beijing 1995, and as thematic under various International Conferences, and the UN's Decade for Women; 1976-1985, which originated from the International Women's Year 1975. This time the attempt was made by the Danish Government and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs by launching an International MDG3 Campaign and holding a conference in Copenhagen in April, 2008, with a World Bank inspired slogan; "*It Pays Off – investing in women and gender equality makes economic sense*". Other initiatives have been the establishment of a MDG3 network; a torchbearer scheme where different stakeholders pleaded to promoting gender issues and women within their particular field of expertise; Danida has developed a gender toolbox; and the Danida days in June had a concentrated gender focus etc. Also, Denmark's policy paper; "A World for All", awards more funds to the area.

What about when it comes to actual aid implementation and creating visible results for women in Danish programme countries and sector programmes? Because all research and gender mainstreaming studies conclude that especially implementation barriers are the main problem. In order to examine such an issue, this master thesis has taken as its point of departure to study the framing, implementation and efforts of gender mainstreaming in Danish agricultural sector programme support (ASPS) and rural water supply and sanitation (WSPS) in Uganda and Vietnam from 1995 and onwards. The choice of case study units and countries builds on the following argumentation. Gender mainstreaming has since Beijing become *the strategy* for promoting gender equality, and is also employed by Danida, at least officially speaking. The evaluation period of more than ten years should be enough time for gender mainstreaming efforts to materialize into gender equality progress. The focus on ASPS and WSPS is due to the fact that these sectors are important to many women in rural areas in development countries, because food, water, sanitation and health mainly lie within their gendered work responsibilities and are thus livelihood areas of great importance and potential in improving the everyday lives of women. The two case study countries were mainly selected due to issues of comparability. Danida also considers their gender mainstreaming efforts to be advanced in these two particular countries. This thesis is therefore build on the logic of the comparative case study design, using both quantitative and qualitative methods e.g. survey, statistics, interviews and field observations from Uganda and Vietnam (2008/2007), as well as evaluation and impact studies, sector reviews and documents, and performance reports etc.

From the empirical data and through the analysis, it was found that although there is reluctance towards applying affirmative action legislation and quotas by the current government in Denmark, this practice is widely used in Danish ODA. In fact, gender mainstreaming is in sector programme support more framed as WID than GAD from which it originated. It seems self-explanatory and even tautological that a gender mainstreaming strategy that primarily is framed as a WID approach, with no actual interventions directed at challenging the structural divisions of labour or the cultural norms and social practices which help to reproduce them, would *translate into very few gender equality improvements*. And it did. But a few emerged in ASPS, because the skills learnt and results demonstrated can provide women with a new and recognized contributor role that WSPS does not give. The benefits resulting from women's participation in the water supply and sanitation sector were particularly the reduction of labour burdens and work time, because their water collection time was diminished. Indirect health improvements also emerged due to fewer water and (sanitation) related diseases. Depending on whether the freed time was reinvested in income generation activities or recreation, there were financial and social gains e.g. nurturing the children and resting.

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Appendix III; *The raw data, all the transcribed interviews from Denmark, Uganda and Vietnam, which can be found on the attached CD, including all the interview guides and questions.*

Abbreviation Index – (Alphabetical order)

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASMED	Agency for Small and Medium Size Enterprises
ASPS	Agricultural Sector Support Programme
AUB	Asia United Bank
AVERT	Organisation advocating and giving information on HIV issues
CB	Capacity Building
CBMS	Community Based Management System
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CERWASS	Rural Clean Water Supply and Sanitation in Vietnam
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
D	Democracy
DAC	Development Assistance Committee of OECD
DAFE	Department of Agriculture and Forestry Extension (in Vietnam)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DATICS	District Agricultural Training and Information Centre (in Uganda)
DCP	Department of Crop Production (in Vietnam)
DST	Department of Science and Technology (of MARD)
DWD	Department of Water Development (in Uganda)
EHD	Environmental Health Division (of MOH in Uganda)
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
FF	Farmer’s Forum in Uganda
FO	Farmer Organisation in Uganda
FU	Farmer’s Union in Vietnam
GAD	Gender and Development
GE	Gender Equality
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GoU	Government of Uganda
GoV	Government of Vietnam
HASP	Household Agricultural Support Programme (in Uganda)
ICD	Information and Communication for Support of Rural Livelihoods
ICHRD	International Centre for Human Resource Development
ICP	Indochinese Communist Party
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IGO	International Government Organisation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ILSSA	Institute of Labour, Science and Social Affairs (in Vietnam)
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IPM	Integrated Pest Management (in Vietnam)
LaBCAU	Labour Based Contractors Association of Uganda
LC I-V	Local Councils in Uganda (LC1; Village, LC2; Parish, LC3; Sub-country, LC5; District)
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (in Uganda)
MARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (in Vietnam)
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (in Denmark)
MFPED	Ministry of Finance, planning and Economic Development (in Uganda)
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (in Uganda)

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MNCs	Multinational Cooperation
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sport (in Uganda)
MOET	Ministry of Education and Training (in Vietnam)
MOF	Ministry of Finance (in Vietnam)
MOH	Ministry of Health
MoLG	Ministry of Local Governance (in Uganda)
MONRE	Ministry of National Resources and Environment (in Vietnam)
MPI	Ministry of Planning and Investing (in Vietnam)
MWE	Ministry of Water and Environment (in Uganda)
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Service (in Uganda)
NAEC	National Agricultural Extension Centre (in Vietnam)
NARC	National Agricultural Research Centre (In Uganda)
NAWOU	National Association of Women Organisations (in Uganda)
NCFAW	National Committee for the Advancement of Women (in Vietnam)
NMU	National Management Unit
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NTP II	National Target Programme (in Vietnam)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OXFAM	A Humanitarian Development Organisation
PFA	Platform for Action
PMA	Plan for the Modernization of Agriculture (in Uganda)
PPD	Plant Protection Department
PPH	Post Harvest Handling (in Vietnam)
RAFU	Road Agency Formation Unit (in Uganda)
PM&E	Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation
RUWASA	Rural Water and Sanitation
RWSS	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SL	Small Livestock (in Vietnam)
SP	Service Provider
SPC	Supreme People’s Court of Vietnam
TAS	Technical Advisory Services
UBOS	Ugandan Bureau of Statistics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UWASNET	Uganda Water and Sanitation NGO Network
VBARD	Vietnam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
VCCI	The Vietnam Chambers of Commerce and Industry
VGCL	Vietnam General Confederation of labour
WAD	Women and Development
WB	World Bank
WID	Women in Development
WOUGNET	Women of Uganda Network
WSPS	Water Sector Programme Support
WU	Women’s Union in Vietnam

1.0 The Problem Formulation; a project introduction

This master thesis takes as its point of departure an initial curiosity towards the concept of gender mainstreaming (GM). What does it actually mean? Within the gender and development literature many different definitions, interpretations and conceptualizations can be found, suggesting that contexts and agents have a vital stake in the meaning ascribed to gender and gender mainstreaming. Therefore, it would be interesting to uncover whether different discourses exist, and how they are constructed and legitimized within various organizational structures and institutional policy frames.

The term gender mainstreaming is also relevant and interesting academically as well as policy wise, because it over the last decade has become *the strategy* for promoting gender equality, at least officially speaking (Poulsen, 2006:4), but the concept has also received more attention within development research, and theoretical contributions are constantly developing (Beveridge and Nott, 2002), (Daly, 2005), (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002), (Perrons, 2005), (Rao and Kelleher, 2005), (Squires, 2005), (Verloo, 2005), (Walby, 2003-4) and (Walby, 2005). In the era after the Fourth United Nations Women's Conference in Beijing, 1995, where the international community pledged itself to The Platform for Action (PFA), emphasising the importance of integrating a gender perspective into all policies and programmes (Poulsen, 2006:6-7), studies and literature have emerged to examine whether gender mainstreaming has lived up to its promises. The research is inconclusive, showing both “successes” and “failures” in gender mainstreaming practices.¹

Moser views gender mainstreaming as a process, which basically consists of four different but related stages, first; embracing the terminology of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, second; getting a gender mainstreaming policy into place, third; implementing gender mainstreaming in practice, and fourth; evaluating or auditing the practice of gender mainstreaming. These stages can according to Moser be used to discuss and assess the progress of gender mainstreaming in practice (Moser, 2005:576, 577, 585). Although this “linear and check list” focus of gender mainstreaming has to do with Moser's practical GM work in studying and developing assessment methodologies for evaluation purposes, it can be accused of neglecting vital aspects of

¹ UNIFEM does not believe that it makes sense to talk about failures of gender mainstreaming (GM), as it is a constant and never ending process, for which reason it is more important to identify which aspects of GM that are in place and the overall constraints of its implementation (Moser and Moser, 2005:15). However, focusing solely on the process or working aspects of gender mainstreaming can imply that a critical assessment of GM as a strategy to obtain gender equality remains unexamined, as it is taken for granted that as long as it is implemented successfully, it will deliver. Therefore, in this thesis I will discuss the political, theoretical and eventual transformational core and logic of GM.

the whole dynamics of the policy making process. Within gender mainstreaming debates *two opposing views* exist. One camp seeing it as a primarily technical process, including regular policy actors with expert status and neutrality, which can be said to be rooted in a traditional theory of policy making, because it stresses policy making as a rational and consensus building process based on a series of steps from problem formulation and evaluation of alternatives through to policy implementation within a policy system with clear boundaries. The other perception and theoretical model sees policy making and thereby gender mainstreaming as an essential political process, in which interests and perceptions of agents enter and collide at all stages, and thereby necessitating negotiation and cooperation. Gender mainstreaming is believed to have the potential of (engendered) democratization by giving voice to previous unheard parties, whereby introducing new actors into the policy making process (Walby, 2003-4:2), (Leat, 2005:11). Perhaps the gender mainstreaming process is better understood as entailing both political aspects e.g. conflict, power struggles, negotiations, compromises and consensus building, as well as more technical dimensions.

This latter and more technical dimension, however, also has to do with the actual implementation work, processes, and barriers of mainstreaming gender, which is of particular interest to and a focus in this thesis. This is due to two main factors. First of all, due to personal experiences of working with gender issues in Vietnam in 2007 for the INGO Care, the realization was that GM had its own set of barriers. A fact that the empirical data validates, because it is at the stage of implementation that gender mainstreaming faces its main challenges, which will be elaborated upon below.

1.1 The already obtained knowledge – the empirical data

In a comprehensive study from 2003 Caroline and Annalise Moser studied 14 international development agencies, representing a mix of bilateral and multilateral donors, UN agencies and non-governmental organizations.² They found that in regards to adopting the gender mainstreaming terminology and getting a policy in place all the organizations were quite successful. Some common features were found in the organizations' definition and formulation of a GM policy. Not surprisingly, the conceptualizations of GM adhered closely to the definition set by the UN

² Moser and Moser's systematic analysis was conducted of the following organizations; DFID, CIDA, Sida, WB, IDB, ADB, UNICEF, UNIFEM, UNDP, UN Habitat, Oxfam GB, Hivos, ActionAid and ACORD. The study relied entirely on accessible documentation (Moser and Moser, 2005:11, 20), for which reason actual practice can vary from promised statements, organizational goals and commitments. Another bias is all the undocumented activities and actions taken.

Economic and Social Council, which stress the difference between men and women in relation to their needs and priorities, their right to equal opportunity and the goal of gender equality. The actual policy of gender mainstreaming also consisted of some similarities across the different organizations e.g. gender analysis, gender training, monitoring and evaluation, a combined approach to the placement of responsibility, where all staff members are responsible but supported from gender specialists (Moser and Moser, 2005:11-14). An UN survey from 1997 showed that 70% of the 189 country participants at the Beijing Conference had drafted a National Action Plan for the implementation of PFA (Pietilä, 2002:84). However, in regards to the actual implementation of policies the picture was more unclear and a wide range of problems and barriers became apparent, as there seems(ed) to be a gap between commitments made and actual policy practices.

From the challenges experienced with policy implementation the empirical data points to organizational barriers, policy evaporation and issues of instrumentalism. The explanation in regards to the latter is that gender policies are generally formulated within a specific organizational context, with certain pressures, mandate, and ideology, and a given policy has to fit accordingly. Therefore, instrumentalism is considered to be inevitable as the “real” world of politics consists of compromises and strategic alliances. Although, it has been argued that instrumentalism can be a way of subverting the neo-liberal discourse, some feminists claim that it is more likely that instrumentalism risks depoliticising the transformative nature of the feminist agenda. The second obstacle of implementation, namely that of policy evaporation, which means that “good” policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice, is explained by several factors such as; a lack of staff capacity and their understanding of gender mainstreaming terminology, lack of ownership and barriers related to organizational culture, recruitment and working procedures (Mekha and Gupta, 2006:4), (Moser and Moser, 2005:14-18), (Moser, 2005:584).

Others refer to the organizational barriers and resistance under the theme of the gendered organization, stressing the importance of changes in institutional structures, values and attitudes so that they are less gender discriminatory (Poulsen, 2006:19-20). Rao and Kelleher elaborate this perspective with an analysis of organizational deep structure. They found that *two overall* dimensions need altering. First, working at improving the work-family balance which would accommodate many of women’s everyday problems, and second, equalizing power relations within organizations and institutions, which involves women and men’s consciousness, women’s access to

resources, information and training, informal cultural norms and excluding practices, and lastly, formal institutional policies (Mekha and Gupta, 2006:3), (Rao and Kelleher, 2005:64-68).

These insights helped shape a new understanding that gender mainstreaming required organizations to demonstrate their own commitments to gender equality goals and values before practicing it on the ground. An Oxfam staff said; “*Could we realistically expect to achieve at programme-level what we could not achieve in our own workplace?*” (Quoted in Moser and Moser 2005 page 16 from Oxfam 2003). This meant that in the decade following Beijing a great deal of resources were put into transforming the organizational culture by working with changing attitudes, values and male and female resistance primarily through gender training. However, it proved to be a very challenging task to try to alter behaviour, norms and attitudes, including daily work procedures (Mekha and Gupta, 2006:4).

In order to accommodate these problems of implementation and organizational change, a whole body of gender related mainstreaming tools have emerged e.g. gender guidelines, gender auditing, gender impact assessments, gender analysis, checklists, gender budgeting, gender training etc. In addition to this, these more technical studies also stress different additional pre-conditions necessary for successful implementation of a gender mainstreaming approach, those being; commitment and accountability from leadership and management at highest levels, explicit gender equality policy, located responsibility for mainstreaming, availability of gender expertise, gender resources and instruments (Poulsen, 2006:20), (Rao and Kelleher, 2005:61).

However, after conducting three case studies with different regional location and institutional frameworks, Mehra and Gupta³ found some similar common factors, which can help specify these pre-conditions even further. First of all, not only is it important to have the will and commitment from the leadership level, but it also has to be open to innovation, and importantly, allocate the needed financial and human resources. In accordance to gender expertise and training it is claimed to be crucial to focus the efforts in a strategic and relevant matter. For example, it is not necessary that all personnel involved in projects have gender specific knowledge, nor is it required to work at

³ Greeta Rao Gupta is President at the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rekha Mehra is a Gender and Economic Developments Consultant. This case study was based on a violence prevention initiative for Latin America and the Caribbean at the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), five NGOs implementing community-based poverty eradication programs in Africa and finally, an infrastructure project at the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in Bangladesh (Mehra and Gupta, 2006).

all levels and dimensions of society. Rather, it is preferable to select a focal point strategically. Second of all, a vital point is given about the advantage of making gender work and training context and sector specific in order to provide a more practical hands-on version of how to do gender mainstreaming (Mehra and Gupta, 2006:5-7, 13-16). Although, they have made some vital points about concentrating the work on gender, they neglect the pedagogical opportunity of eliminating or reducing gender biases at the individual level by not including all staff members, both men and women, in awareness raising and cultural bias debates.

Others claim that the success of implementation lies with three factors; political opportunity, strategic framing and mobilizing structures (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2002:286). The last factor emphasises the important role of civil society in exercising political pressure to hold the state body accountable. This focus on the internal dimension of gender mainstreaming as mentioned above has resulted in a weaker focus on showing results of developments on the ground and actually learning from these experiences.

Although, it has been quite limited and mostly concentrated on results at the policy level, there is a part of the post-Beijing research that has focused more on the operational side of gender mainstreaming, whereby looking at the effects, outcomes and eventual impacts resulting from this approach. The potentials and achievements made are claimed by an UN Expert Consultation group on the Beijing PFA⁴ with regional representatives to be; greater public awareness of gender inequality and women's capacity to achieve equality, which has strengthened women's organization and their advocacy role. Women's machinery and units within governments are firmly in place and resource allocation to the social sector has improved the status of women. Legal and policy frames are in place across the globe. Human rights provide women's movements with an important advocacy framework, and lastly, there are several improvements in sex-disaggregated data at international and national levels (Moser, 2005:582). Others have stressed that when these policy frames and political openings are exploited even better, there is a potential for furthering the feminist goal of gender equality and women's empowerment even further (Goetz, 1995:54-56).

⁴ The Platform for Action entailed a focus on 12 areas of concern; women and poverty, the education and training of women, women and health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, women and the economy, women in power and decision-making, institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women, human rights of women, women and the media, women and the environment, and the girl-child (Poulsen, 2006:6-7). Also, the PFA is said to be an agenda for women's empowerment and established the breakthrough of the gender concept (Pietilä, 2002:60-73).

However, the PFA and gender mainstreaming policies cannot alone take credit for all these achievements, as they are a part of wider, more resent but also contradictory trends influencing the international development agenda, as the discussions above indicate. The Beijing +5 summarized results, shortcomings, and drawbacks to the feminist goal of equality. Simultaneously, the growing right-wing and fundamentalist movements as well as the politics of identity and global militarism try to discredit and attack certain aspects of feminism and women's rights (Pettman, 2005:674, 685).⁵ In addition, the neo-liberal discourses with expansions and further liberalization of international trade, including economic globalism, privatization and downsizing of the public sector are all factors, which have affected and burdened women more heavily than men (Pietilä, 2006:81-82). Still, it must not be forgotten that women recipients of economic projects, which have reduced their labour and time burdens and/or increased their income have also helped and “empowered” women (Tinker, 1999:270). Concurrently, a growing number of women and NGOs are organizing transnationally and cross-sectionally on human rights and environmental issues to protest against these kinds of trends (Pettman, 2005:686). However, it is postulated that the agendas of the many international funding agencies are shifting, and the current trend is away from participation, human rights and gender equality and towards militarism, security and trade agendas (Awid, 2006:30).

In addition to this, one can off course always question the basis on which such conclusions draw. Are they based on empirical and analytical proof and rigour? This is debateable, because such extensive and sophisticated data material does not exist with world wide coverage. Also, it is claimed that progress has been made in girls' school enrolment, education and training levels. Although improvements have occurred, they can hardly be said to be general, as there are regional and national differences, where ethnicity, race, age, class and geography are among the influential factors. In some (western) countries girls are getting longer and more educated than boys.⁶ In addition, there are some critical methodological issues connected to the measurements and statistics connected to a field like education. First, enrolment rates say nothing about daily school attendance, or the knowledge gained and completion rates. Second, a lot of emphasis is put on the importance of education as a tool to achieve women's empowerment. This assumed causal relationship is

⁵ The controversy is especially concentrated around sexual issues e.g. abortion, lesbian rights, sex work, trafficking, where agents such as the Vatican, some Islamic countries – Iran and Saudi Arabia and the Bush administration have worked against legal rights already obtained in this field by lobbying and fund refusals (Tripp, 2006a:52-53).

⁶ (http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php_URL_ID=24148&URL_DO=DO_Topic&URL_SECTION=201.html) However, when examining UNICEF's statistics for primary education enrolment, girls generally lack behind boys by at least a couple of percentages in all countries except the industrialized countries, where girls score 1% higher. Best scorer is East Asia/Pacific & worst is Sub-Saharan Africa (www.childinfo.org/education.html), (22/09-08 at 14.18 pm.)

questionable for several reasons.⁷ Besides, many studies have shown women's empowerment needs to occur along six different dimensions e.g. economic, socio-cultural, familial/interpersonal, legal, political and psychological, each measured and analysed at various levels of social aggregation and by multiple indicators (Moser and Moser, 2005:18), (Kabeer, 1994:223-263), (Moser, 2005:583).

Third, statistics on enrolment and education can vary greatly according to different sources, which demonstrates the political sensitivity involved in these numbers, as there can be a wish or need for political institutions to legitimize themselves by living up to local, national, regional or international agreements or policy goals (Wade, 2005:314-315). Another vital point is whether the policies are actually put into practice, which the evidence above have shown problems and inconsistencies with. Even if it is assumed that policies are implemented, an important question still remains. Namely, whether these “policy outcomes” actually have a valued impact in the lives of different women?

1.2 This project's study objective – narrowing down the field of gender mainstreaming

It is this latter body of research that I want to contribute to, because I am very interested in whether this feminist inspired approach to development actually can make achievements on gender equality indicators. More importantly, however, I want to explore whether a practice or strategy of gender mainstreaming has made or can make any real improvements in the lives of women in developing countries. Because, if there are no substantial changes or visible improvements for individual women, men, families, communities or nation wide, have the policies then not failed? It is off course a normative statement to present, because it goes to the goal of the gender mainstreaming approach in particular and development practices in general. The question is what the primary objectives of development work and interventions are; economic growth and wealth, or improvements in people's lives – welfare or both? The human development approach was promoted with the intent of putting people and their well-being at the centre of development practices.⁸ However, it can be claimed that the end goal is still the same as conventional approaches, namely

⁷ As Kabeer mentions the value given to education, and how it is utilized may be influenced by the wider context(s) in which it is provided; the content and quality is vital, as it can help break or make gender biases (Kabeer, 2003:175-181).

⁸ All the discussions involved with the human development paradigm cannot be covered here. However, a few critical points should be made. First, the idea of people-centred development and interventions is far from a new innovation, as its necessity for a long time has been stressed by philosophers, economists and politicians. But its establishments and growing legitimacy in the last two decades is due to several factors. First, a growing critique of the economic growth paradigm emerged and the acknowledgement that the “trickle down” effect did not materialize. Second, the human and social costs of the structural adjustment policies became apparent. This approach fitted the wave of democratization efforts in the 90's and the human rights regime (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/origins>), (18/02-2008 at 19.36 pm).

modernization and economic growth, but the strategy chosen, the means to achieve the goal are different. The human development proponents believe in human related preconditions for economic growth i.e. people are more productive when their well-being is looked after, and higher levels of education can mean an increase in production levels, as more advanced technology can be utilized (Ranis and Stewart, 2000:54). These are all cost-efficient arguments for focusing on people first.

Studying and examining gender mainstreaming related impacts allow for these kinds of questions to be asked. An impact analysis has close connotation to the notion of causality, because it is basically about proving that one phenomenon produces a change in another, (De Vaus, 2001:34) and the problematic is that in the social sciences we cannot observe this as well as the natural science can in the classical laboratory experiments. Although causal relationships can be understood and examined in different ways, the common approach to determining causation is situated within the paradigm of objective and universal truths, as found in the discourses of positivism, empiricism and universalism. Here the purpose of the research is often to improve the quality of the causal inferences by establishing the probable types of causal patterns and providing a scientific frame of reference to exclude other explanatory factors from the equation (De Vaus, 2001:36-52). However, for several reasons such strict criteria will not be pursued in this thesis.

First, because the scope of this study is not to *prove* or *find* one best gender mainstreaming strategy due to its ability to create *certain impacts*, but rather to discuss its potentials in creating various livelihood improvements for women, both theoretically and empirically speaking. Second, many of the outcomes might be caused by several societal factors, where the gender mainstreaming policies and interventions might only contribute to some improvements, for which reason it would be difficult to estimate, how much explanatory value a gender mainstreaming practice would have. In addition, some of the impacts might not be directly visible or measurable such as improvements in women's status and self-esteem. And even when indicators are developed and baseline data established, it often only covers smaller and specific areas, for which reason it is hard to say anything general about the impact of gender mainstreaming. Third, assessing gender mainstreaming policies and practices is a difficult task due to the complexity of the subject matter, which often involves multiple layers of interventions across different livelihood areas and a great variety of agents. Therefore, the pragmatic and more suitable solution is to apply a more *explorative* and

holistic approach to impact, meaning examining positive, negative, direct and indirect as well as intended and unintended impacts (Mikkelsen, 2005), which I will return to in the two next chapters.

However, since the practice of development is an arena filled with different actors with diverse interpretations and versions of mainstreaming gender, it seems like good logic to focus on only *one part* of the development chain in North-South relations e.g. the civil society sector including NGOs, bilateral or multilateral aid, or private sector contributions.⁹ In regards to the first category the NGOs often work directly with the local communities, and therefore have the possibility of covering practical needs and women's interests. In terms of GM, which we have learned is a long-term process, it is a disadvantage that the projects have shorter time frames, and in addition to this, often are smaller and more fragmented in coverage. Although, this sector also varies in terms of funding, coverage, development approaches etc. its lack of resources and influence compared to bilateral and multilateral aid has been used as an argument for its weaker stand in pressuring governments and doing advocacy work. On the other hand, social movements and women's grassroots as well as some transnational organizations and international agreements have to some degree been able to pressure governments into making concessions to women's equality (Tripp, 2006a:67). The multilateral aid has been able to influence government policies to a higher degree, but is not focused on here, as it is a well researched area in relations to GM as already documented.

Therefore, I want to *focus my attention on the effects of bilateral aid*, although the new aid modalities and harmonization efforts make it harder to “follow the money and specific work” of one northern agency, as the tendency goes towards even more sector and budget support and donor cooperation. However, it has also been claimed that this new aid architecture can contribute to advancing gender equality by encouraging investments in long-term efforts like public awareness raising, institutional and attitudinal changes (UNIFEM).¹⁰ Other evidence points to the fact that recipient countries with more control over funds will not prioritize women's rights, as they are seen

⁹ The reason why, I discard from considering the role of the private sector, is that in relations to gender mainstreaming and gender equality policies it is not obligated or accountable in any way like government agencies or NGOs are through donor funds. And a lack of openness and access could make it difficult to obtain the relevant documents and empirical data etc. However, it can be debated whether the private sector and civil society belong to two different realms, or whether it is a matter of definition, as private and non-profit organizations can be found in both sectors.

¹⁰(http://www.idrc.ca/uploads/user-S/11429447581PromotingGenderEqualityInNewAidModalities_eng.pdf), (20/02-2008 at 11.28 am).

as a foreign imposed agenda, with the result that national women's organizations, NGOs and gendered government machineries and units will receive less funding (AWID, 2006).¹¹

The Nordic countries including a few others i.e. Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Nederland and Canada are often mentioned as “champions of gender equality” (Goetz, 1995), (Awid, 2006:37). This is especially due to the fact that these countries have made great achievements in formal equality in terms of laws and legislation, and cultural wise, gender equality is, (relatively speaking), also claimed to be high (Siim, 1991:173-190). The question is then, whether these countries are performing just as well, when it comes to development aid. Denmark is by the DAC Peer Review claimed to be a great development performer¹² (OECD, 2007). In addition to this, Denmark's 2008-2012 development strategy; “*A World for All*” puts more priority and funding to women's rights, status and equality (Danida, 2007). This “renewed” focus has resulted in several concrete initiatives in 2008, for example; Denmark launched an international MDG3 campaign in Copenhagen in April; established a MDG3 network; made a torchbearer initiative who pleaded to promoting gender issues and women within their particular field of expertise; Danida developed a gender toolbox; and the Danida days in June had a concentrated gender focus etc. A tempting question is then to ask, what the motives are behind these many initiatives. First of all, the role as gender equality advocate is connected to a Danish self-perception as a leading party on this issue with the other Nordic countries, but the relations between women and men is also connected to their way of understanding democracy and justice. Therefore, Denmark has been active at all the women's conferences and in DAC's Gender Task Force etc. Another motive is probably to find a niche to promote Denmark in, now where the new aid modalities make it harder to follow the Danish flag and results of Danida's aid. It could also be a diversion from internal critiques about the government not prioritizing GE at *home*. Therefore, I want to examine Danida's development efforts towards achieving greater gender equality for women in developing countries by focusing on selected programmes and countries.^{13 14}

¹¹ (http://www.awid.org/publications/where_is_money/web_003.pdf), (20/02-2008 at 11.56 am).

¹² Denmark especially receives appraisal for its focus on a relatively few number of countries, sectors and policy areas, which implies that Danida can build on its comparative advantage and be effective. In addition, capacity building and working towards the building of ownership is also mentioned as great efforts. On the improvement part, it is recommended that Denmark becomes less controlling and cautious, and instead willing to be more innovative and risk-taking in regards to both the selecting of countries and budgeting, but also generally in its approach to bilateral aid.

¹³ The program countries are situated in Africa (10), Asia (4) and Latin America (2), those being; Benin, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Vietnam, Bolivia and Nicaragua. Typically in each program country there is 2-4 sector programmes supported for a period of 15-20 years along with cross-cutting issues e.g. environment, gender equality, HIV/AIDS etc. But Denmark also channels funds through NGOs and multi-lateral aid through international agencies, including humanitarian aid, conflict and crisis work, mixed credits, transition and regional aid and personnel aid (www.um.dk), (20/02-2008 at 10.20 am).

1.3 The problem formulation and research questions

Based on this context; the arguments; and discussions presented above, the principal question, which I aim to address throughout this thesis, is formulated as follows;

“Is the way that gender mainstreaming is being framed (by Danida) and implemented in two sector programmes, in fact, improving the lives of women in rural Uganda and Vietnam?”

The problem formulation has three different but related problem areas; one examining how gender mainstreaming is being *conceptualized* by Danida, and eventually understood by its implementation staff, and a second studying issues related to *actual* implementation, and finally, the operational level, namely what *effects* it has on *women’s lives*. Therefore, formulating some additional research questions could be beneficiary in guiding the focus of this project. However, these questions ***should not*** be taken as an expression of rigid hypothesis testing, but as an inspiration and strategically guide in order to embark upon a critical discussion of Danida’s approach to GM and GE.¹⁵

1. What does gender equality and gender mainstreaming mean for development actors in relations to National Gender Equality Policies and Danida’s Gender Equality Strategies?
2. There seems to be a discrepancy between policy commitments made and actual implementation, why is this? Which factors can help explain and clarify this alleged paradox?
3. What kind of outcomes and impacts have the framing and implementation of GM brought about (for women) at different analytical levels and across various thematic and livelihood dimensions?

These lines of questioning and the project’s problem formulation build on certain assumptions, rationales and logics which briefly must be clarified. That GM and GE can be understood, conceptualized and legitimized differently, which the discussions presented so far clearly demonstrates. That these various perceptions also are prevalent within a single organization like Danida is likely, as both Danida and policy making processes consist of many different actors who interpret GE and GM differently due to their own beliefs and biases as members of society, and the implicit logic is that these interpretations can affect both GM implementation and results.

¹⁴ *(To get an overview of Danida’s organizational structure, new trends and funding practices, see the appendix I).*

¹⁵ Therefore, the project will be a critical discussion of Danida’s GE strategy. In regards to the arguments for the choice of case study countries and sectors e.g. agriculture and RWSS, this will be presented in the next chapter; *The Project Design* along with the project’s overall structure, design, analytical strategy, theory and method choices.

2.0 The Project Design; a case study example

For such comprehensive questions and assumptions to be addressed it is necessary to develop a project design, which can help ensure the thesis' internal and external validity, but also to make it clearer to the reader in what way and from which perspective(s) this master thesis takes its point of departure. Naturally, the problem formulation could be addressed in several ways, depending on the theoretical framework chosen, the available empirical data, and the weight between the two, which goes to the importance of outlining an analytical research strategy for this master thesis as well.

2.1 Why choose a case study design?

Also, it needs to be argued for the choice of case study design, its content and form compared to other possibilities, and the various methodological issues involved should become apparent as well.

As Yin argues; “A major rationale for using (case studies) is when your investigation must cover both a particular phenomenon and the context within which the phenomenon is occurring either because (a) the context is hypothesized to contain important explanatory information about the phenomenon or (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (De Vaus, 2001:235).

This statement can be said to be very applicable to my master thesis, as I first of all am trying to understand my study object – gender mainstreaming better. However, this cannot and should not be done without reflecting the various contexts and factors which influence and are influenced by gender mainstreaming. As already outlined there are different discourses to and ways of conceptualizing a phenomenon like gender mainstreaming, for which reason choosing an institutional frame, within which it can be examined, can serve several purposes. First, selecting Danida as a unit of analysis can aid explanatory value to the understanding of which discourses that operate and dominate Danish development aid in particular and international agendas in general, because Danida will be viewed as both an agent of development aid and foreign policy.¹⁶ However, this view presents some problems of representation and voice. Because, can I expect to find a unified Danish aid agenda? Or rather one that has both multiple, competing and contradictory goals!

¹⁶ This choice is affected by the fact that Danida is a part of the MFA, and is therefore not an independent unit, which means that Danida operates within certain institutional frames and mandates, changeable to which political parties that are in power and government, but also accordingly to international agreements and trans-national governance practices.

In addition to this, who is Danida really? Official policy documents, strategies, and/or legally bound declarations; the management of Danida and/or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in Copenhagen; or its implementation staff at the embassies, or national and local partners and staff from both government and non-government institutions? As previously mentioned, the new aid modalities introduce even more actors into Danish development aid, which make the identification of all its actors and actual achievements more difficult and complex. To deal with these issues the case study design is ideal, because it does not like experimental, longitudinal and cross-sectional designs try to screen out the influence of other variables than the key causal ones. Instead, the case study design attempts to achieve a more well-rounded causal account by examining all the aspects of the case(s) and interpreting its meaning within its wider context(s) (De Vaus, 2001:233-234).

Second, by looking at the political aspects of gender mainstreaming the political economy of social change should become apparent, meaning how the disparities in power and resources and conflict of interests between actors, mandates and ideologies might obstruct achievements of the GAD policy objectives such as gender equality and empowerment (Jahan, 1995:126). It is expected that other types of constraints and structural barriers could affect gender mainstreaming impacts, namely those related to its implementation,¹⁷ for which reason the contexts and arenas, within which it takes place, and the factors related to it, should be explored in continuation of each other. GM is implemented at different institutional levels and through various partners and organizational frames e.g. policies with gender machinery and ministries, institutional CB of partners and components etc.

2.11 Methodological issues connected to this thesis' case study design

In order to live up to as high a scientific standard as possible, it is claimed that all research designs should be internally and externally valid, produce reliable results, and be amenable to replication. The case study design is often seen to be lacking in all these areas, but with some careful and critical attention to its various pitfalls, much of these biases can be overcome (De Vaus, 2001:233).

¹⁷ Problems of implementation was generally found to be an issue in the gender mainstreaming studies already outlined, and there is no reason why, this should not apply to Danida. In addition, Danida admits having some problems of implementation, although not having identified exactly what those constraints are, but have responded by setting up a gender team at MFA's South Group, which has two main purposes, namely that of knowledge sharing and capacity building. An e-learning course in gender equality has become obligatory for all Danida staff and partners, as well as gender equality analysis. Also a gender equality toolbox has been developed to share key lessons, good practices and new guidelines in order to GM better at country and sector levels and become more result-orientated (Danida, 2006:31).

In the following only those biases directly involved in this case study design will be discussed, and not in case study designs generally speaking, as this serves no constructive purpose here.

As mentioned previously and discussed above, a more explorative and context orientated approach to causation and “real life” impacts of development related interventions is taken. In order to build meaningful causal explanation the sequence and context(s) must be right. Therefore, the challenges to internal validity is to include all the relevant information and screening out the less relevant factors and variables, which requires *extensive field knowledge* about GM and Danish development assistance and the case study countries chosen. Two strategies to overcome this challenge have been employed. First, I am using all the expert knowledge available through studies, scientific articles and historical documents and interviews with field experts. However, several historical biases often occur; reconstructing events wrong; loss of evidence; and recall bias, which are unavoidable reliability issues in retrospective designs, like this case study is, but the use of multiple data sources can minimize the extent of these research errors (De Vaus, 2001:223-224, 228, 234-241).

Second, choosing theories and developing a theoretical framework can help guide, which aspects that are especially important to focus at. Theories play an essential role in the case study design, as they help achieve generalization beyond the specifications of a few single cases, whereby the external validity of the study is enhanced. Here is examined, what the case can tell us about the theories applied and/or the phenomenon studied, instead of the wider population as in other designs. The approach taken to theory in case study designs can be; *to refine, test* or *develop* theoretical generalization. The two latter are theory centred, but they apply different methodologies. The deductive strategy examines whether a theory works in real life situations, whereas theory building begins with a question or basic proposition, looks at real cases and ends up with a specific theory as a result hereof. The approach taken to theory in this case study design resembles more that of the clinical case, because they are both *case centred* and use existing theories or rival hypothesis to refine and deepen our understanding of a certain phenomenon like gender mainstreaming by including all relevant historical, contextual and maturational factors, and exploring how they relate to one another (Ibid). Theory is one important aspect in achieving theoretical generalization and enhancing a study’s external validity, but the strategic selection and screening of case(s) is just as important, for which reason this will be the subject of discussion in the following paragraphs.

2.12 Arguing for the selection of case study countries and units

Above I discussed my reasoning for choosing a case study design and its strengths and weaknesses. Below I will argue for my selection of research countries and cases, where I pursue three overall kinds of arguments e.g. practical related ones, issues of comparability and explanatory value.

The practical arguments for choosing the two case study countries are personal knowledge of and contacts in Vietnam, as access to and knowledge of the field is important to data collection and the internal validity of case study designs. However, my contacts in and personal knowledge of Uganda is weaker than for Vietnam, but the more extensive GE material available for Uganda should outweigh this disadvantage, and should balance out the bias of going native versus being distant.¹⁸

The issues of and arguments for comparability are many. First, both countries have politically “one-party systems”; and have a big rural population with agriculture as their primary source of living. In both countries Danida has agriculture and sanitation/water programmes, which Danida recognizes to be very important sectors to women, as food, water and health mainly lie within their gendered work responsibilities and are livelihood areas of great importance and potential in improving the everyday lives of women. Second, the more technical sectors are claimed to be more challenging to GM due to their orthodox discourses and practices. The two sectors provide sound basis for comparing program countries, although Danida has been in Uganda longer than in Vietnam. To solve this discrepancy and to deal with the *time dimension of impact*, two factors that took place in the mid 1990s have been determining in selecting the evaluation time frame, namely the Beijing Conference and international agreement for GAD, and Danida’s change from project to sector support. An emerging question is then, whether ten years is enough to make any substantial changes on gender equality and women’s empowerment parameters, which I will return to in the theory chapter. In addition, both countries score, regionally speaking, relatively high on gendered statistics e.g. GDI, GEM and (HDI). And the starting point of gender equality and empowerment is crucial to GM work, as it ultimately will affect both the possible and final sector and component results.

The choice of case study countries should also be made analytical and strategically interesting by including cases, which add great explanatory value to GM and to its wider theoretical proposition of

¹⁸ This includes discussions on the role of the researcher; from being too objective and thereby not able to understand matters to being absorbed by the local culture and not able to be distant enough to analyse the study object at hand.

political mainstreaming and gendered politics. Important to the success of policy implementation was claimed to be mobilizing structures and opportunities for political influence in order for civil society to exercise political pressure and hold state bodies accountable. The history and the autonomy of the women's movement and civil society "differ" in the two cases, for which reason it would be interesting to examine how or whether this makes a difference to GM implementation and possible outcomes. As the cultural understandings of gender and gender equality in a Southeast Asian and East African setting differ, as well as the legal and economic structures surrounding it, it would be relevant to see whether a *one fits all GE strategy* is better suited to some situations than others, or whether this is taking into account by contextualizing gender mainstreaming accordingly.

2.2 The project's analytical research strategy, overall structure and content

Danida's 2004 Gender Equality (GE) Strategy is my independent variable (X), which affects and is affected by the way it has been framed (Z) – strategically, but it is also a by-product of different power struggles between competing actor claims, goals and discourses influencing the Danish aid agenda. The focus is mainly on the impacts (Y) of GM for women, which are operationalized as livelihood improvements, which I expect will be affected by my two main Z variables; the *framing* and *implementation processes* of GM. Due to evaluation practices etc. Y informs back to Z, for which reason all the variables interrelate (*See the project's overall structure/logic in the method chapter*).

Therefore, part one of the theory section will involve a discussion of the various discourses and non-discursive practices influencing the conceptualization of Danida's GE strategy, which is inspired by *Fairclough's approach* to critical discourse analysis – his three dimensional model. However, as it does not clarify how or why some discourses gets to dominate policy agendas or not, the theoretical notion of *strategic framing* will be informing the project's building of a theoretical framework to examining gender mainstreaming as well. The causal relationship and the variables interrelatedness as outlined above is guided by *Winter's integrated policy implementation model*, which belong to a third generation of policy implementation researchers, who attempt to understand policy formulation and implementation processes better by not seeing them as separate but intertwining processes (Jacobsen, 2000:13). The dependent variable (Y) is assessed within an *evaluation framework* and would involve notions and theories of social transformation, related to GM and its goals of gender equality and women's empowerment, but also *evaluation criteria*.

In terms of data collecting, methods and sources, a wide range will be drawn upon, as I practice an art method triangulation, which I see as complementing in covering my various information needs. For the framing part I will mainly utilize official Danida documents, expert and stakeholder interviews with key actors from Danida and civil society organizations in Copenhagen. In terms of capturing implementation processes of GM questionnaires will be sent to gatekeepers in Uganda and Vietnam, where staff at different stages of implementation are hoped to be reached. However, local partners and national machinery staff would also play an important part to the successful implementation, and thereby effects of GM, as can different civil society groups in advocating and trying to exercise political pressure to achieve their own objectives. The women themselves are essential to assessing and affecting GM work. Therefore, fieldtrips will be conducted to Uganda and Vietnam, but due to resource constrains there is a good chance that these stakeholders' role cannot be adequately and systematically covered. To compensate for this bias, I will attempt to find other sources and studies that have reflected on the role and significance of beneficiary behaviour to GM processes. In order to assess GM outcomes, effects and impacts secondary data and evaluations of Danida's efforts and women's studies around different livelihood areas are also used, as well as the responses given by the local stakeholders and implementers about Danida's GM/GE performances.

This implies that the research strategy employed divides the analysis into three sections; one examining the processes and factors involved in a policy formulation like GM; a second discussing and interpreting crucial aspects of GM implementation; and a third analysing its impacts or lack of. Some aspects of the project's methodology resembles that of abduction,¹⁹ as it generally speaking is an approach, which adds new dimensions and insight to an observed or existing phenomenon (Olsen and Pedersen, 2002:305). By analysing GM in the light of a broader theoretical proposition like the political economy²⁰ of social change, the aim of this master thesis is to add new insight and understanding to the fields of political mainstreaming practices and gendered and equality politics.

¹⁹ The idea with abduction is to be a "middle way" between the inductive and deductive research strategies, because it seeks to go beyond the mere generalization of empirical results as found by inductive researchers, or not be limited to *only* falsifying or validating a theory like the deductive approach does. Instead, it seeks to find a plausible and logical explanation to an empirical discovery, which can be done in different ways, but typically by building likelihood models or exploring tautological hypothesizes, or research questions (Riis, 2001:8-9).

²⁰ Within the political economy paradigm three theoretical traditions can be identified; Liberal, Marxist and Nationalist. In relation to gender equality, liberals focus on trade, employment and rights, but Marxists also look at exclusion etc.

2.21 The role of the empirical data in relation to the theoretical framework

Although the theoretical framework and empirical data employed in this project, as outlined above, will not have an equal weigh, they are complementary since they serve different functions. The theories are guiding in selecting the most relevant aspects to be subjected to further analysis, whereby also structuring the analysis. The different empirical data can provide case specific knowledge, which is crucial in trying to avoid misinterpretations, as the meaning of actions and events should be analysed in relation to its participants and contexts. Also, the case(s) and data serve as previously mentioned to redefine the theory and its applicability to a phenomenon like gender mainstreaming. Additionally, the empirical data will function as an art validation or falsification of my analytical points and argumentation along with the theoretical framework.

3.0 The theoretical framework; supplementary or competing perspectives?

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework, which can serve as a guiding tool and add explanatory value and understanding to the various GM processes of development aid, which is the main focus of this master thesis, namely its framing, implementation and livelihood improvements for women in Uganda and Vietnam. This implies that a wide range of theories will be discussed and utilized critically, but also contextualized in reference to how they are intended to be applied, both analytically speaking and in terms of theoretical generalization. However, this also means that reflections regarding the complementary or more competing and incommensurable “fit” between the theories ultimately need to be included in this chapter’s theory discussions as well.

3.1 The third theory part; how to assess impacts and set evaluation criteria

As the primary objective, besides understanding gender mainstreaming processes better, is to assess whether Danida’s GE strategy, in fact, *is improving the lives of women in Vietnam and Uganda*, this section will be concentrated around clarifying the different specific evaluation criteria necessary to make such an assessment, but also answering the why(s), what(s), whom, when and how(s) of evaluation. Different approaches can naturally be taken in order to address such problematic and develop such a framework, for which reason the theoretical assumptions and logics on which this section builds must become clear to the reader to reveal all the premises of evaluation.

Before outlining the ground and theory on which this evaluation builds, it is necessary to clarify certain notions and terminology connected to evaluation designs, models and applications in general and to this evaluation frame in particular. In accordance with the design of this project, the evaluation frame utilized subscribes to the logic of the case design as well. Because a focused and in-depth exploration of GM impacts, outcomes and effects will be undertaken to assess their value in improving women’s lives in the two Danida programme countries. And as the rationale of case studies states, this can only be understood and assessed in reference to the cases’ contexts and nature e.g. its historical background, physical setting and geography, economic, political, social and legal structures, but the organizational frame and internal operation of interventions, meaning that goals, aspirations, plans, resources, unique features or actions, beneficiary needs, achievements and disappointments all are examined as well (Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 2007:181-184, 309-319).

Although it ideally would or could be beneficiary and educational to examine all these aspects, mostly related to programme evaluation theory, this might not be practically possible due to time and resource constraints nor is a fruitful exercise for furthering the understanding of gender mainstreaming effects, outcomes and impacts.²¹ Therefore, I would advocate for developing criteria more suited to evaluating policy processes and results like those of gender mainstreaming.

3.11 Danida's GE strategy in relation to programme countries

The first step in such an evaluative frame for gender mainstreaming is to outline the premises and contexts relevant to Danida's approach to gender equality in Uganda and Vietnam. Generally speaking, the strategy at country level utilizes a two-pronged methodology approach; *mainstreaming* and *special interventions*. The latter implies that efforts are made to create fundamental structural changes in institutions, policies, legislation, or the allocation of resources to promote gender equality between men and women, or based on special needs from an individual country, policy area or organization. It is specified that at least one special intervention "activity" must take place in each programme country. The approach of mainstreaming, on the other hand, means that the wishes, needs and experiences of both men and women must be *considered* in design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation (M&E), in policies and all efforts. Both approaches normally take their point of departure in rights, access to and control of, or political influence, whereas mainstreaming efforts also are intensified in sector support, Human Rights (HR), Good Governance and Democracy work. But a national overview does also help shape the platform for defining priorities and focus areas, involving a variety of actors which I will return to later on (Danida, 2004a:13, 16-18). This means that the evaluation criteria of *utility* and *relevance* can be applied to assess Danida's GE efforts (Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 2007:87-88), as Danida claims to cover the needs, wishes and experiences of both men and women in all its mainstreaming work areas, but also in terms of the programme and project cycle at sector levels. However, the concepts of *practical* and *strategic needs*, (see appendix I, pp.14), could also be used as evaluation criteria, as special interventions are meant to combat gender inequality at the structural level, for which reason going beyond the basic provisioning of services and practical needs would be a Danida objective.

²¹ For the sake of clarity the differences between these concepts as understood within programme theory/terminology should be elaborated upon. Effects or performances can refer to both programme activities and/or outputs, meaning the products resulting from intervention related activities (Mikkelsen, 2005:263-267). Outcomes are changes in perception, awareness and behaviour; whereas impacts are lasting "changes" in peoples' lives (G.Premmushi et al., 2001:6). By changes are implied both improvements in terms of direct benefits or more indirect ones, but also unintended constraints.

3.12 Which aspects of women’s lives and possible accomplishments?

In order to contextualize the *relevance criteria* further, it has already been argued for choosing the agricultural and water and sanitation (W&S) sectors in Uganda and Vietnam, as they are livelihood areas of particular importance to women in these two countries, because they play and have main responsibility for many of the these tasks in the rural areas. This implies that improvements directly to benefit women could be made in terms of reducing labour burdens, improving incomes and health conditions etc. Other sectors with the same potentials are mentioned as well e.g. health, education, business, the transportation and energy sectors, but these livelihood areas I will discard from assessing in this master thesis, as two sectors and a special intervention area from both the two program countries should serve as sufficient illustrative case examples for discussing (GM) impacts (Danida, 2004a:19-20), (Danida, 2004b:32-36), (Danida, 2006:32-35). But in order to better understand these sectors it would be relevant to view them in comparison to the overall Danish aid given to the two recipients; Uganda and Vietnam, which is outlined in tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1: Program country assistance distributed on sectors, initiatives, donors and funds for Uganda, 1987-

Agriculture	Water/Sanitation	B2B (Business to Business sector) - Since 1996	Roads	Other initiatives
ASPS I; 1998-2003 ASPS II; 2004-2008 (-livestock & dairy sub-sector projects)	WSPS I; 1997-2002 WSPS II; 2002-2007 -Rural water schemes		RSPS I; 1998-2002 RSPS II; 2003-2007 +Roads in agriculture	GG, D, HR and human development – health, Aids/HIV
<u>Funds</u> ; 50 million USD – (15%) of Danish aid to Uganda for the period; 2004-2008 <u>Programs</u> ;FO, HASP DATICS & NAADS, RURAL FINANCE SERVICES, LSRP	<u>Funds</u> ; 51 million USD – (16%) of Danish aid to Vietnam for the period; 2002-2007	<u>Funds</u> ; 24 million USD - (7%) of Danish aid. <u>Programs</u> ; about a 100 business partners have been established so far.	<u>Funds</u> ; 45 million USD – (13 % of Danish aid for the period; 2003-2007	<u>Total development aid to Uganda annually</u> ;1,194 milliard USD – 2004 Denmark is 7 th donor Uganda’s GDP for 2006; 52,9 billion USD & 1900 USD per capita (PPP)
<u>Main donors</u> ; WB, IFAD, AUB, Denmark, the EU-commission, England and USA	<u>Main donors</u> ; the EU Commission, WB, UNICEF, France, Germany, Austria, ADB, DK, INGOs and Wateraid	<u>Main donors</u> ; Denmark	<u>Main donors</u> ; WB, EU, ADB and JICA	Special Intervention WID ; 1988-1996 GAD ; 1996-2001
<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; MAAIF, NARC, NAADS, DATICS <u>Coverage</u> ; Northeast, Central Highlands & Western parts	<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; MWE, DWD, MOH/EHD <u>Coverage</u> ; Northeast, Central region & the Western parts	<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; Cooperation between Danish and Ugandan companies and administrated by the Danish Embassy	<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; MFPED, MWHC, MGLSD, LCs, LaBCAU, RAFU & district local governments <u>Coverage</u> ; national + district roads etc.	<u>SI Initiatives</u> ; 10 years of technical support to the Ministry of Women in Development + training of ministries and distrikt personnel & strategic planning

Sources; www.ambkampala.um.dk, (24/04-2008 at 11. 57 AM.), (Danida, 2004b:30-36), (MFA, 2000:17-34).

GENDER MAINSTREAMING – *Equality Lost in Translation?*

Table 2: Program country assistance distributed on sectors, initiatives, donors and funds for Vietnam; 1993-

Agriculture	Water/Sanitation	B2B sector	Fisheries	Other initiatives
ASPS I; 1997-2001 IPM; 2000-2005 ASPS II; 2007-2012 Livestock/Seeds; 2000-2007 (+ pilots) FU; 2004-2007 Credit; 2000-2007	WSPS I; 2000-2005 WSPS II; 2006-2010 (Urban water supply projects and the rural water supply and sanitation study tour)	- Within this sector a Special Women's Intervention (SI) BSPS; 2005-2009	- Since 1993 FSPS I; 2000-2005 FSPS II; 2006-2010	(GG, HR + D) Environment (15%), macroeconomic reforms (17%), administrative & judicial reforms (6%) and culture (5%).
<u>Funds</u> ; 42 million USD – (10%) of Danish aid to Vietnam for the period; 2007-2012	<u>Funds</u> ; 80 million USD – (19%) of Danish aid to Vietnam for the period; 2006-2010	<u>Funds</u> ; 67 million USD – (16%) of Danish aid to Vietnam for the period;	<u>Funds</u> ; 50 million USD – (12%) of Danish aid to Vietnam for the period;	<u>Funds</u> ; 181 million USD – (43%) of total Danish aid budget
<u>Main donors</u> ; DK, WB, ADB & France	<u>Main donors</u> ; DK, Holland, Australia, WB and ADB	<u>Main donors</u> ; DK, EU, Germany and Japan	<u>Main donors</u> ; DK and Norway	
<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; MARD, VNFU & VBARD <u>Coverage</u> ; North West and East, the Central Highlands and South West	<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; MARD, MOH, MOET, MOF, MPI, MONRE <u>Coverage</u> ; North West, the Central Highlands and South West	<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; MPI, SPC, VGCL, VCCI, MPI & ASMED <u>Coverage</u> ; 4 provinces in the Northeast and Southeast and Central regions	<u>Implementing agencies</u> ; FOFI, <u>Coverage</u> ; 9 provinces in the Northeast and Central regions	<u>Total development aid to Vietnam annually</u> ; 1,5 milliard USD – 67% are loans and 33% are “gifts” <u>Vietnam's GDP for 2006</u> ; 262,5 billion USD & 3100 USD per capita (PPP)

Sources; www.ambhanoi.um.dk, (24/04-2008 at 13.07 PM.), (Danida, 2006:16-17, 30-35), (Danida, 2008).

From the two tables above it can be read that Danish aid in proportion to the total amount of aid and the program countries' GDP is very small, for which reason it can be debated *how much Denmark realistically can be expected to accomplish*. Although, **the volume and quantity of aid matter**, it is certainly also important *how and on what* the funds are spent, for which reason Danish aid's effectiveness should be able to bring about some tangible results for the women and men directly involved in the components, but also more indirect and symbolic benefits in terms of all the work done with capacity building, good governance, rights, research and legal framework developments.

As the long-term goal of Danida and MDG3 is gender equality and women's empowerment, the programmes, components and/or interventions will also be judged on their ability to bring about social change, which can be defined as four societal levels targeted simultaneously, namely *objective conditions, informal norms, formal institutions and people's consciousness*, also framed as alterations within legal, political, economic, socio-cultural, familial/interpersonal and psychological livelihood dimensions. However, it could be discussed whether it is fair or reasonable to make such judgments, as Danida does not work with this rationale for societal transformation nor at all these societal levels and dimensions, *generally not* the three latter dimensions, which can be claimed to

be situated within the more private arenas of life. Instead, Danida's logic of "breaking" the structures of gender inequality is through resource, influence and rights claims, access to and control of at the individual level, but also structural changes at legal, political and institutional level. This resembles the liberal and WID rationale of the trickle down effect; equality in a few arenas will spread to other arenas. Although it is recognized as in GAD that changes in existing power structures, the roles and status of women and men is necessary, for which reason gender equality work can become conflictual (Danida, 2004a:12). The approach taken seems on a theoretical level somewhat questionable. Because how will the changes made for individual citizens translate into overall gender equality? And vice versa, how will institutional and legal alterations materialize into behavioural changes? Whether or not Danida's gender equality strategy can break the bonds of gender inequality is ultimately a matter of empirical research and notions on what inequality is.

3.13 Who are the female beneficiaries and issues of representation?

The women referred to in the problem formulation are primarily those directly involved with or affected by the agriculture and W&S sector support and components, mostly taking place in rural areas. The women in rural areas can, however, have various needs and interests. Another important issue is then that of representation. Who is participating in Danida sponsored activities and speaking on the behalf of these women at local, district, provincial and national or even international levels? This also goes to the role and power of advocacy work and having political influence.

At component or sector level some of the same problematic, as mentioned when conceptualizing participation, can become actual, namely who ultimately ends up participating is a result of different power and political struggles. Let me give some examples to illustrate my point. First, the mere fact that Danida like most donors cannot provide full coverage population or geographical wise implies that a target group and area is selected, meaning that some areas and population groups are chosen above others. This would usually involve selection criteria, political negotiation and priorities. But within the communities themselves a political economy of participation could also take place, meaning that the disparities in power and resources, and the conflict of interests between stakeholders as well as the perceived benefits and costs involved in project activities are taken into consideration, and influence who end up forming Danida's target groups. Second, Danida also employs another form of "invited" participation in its *strategic partnership approach*. In relation to

achieving gender equality, this implies that Danida attempts to find key entry points and work with various “agents of change”, meaning that prominent personalities and/or entities, who are advocates for different aspects of the gender equality field can be identified and selected. But the agents²² chosen to cooperate with also depend on whether the focus is on resource, influence or rights work. On resources the strategic partnerships are concentrated around poverty alleviation, poverty reduction papers and analysis with actors like the World Bank, governmental bodies e.g. ministries of finance and planning etc. and other donors. In the field of rights, multinational organisation with special mandates, research institutes, civil society groups, governmental institutions and the media can be of special interest, as well as local, traditional and religious leaders. In term of the influence part, representatives of political parties, the media, and multinational organizations like the UNDP with a special mandate within the field of democracy and Good Governance²³ can be chosen for cooperation (Danida, 2004a:14-15).

This implies that Danida works within the current institutional structures by improving and strengthening them through capacity building, strategic partnerships and networking (Danida, 2004a:18, 21-27), which can be said to be a pragmatic, “more realistic” and less confrontational approach than the one advocated for by many radical feminists. But non-governmental structures are built and encouraged by Danida as well by supporting civil society and private sector efforts through their B2B programmes and co-operations in most programme countries (Danida, 2004b:25), (Danida, 2007). In states like Vietnam and Uganda, however, there are limitations to the political influence and room given for non-state actors and non-party members (Tripp, 2006b), which means that compromises in possible working partners and achievements are a part of everyday development practices. In terms of representation this can be a major bias, as these different institutions may not represent Danida’s intended target groups or might even work against them, as they all have agendas, priority areas and goals of their own, which could collide with those of Danida and/or their beneficiaries.²⁴ This leads me to the next points for discussion, which are;

²² In addition to these agents, some of the main stakeholders related to gender equality work in Uganda are; NAWOU, FIDA, WOUGNET, OXFAM, FOWODE and ActionAid (Ssonko, 2001:12), and for Vietnam the main actors related to gender issues are; the UNDP, WB, SIDA, OXFAM, NCFAM, WU and research institutes (Scott & Chuyen, 2006:12).

²³ Good Governance is yet another buzz word used in international relations and the development jargon, for which reason it has many meanings and interpretations subscribed to it. Danida does not define it, but states that good governance work involves the fight against state corruption, the building of administrative and judicial capacity, because without this work other social, economic and political reforms would not succeed (Danida, 2007:11).

²⁴ The terms recipients and beneficiaries are in this project used interchangeably, when the more passive role and view of target group members are stressed, whereas the concepts of agents, actors and stakeholders give both voice, influence and agency to the parties involved. Stakeholders also refer to having an interest in an intervention. A target group is

“whose reality really counts in Danida’s aid practices, and when assessing livelihood improvements for women gained through or lacking from a program in rural areas in the two program countries?”

3.14 Improvements; according to whom and whose reality really counts?

The different feminist and aid discourses each have their own views, explanations and interpretation of these kinds of questions, but centralizing the main arguments under the pillars of standpoint feminist theory and post-structuralist/post-modern feminism could serve as a solid starting point for the discussions concerning whose reality count and notions of gender and multiple voices.

But first of all, how will Danida deal with conflicts of interests and the various needs coverage of different stakeholder groups; partners, individual staff and target group members, governments etc. There are two dimensions connected with these discussion points, namely that of feasibility and whose priorities and needs that are put first. Changers argues that it always should be those of the poor and/or target groups instead of the professionals - westerners, bureaucrats, staff, which is a moral sound argument and a sympatic thought, but practically and theoretically speaking this statement runs into some pitfalls and loose merit, especially when dealing with issues of gender equality and women’s empowerment. Because which one of women and men’s many realities are we talking about? Using a gender approach means not focusing on the individual women or men but on the many social systems, which are an integrated part of their lives like gender systems, which determine what is expected, allowed and valued roles for men and women in specific contexts. But as previously mentioned the experienced degree of gender inequality is due to the intersection of gender systems with hierarchies of other social systems e.g. race, age, class, religion, ethnicity etc. And these gender roles and systems are institutionalized through cultural practices including norms and traditions, legal, economic, political and educational systems. And in what way should these many realities be put first? Because is the problem not, in fact, that the values, perceptions, norms, and ideologies constituting these social systems create the very inequalities, which are sought eliminated in the first place? Changers does not solve this dilemma of values and judgement, as he refers to practicing a participatory and democratic form of development, where target groups as a minimum analyse their own situation. However, he does mention that practicing this kind of development involves three kinds of challenges; institutional, professional, and personal ones.

considered to be a more “neutral” term, although a victim role implicitly is understood, because they by others have been defined as a group with particular problems and needs, which they may or may not identify themselves with.

Because in order to learn to see things the other way around and questioning conventional practices, we need to re-examine our concepts, values, work methods and behaviour, and interaction patterns with the very people donors are “claiming to help”, as it ultimately is about handing over the stick and giving up power (Champers, 1995:7-13, 25-27). To the extent that this is possible, I presume.

However, this does not necessarily mean that donors put the reality of the poor first, nor subscribe more to their ways of viewing the world, as it in some ways always is a matter of “them and us”, because even this specific methodology to development and knowledge acquirement is build on certain values and principles of democracy, active citizenship and rights as more individualistic than collectivistic founded. These notions could conflict with ideas of democracy, human rights, and the individual versus the society in more collectivistic and centralized states like Uganda and Vietnam, which are discussions that I will return to in this theory chapter. In addition, the measurements and indicators of gender equality and women’s empowerment used, also reveal whose reality counts!

The evaluation criteria of *feasibility* covers the extent to which the program and/or components are suited to its target groups, which can imply assessing their technical elements for complexity; whether the time schedule is realistic or not; and impacts on local culture and environmental factors etc. As indicated above the concepts used and the work methods chosen refer to the power to define ideas, knowledge and claims to truths, which relates to conflicts of interests and discrepancies in power and resources etc., whereby implying that there is a political economy involved in mainstreaming gender and achieving GAD objectives. How these battles are played out, and the winners and losers of them, including the costs and benefits of GM is relative to the eye of the beholder. Because which sectors in a society that will be most likely to promote or oppose gender mainstreaming, gender equality, and empowerment will depend on the perceived threats, and the possible social and economic gains and losses involved in GM processes. Therefore, the multiple issues of women’s agendas and notions of gender in Vietnam and Uganda will briefly be discussed.

In Vietnam women have a number of traditional seats of socio-cultural, economic and political power, stemming from the bilateral kinship system and associated with gender complementarities. Southeast Asian women are well-known for their active roles in income generating activities, for example; small trading of agricultural produce, food items and other goods in both rural and urban areas. Their dominant presence in the economy is both due to their (significant) role in decision-

making and control over the budget within the household, but also their communist past matters.²⁵ This implies that the *position* of women in terms of political representation,²⁶ decision-making and participation in the labour force is higher in Vietnam than in some Western and Asian countries e.g. USA, Japan and Korea, whereas women's *actual conditions* in terms of work intensity and health status may be lower. In addition to this, it is important to recognize the influence of Confucianism in order to better understand the complexity of women's position in an Asian setting like Vietnam. For example, this cultural heritage subscribes women to the three obediences; to father, husband and the son, which after marriage means that the woman "belongs" to the family-in-law. Because this family and belief system teaches women hard work, diligence and values of social harmony and solidarity. But at the same time modern ideas of gender equality are penetrating the Vietnamese society, which means that gender conflicts could be emerging (Pascall and Sung, 2007:2, 4-6).

This combined with the state feminism that exist in Vietnam means that the gender gaps between tradition, laws and actual practices are not always recognized. Because, the practice of state feminism implies that the state is seen to play a vital role in improving the status and position of women through policies and activities, often channelled through the Women's Union in Vietnam and discussed and researched through Marxist orientated lenses. This meant that normative studies covering the productive sphere were dominant (Scott and Chuyen, 2006:1-14). Besides the official position of state feminism, there are donor-driven agendas on gender as well, which have influenced the topics and ways of studying gender, but also in promoting the political and practical work on gender issues. For example, there has been a shift from descriptive, normative and non-empirical research to more scholarly, critical and analytical writings, which also are more multi-disciplinary covering topics of the economic, socio-political and family and cultural sphere. But radical feminist study fields such as sexuality, reproductive issues, and gender violence have also emerged. Besides focusing on different issues, these agendas also differ in terms of the role given to non-state actors, since donor initiatives emphasize them more than state feminism does (Ibid).

In Uganda older women have power behind the scenes both in the household and in the village, as the matriarchs. This power is drawn from Ugandan women's silent acceptance of customary law, and resilience to heavy and time consuming workloads. For example; the nurturing, health, and nutritional status of the household including the education of children is primarily the responsibility

²⁵ Women were/are viewed equal to men official and legally speaking, but practice often showed/shows another picture.

²⁶ Women's participation is relatively high at the national level, but then lower at the local levels (VN Report, 2006).

of Ugandan women as are much of food production, processing and marketing.²⁷ However, incomes earned or profits made are usually handed over to the male household head. The male dominated activities are cash crop production and selling, which is seasonal (Mbire-Barungi, 1999:1-6). Also, as in patrilineal societies, which are most prevalent in Uganda, all property and inheritance belong to males (Tripp, 2006b.123). These cultural practices sometimes collide with statutory law, such as equality and the women's rights guaranteed in the constitution. But there is no real consensus on what constitutes discriminatory practices, as the debates are often fought between traditionalists and westernised feminists about what is culturally valuable and what should be discarded.²⁸ Therefore, it is important to understand the influence and role that religion plays in the Ugandan society and thereby also on gender relations and social institutions like the family. Ugandians are generally very religious. 85% of the population are Christians, with 42% being Roman Catholics and 36% Anglians. The rest are 12% Muslims and 3% divided between the African Traditional Religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism. But as in many parts of Africa, where Christianity is dominant, there is a liberal mixing of traditional indigenous and Christian beliefs. Religion and local cultural practices reinforce traditional gender expectations to varying extents, for which reason these social practices give both status, disadvantage and a more submissive position to women than the men, who generally are considered to be the authority and provider (Otiso, 2006:21, 23, 81-82, 117-120).

Feminist standpoint²⁹ theory acknowledges the difficulty in combining women's many experiences without risking eliminating vital differences and nuances among women. But without some shared perspectives and common ground, it is argued that there is a risk of apolitical relativism. Also, if all views and thoughts of women are equally valid, how are improvements and social change ensured? Some post-structuralists argue that experiences cannot be the starting point, as they are shaped by discursive practices, which are biased and suppressive (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007:73-78, 90-96). Therefore, the focus should be on deconstructing these dominant discourses by looking at the active role that language plays in creating gender norms, inequality and renewal (Lykke, 2008:74-79).

²⁷ Although the domestic chores of women scarcely have changed since precolonial times, there was more equality in the male and female division of labour in traditional societies, as men back then contributed to the household food security through animal husbandry, hunting and fishing, and thereby working along side women in agricultural production. Since then men's roles have undergone significant change and many men now contribute to the family's socio-economic well-being with cash income from cash crops or modern sector jobs (Otiso, 2006:93).

²⁸ Controversial topics are property rights and domestic violence. And in some cultures, if a man does not beat up his wife occasionally, he does not love her enough, which both men and women believe. Therefore, the women seldom file complaints of abuse (Mbire-Barungi, 1999:1-6). The issue of bride pricing gives both status and respect to the men and women involved, but simultaneously women can be considered property by the men, who "paid" for them.

²⁹ A feminist standpoint is a way of understanding the world, a point of view of the social reality that begins with and is developed from women's life experiences, which is sought used to benefit them (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007:58-63).

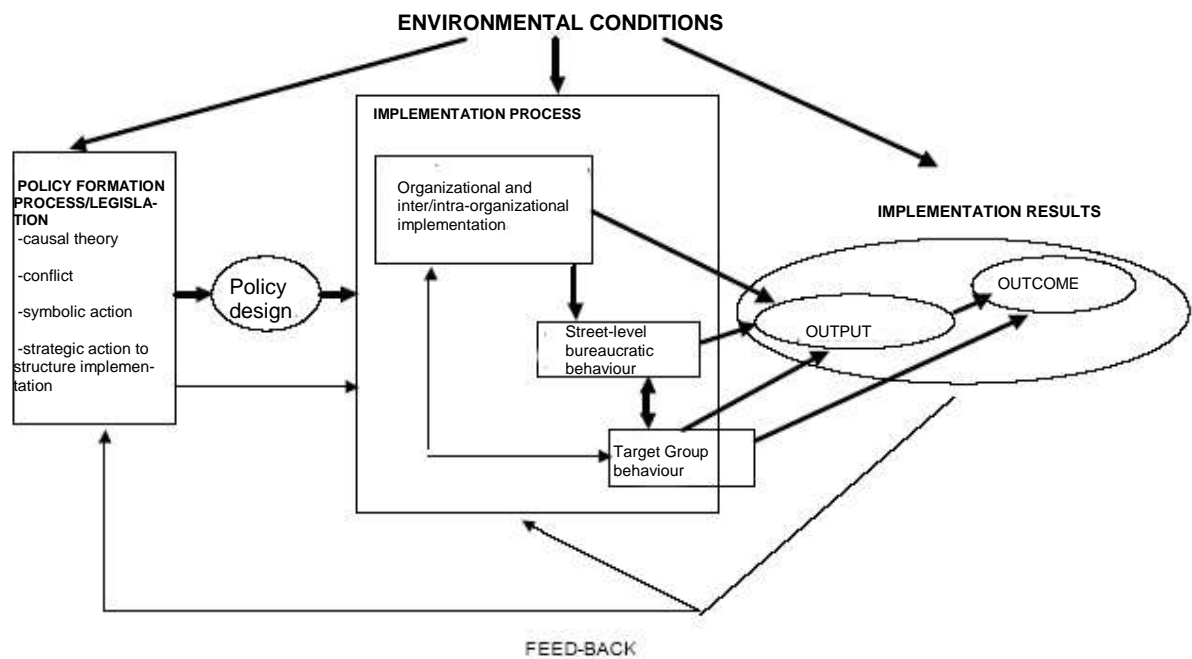
3.15 The limits and opportunities of this project's evaluative frame?

The various problems involved and related to the discipline of evaluation have been outlined above, for which reason the main objective in this subsection is to present the most crucial ones. And to discuss how I plan to deal with them or take them into account when analysing different impacts. The problem with selecting all the factual information needed in order to assess a component and/or program has been implied. One school believes that this should be as objective, systematic, and descriptive as possible, but the mere fact that a selection process has taken place means that a judgement and interpretation has already occurred, as all information impossibly can be included. Therefore, it is also necessary to gather, present and assess the different sources of values, opinions and evaluation needs, as expressed by a variety of stakeholders involved in or affected by an intervention. Can this be done impartially, or should a side be chosen? The different theories of evaluation give and apply various roles and significance to the evaluator. The objectivists and positivists believe that evaluations should include the necessary rigour and neutrality in order for almost value-free evaluations to emerge, and it is the overall task of the evaluator to ensure this. The constructivists deny this and call on evaluators to collect and report different and likely contradictory values and opinions. This is normally done by collecting data from program beneficiaries and staff, field experts, and what the evaluators themselves observe. In addition, context and policy analysis can or should take place as well. The last position, the essentialists, deliberately chooses side by emphasizing the personal experiences and views of project beneficiaries, but focusing mostly on the less resourceful and powerful for the evaluation to be their place of advocacy (Stufflebeam and Stinkfield, 2007:13, 16-17, 21, 27, 30, 70, 169-171, 181-184).

Dealing with multiple values, meanings and pre-interpretations, as well as the difficulties in estimating the importance of various contexts and the problems of accuracy, are all unavoidable factors when conducting evaluations, which can affect both the reliability and the internal validity of this study. Therefore, they are taken into account in my somewhat “summative, process orientated and responsive case study evaluation design”, as they all generally recognize that objective and value-free data is impossible evaluation criteria to pursue. However, there are also various other factors affecting policy outcomes and performances, which are all those variables related to policy implementation that will be at the centre of discussion in the next theory section.

3.2 The second theory part; policy formulation and implementation

Figure 1. The Implementation Process and Determinants of the Implementation Results



Sources: (Winter, 1994a:2; Winter, 1994b:59)

The integrated implementation model developed by Søren Winter above can help shed light on some of the key influential factors and variables involved in policy outcomes and results. Those five independent variables operated with are; *policy formulation, environmental conditions, the behaviour of beneficiaries and street-level bureaucrats like field or case workers and organizational and intra/inter-organizational implementation behaviour* (Winter, 1994b:57-68). The three latter variables are directly involved in the process of implementation as viewed in figure one above, because the argument is that successful implementation depends on the capacity and incentives of implementation staff and recipients. The concept of capacity in this context involves financial and human resources including the staff members’ technical and professional background and know-how. The incentives are understood as the interests attended to by the stakeholders during the whole implementation process, for which reason incentives also relate to the will of these actors. An example of the importance of incentives is found in the role of the field or case worker, which will be presented in the following paragraphs (Jacobsen, 2000:9, 13-17, 23-25).

3.21 The importance and influence of the fieldworker

Winter's notion³⁰ is that; “*the individual fieldworker is a crucial actor, who through deviation mechanisms and priority making gives the process of implementation his or her personal and often biased touch*” (Winter, 1994c:104 in Jacobsen, 2000:25). To understand such a statement it is necessary to outline the conditions under which many field and case workers are “forced” to operate. Common for fieldworkers is that they feel that their resources are limited in relations to the demands set to them by the legislation and their managers, on the one hand, and from the target groups, on the other hand. To reduce this potential conflict and stress related work situation the fieldworker develops, consciously or unconsciously, different forms of deviation mechanisms. These deviation mechanisms can consist of reducing the demand for their work by limiting the information given about a service or content of an intervention, or simply rationalise that service by prioritising the routine assignments over the more complicated and complex ones. Another tendency is “creaming”, so that those people in the target group that best live up to the bureaucratic set success criteria are given privilege over other community members, who might be more in need of assistance (e.g. men versus women, better off women versus the poorest and less resourceful women, majority indigenous populations versus ethnic minority groups etc.), or the fieldworkers can ease their workloads by trying to dominate the beneficiaries into following their instructions, which is a less democratic and participatory development and decision-making process (Jacobsen, 2000:25-27).

Although these deviation mechanisms occur and are a way for the case or fieldworker to survive their everyday workloads, there are also many of them, who despite an at times hopeless rule and administrative structure solve problems by applying reason, creativity, and their great knowledge about the target group's situation, problems and behaviour. Therefore, Winter questions whether the lack of resources in itself can explain the occurrence of deviant mechanisms and behaviour (Ibid).

He nuances the argumentation by applying additional variables, which help explain variation in and the composition of street-level bureaucratic behaviour and implementation style/efforts e.g. the type of policy mandate as well as policy design matter, as do the character of the target group, the political milieu surrounding the organization and the management style including attitudes and

³⁰ Winter is here inspired by Lipsky's theory about the fieldworker as the *real* political decision makers, but Winter has expanded his idea by trying to explain the variations in field and case worker behaviour as well (Winter, 1994a:1, 4-5). Winter has developed a model with seven variables to explain variation in street-level bureaucratic implementation style, efforts and behaviour. They range from organizational to more individual based factors, which I will return to later in this subsection (Winter, 1994a:17).

staff's individual and cultural background like race, education, socio-economic status and political ideologies (Winter, 1994a:17), which are in coherence with many of the factors found in the previous presented empirical data and studies. However, he does differentiate between two situations or areas, where the behaviour of the field and case worker is of greater or less importance. In relation to public service production³¹ the behaviour of the fieldworker play a significant part, because the target group is relatively weak and less resourceful and thereby more easily controlled by fieldworkers with much more authority and expertise, while the case worker in the field of regulatory policies has little influence. This is explained by the fact that due to the stakeholders' organization and professional knowledge about their own situation, the case worker has little say in whether they live in accordance with the intentions of the legislation or not (Jacobsen, 2000:25-27).

3.22 The significance of target group behaviour

The interaction between the fieldworker and target groups has already been stressed above, for which reason this paragraph will be concentrated around the significance of target group behaviour in relation to policy results and impacts. Stakeholder behaviour is affected by their knowledge about the political decision-making process and interventions. Also, the greater the behavioural changes demanded by the interventions are, the harder it will be to reach the target group, meaning that when the norms to be "followed" are in conflict with those of the stakeholders, the less likely they are to be respected. However, Winter believes that the norms gradually can be altered through information, education and/or financial incentives, which can be both negative or positive e.g. sanctions or rewards. Nevertheless, difference occurs in target group behaviour as well as from the notion that *biases are inherent* in the whole system of implementation and the stakeholders' own behavioural and cultural norms. The less resourceful and weakest citizens will suffer from these biases, because resources and power tools like education level, social status, economic and political capital affect the possibilities that the target group members have for benefiting from the political decisions and/or interventions. To cope with these circumstances three patterns of reaction are most commonly found, namely that of *voice*, *exit* and *passivity*.³² With voice the dissatisfaction is expressed and in return action/response is expected. Although the option of exit also is an active form of protest, the stakeholders are here somewhat indifferent to the outcome, whereas the latter implies that the intervention is silently protested against by not following it (Jacobsen, 2000:27-28).

³¹ Development assistance could be seen as a service production, where the receiving countries are the weaker party.

³² Winter is here inspired by Hirshman, who, however, does not use the concept of passivity, but that of loyalty. In addition, his conceptual framework can be used in order to achieve more effective organisations (Hirschman, 1970).

3.23 Various organizational and institutional related factors

The presence of various different organizational actors implies that most implementation processes take the form of political negotiation, which is in coherence with the conflictual policy theory as indicated in the beginning of the problem formulation chapter. Depending on the actors' power and resources, formal or informal authority, economic grants, professional expertise and argumentation skills, strategic partnerships and alliances, they will try to affect the implementation process, so that their interests are fulfilled. Although many stakeholders may follow "personal interests", these need not collide with the policy set ones (Jacobsen, 2000:24-25). For example, many actors might agree with the policy set goals, but lack power and authority in comparison to other stakeholders (Danida's gender personnel versus the whole Danish MFA). Or implementation staff might be dependent on a range of other stakeholders with different time perspectives (Danish embassies versus governmental institutions in the two programme countries). Gender mainstreaming could also be given low priority or be irreconcilable with other organizational obligations or country development goals (Denmark's development strategy 2008-2012 versus Danida's gender equality strategy paper from 2004 and/or various national policy papers in both Uganda and Vietnam).

The success of a program in general and GM efforts in particular are also specified to various factors related to organizational structures and behaviour among its members e.g. positive motivation, good work habits, task orientation, integrity, spirit of collaboration and teamwork, clear and relevant assignments, necessary work conditions and resources, appropriate compensation, responsive and supportive supervision and feedback on performances (Stufflebeam & Shinkfield, 2007:118-119). Besides these variables, the empirical data already outlined suggested that a lack of GM ownership and commitment, localized GM responsibility, expertise, and hands-on training are factors of particular importance to the successful implementation of gender mainstreaming as well.

3.24 Other intervening factors and variables

In reference to the variable; *environmental conditions* a major critique is Winter's lack of precision to what it really contains. But he does specify the importance of socio-economic factors and the fact that the environment has a great effect on policy formulation, implementation and results. Therefore, it would be beneficial to briefly discuss what those other factors could consist of in the different GM contexts e.g. Denmark, Uganda and Vietnam, and eventual international GE arenas.

General societal factors, which can have an affect on all types of aid and not just the one related to GM, are; floods, droughts, war and conflict and/or political instability, which are variables that have influenced, and, theoretically speaking, again could influence the development situation in Uganda and Vietnam. Also, the changing agendas of international donors within the development aid community, and the pressure from international gender and feminist agents, as well as the support and commitments from national governments for gender equality and gender mainstreaming work that goes beyond symbolic politics are all crucial factors. More specifically to the work of gender mainstreaming and equality Danida mentions a country's cultural and social make-up (Danida, 2004a), for which reason the formal and informal institutional norms in the two program countries, not already mentioned, shortly will be at the centre of attention in the following paragraphs.

In accordance to Vietnamese legislation all citizens are equal to the law (Danida, 2006:11). This has occasionally led to the belief with some people in Vietnam that they do not have any gender problems or inequalities. So when the problems apparently do not lay in the legal and formal structures, where should they then be found? It should, however, be mentioned that this *sameness* to the law is only one way of viewing equality, which applies to both WID and WAD approaches. Danida points out that the discrimination of women is due to various informal and cultural determined norms and attitudes in the Vietnamese society (Danida, 2006:11). In Uganda that does not have a communist past, it is remarkable that the road taken towards gender equality has been quite different with affirmative action legislation, which build on the *difference* to law principle (Kharone, 2003), and apparently more actors have been involved in Uganda than in Vietnam. Many variables would naturally be involved in explaining such country differences, which is beyond the scope of this master thesis. But a few suggestions can be made. Tripp mentions two trends in Uganda, which can help explain the motivation and objectives of states in adopting female-friendly policies; the policies have been used for other purposes than the advancement of women, which relates to the state manipulation of women leaders and the women's movement (Tripp, 2006b:111).

Also, the women's movement that emerged after 1986 was different to earlier forms of mobilization, which frequently was tied to the ruling party or government at national level in Uganda (and like the Women's Union in Vietnam), in that it appeared more independent from Museveni's government and National Resistance Movement (NRM). The opening of political space and changing donor strategies in the mid-1980s and onwards created the opportunity and pressure needed for non-governmental actors like the women's movement to gain more influence in

improving women's status in Uganda, at least on paper and in terms of political representation. However, the very way that women are elected by an electoral college rather than through universal suffrage like other members of parliament means that they owe some commitments to the NRM, as most electoral colleges are made up of supporters of the president (Tripp, 2006b:112-113, 120, 123), (Tripp, 2000:197). Vietnam did first open up to donor activities in the 1990s, and is generally considered to be a pragmatic but less affectable recipient.³³ Also, despite of the Grassroots Democracy Decree issued in 1998 and revised in 2000 and 2003, the civil society in Vietnam is, relatively speaking, still less developed and able to exercise political pressure and act as a watch dog, than is the case in most Western countries (Danida, 2006), (CIVICUS, 2006). In addition, the Women's Union in Vietnam has developed from being a vehicle for moving forward women's rights to being a communist party tool of political propaganda and family planning to since Doi Moi moving towards practical, technical and service orientation for women (Scott and Chuyen, 2006:3).

This leads me to the last discussion point in this subsection, namely whether Winter's model is suited to study a policy area like gender equality in development contexts like the two program countries, and whether the model is applicable to the political systems in Uganda and Vietnam, as they differ from the Danish system, from which the model was developed. Although Winter intended the model to be used more generally across borders, I want to comment on the main challenges in applying it, and what this could mean to the analysis of the implementation processes, factors and results of gender mainstreaming.

Because the question is, whether the model best fits a democratic (western understood as regular free elections, multi-partyism and securing civil rights³⁴), open and somewhat decentralised political system, where various agents are able to influence the political decision-making process. This is based on the fact that relative much autonomy is given to the *environment* like the media and civil society, as well as the *independent actions* taken and *behaviour* of the *field* and *case workers*. And as discussed above it is highly questionable, whether these conditions are present in Uganda and Vietnam. In addition, both the two program countries have been accused of corruption, lack of transparency and violations of human and civil rights (Danida, 2004b), (Danida, 2006).

³³ Vietnam has a reputation for exercising strong government ownership of the country's development agenda and in the implementation of development aid, whereby standing out as a strong recipient country, which has been mentioned in reports made by the UNDP, the WB and various other donors in Vietnam since 1996 (Forsberg, 2004).

³⁴ Various other types and forms of democracy is mentioned like democratic centralism and socialism, where the former is the organization of many communist parties, and the latter is the ideological basis of many social democratic parties in the west with reformism and revisionism as its core principles (Hansen, Hansen and Qvist, 2002:64-66).

When analysing the implementation factors and processes of GM in the two countries, it is therefore important to be aware of these barriers to and other channels of implementation, as they might affect both which cluster of actors, who can and cannot affect GM processes and results, but also the degree of influence that they have ultimately. Also, theoretically speaking, implementation processes (GM) in more centralized decision-making systems can be anticipated a closer connection with the political process than in Denmark, which makes the model's theoretical generalization interesting, as it is applied to two non-western settings and political "one-party systems".

3.3 The first theory part; policy framing and discourse(s)

Winter also looks at the policy formulation phase, because he believes that its content and character has crucial influence on both the degree of goal and policy fulfilment and implementation. In figure one he differentiates between three types of policy formulation, each associated with different policy theories, which he sees as more supplementary than mutually exclusive in explaining the relationship between policy-making, delivery and impacts. 1. *A rational model of policy formulation influenced by the logic of causal theory*. 2. *The conflict and negotiation model* and 3. *A symbolic policy formulation phase connected with the garbage can model*. The latter implies that successful implementation is unlikely, if a policy is only passed for symbolic reasons, or if the decision makers do not pay special attention to the policy formulation phase like in the case of mainstreaming politics.³⁵ The theoretical assumption behind this model is that there is a weak connection between the actors, problems, solutions and reasons for decision making. This suggests that the link between means and goals are random, and not associated with any causal theory or explanatory causal chain like in the rational model. In addition, the political actors involved are often only part time, meaning that resources, capacity, and attention are recurrent issues. These problems are often seen in relation to social and political complex problems, where the solving of one problem just creates another. The conflict and rational models have already been referred to

³⁵ Generally speaking, Winter claims that there is less interest for its implementation, because both the costs and advantages of majority politics are spread out, which mean that the intensity of interest and mobility is low. Also, it can be expected that the means to reaching the goals are relatively weak, for which reason implementation transforms into a more symbolic political process like in gender equality politics and consumer protection. The form of politics that seems to have the best theoretical conditions for implementation is client politics like basic service delivery etc. This is explained by the fact that the costs are spread out, as they are paid through the taxes or a donor, but more importantly the benefits are specific and visible for the clients. The process of implementation is also improved by well-organised groups' access to it, although they might try to influence it to their own advantage (Jacobsen, 2000:20-21).

several times throughout this thesis, for which reason I just want to add three additional points for consideration. First, Winter accepts that the actors do not have complete view of all possible solutions and the optimal information in order to make the best collective decision. Second, it is therefore more important to set up a valid causal relationship diagram between means and goals. Third, conflicts involve many kinds of veto and chains of resolution (Jacobsen, 2000:18-20, 22-24).

Although Winter's theory helps us understand policy formulation and implementation processes better, it does not specify the various circumstances connected to its actual framing and the discourses involved, for which reason this will be discussed in relation to GM in the next sections.

3.31 Fairclough's Discourse Theory

There are several possible approaches to and perspectives of discourse theory, but common for most of them are that they, epistemologically speaking, have a constructivist core, for which reason they are very critically of universal truths and objective inquiry methods. However, the weigh and significance given to discourses in the social world differ greatly among them. The poststructuralist approaches, which lay at one end of the continuum, say that discourses entirely constitute the social world, whereas realist traditions, at the other end, see discourses as one important element in the social world (Meinertz, 2007:11). I have chosen Norman Fairclough's critical approach to discourse and discourse analysis, because he could be said to be a middle way between the two traditions outlined above and a pragmatic choice, as he focuses on both discursive and non-discursive praxis.

According to Fairclough language is an irreducible part of social life, and therefore also an essential part of the processes that structure and restructure the notions of gender, gender mainstreaming and gender equality (Ibid), (Fairclough, 2001:32). However, the social fabric of life cannot be reduced to semiotics, because discourses face real institutions, material conditions, and economic, political, ideological and legal structures within which they need to operate (Fairclough, 1995:73), (Fairclough, 2003:2). Due to this dialectic relationship between discursive and non-discursive elements, there is no (direct) causal link between languages and the social world (Meinertz, 2007:11-12). According to Fairclough the social can roughly be divided into three layers; *social structures*, *social praxis* and *social events* (Fairclough, 2005a:2). Social structures describe the abstract configurations that both enable and constrain perceptions and actions, whereas social events portray the actual situations in which actions take place. The social praxis, containing the

discoursal order, is seen as the intermediate link between the abstract structure and the concrete events, and permit fluctuations between the perspectives of social structure and the perspective of action and agency (Fairclough, 2001:27). The concept of “social praxis” enables a viewpoint from where both the continuances and changes in the world’s structural make-up can be explained. Because the various social actors involved with gender mainstreaming may use and combine the resources available in the discoursal order, which contributes to both its reproduction and transformation, as does the actors’ consumption of discourses from fields outside that of gender, gender mainstreaming and equality theory, and development theory (Meinertz, 2007:13).

These fields could be the business world, the voluntary sector, and the political arena. But also technical subfields like agriculture or water and engineering, or sectors like health, sanitation and other welfare orientated institutions that traditionally have been interpreted as women related areas within development practices (see appendix I, section 1C). All these different kinds of discourses might in practice not be so separate, as development practitioners and administrators, politicians and gender equality activists etc., could draw on discourses from each other’s realms, when discussing, conceptualizing, legitimizing and working with GM and GE. But these reproductive and innovative uses of discourses might not necessarily have any social effect, as the practical effect on gender mainstreaming depends upon the extent to which discourses become integrated within the non-discursive elements of social praxis, which can happen through two mechanisms. First, discourses can be operationalized as ways of acting and interacting or second, they can become inculcated as ways of being, where the actors become the owners of discourses, meaning that they think, talk and see themselves in terms of these discourses (Ibid). Also, discourses can enter a setting without ever being enacted or inculcated, or it may be enacted but never really inculcated, as people may comply, refuse, accommodate or compromise discursive pressures, meaning that both organizational structures and the agency of institutional members have causal effect on how organizations and discourses change and develop (Meinertz, 2007:13), (Fairclough, 2005a:6), (Fairclough, 2003:208), (Fairclough, 2001:29), (Fairclough, 1995:106).

Although the logic of Fairclough’s discourse theory is that the totality of discourses within a social domain, and the relationship between them constitutes “a certain order of discourses”, it does not help explain, which and why some discourses become dominant, while others are more marginal, oppositional or alternative. Also, why do particular discourses differ in their degree of repetition,

communality and stability over time and place?³⁶ In order to examine these vital questions I have found it useful to employ ideas from Lise R. Agustín's ongoing Ph.d. at FREIA, AAU. (Agustín is inspired by Goffman's frame analysis, Snow et. al.'s frame alignment processes, micro mobilization and movement participation and Squires' diversity and gender in political theory). Agustín operates with four kinds of frames, when studying EU's gender policy-making, namely; ***dominant, counter, contested*** and ***invisible frames***, which I will apply to Danida's GE strategy in the next subsection.

3.32 A theory of strategic framing

The dominant frame consists of those discourses that are given the most weight and priority, which in the case of the EU's Green Paper seems to be employment and the economy. These two areas are defiantly of great importance in Danida's approach to development, but the ***dominant frame*** for Danida's 2004 Gender Equality Paper is; *resources, rights and influence*,³⁷ which are the tools through which the bonds of inequality are meant to be broken. Achieving greater gender equality within these three areas is believed to have an overall positive impact in the lives of women, men and children, but it is also legitimized as a way of accomplishing the overall Danish development policy goals of poverty reduction, promoting economic growth, democracy and good governance. This means that gender equality is an ***assisting frame*** for achieving other goals of development, but due to Danida's focus on the two-pronged methodology of structural changes and mainstreaming, human rights, good governance, democracy and poverty reduction are all means to improving gender equality as well. The question is then whether the frame of human rights, good governance, democracy and poverty alleviation should be seen as *an assisting and supplementary frame* to the dominant one or rather as Agustín's second frame; ***the counter frame***, which is characterised as being contradictory to or inconsistent with the dominant frame (Agustín, 2007:18-25).

Within Danida's policy documents and papers, there are no inconsistencies or contradictions expressed between equality of influence, opportunity, and access to and control over resources, and a poverty reduction, human rights, good governance and democracy frame, as they all

³⁶ However, a partial explanation is given to this last question, as the specific content of a discourse is associated with the relation that people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, and their social and political identities, and their interrelatedness with other people (Fairclough, 2003:124). From the equation, I believe, is still lacking a discussion of the more power structures related to the specific developments of a discursive social order.

³⁷ Influence is mainly conceptualized in terms of economic and political decisions at household, community and national levels, and structural changes occur through Good Governance and Democratisation. Resources are seen as a way out of poverty, and the creation of an independent income for women through control of and access to; land, credit, information, technology and the labour market. Rights are to inherit, vote, travel, conduct business etc. (Danida, 2004a).

predominantly are conceptualized within an individualistic notion of equality instead of a perspective on social groups or human rights as collectivistic,³⁸ the frames might be considered complementary. Although, these discourses might not collide with the main discursual order within the Danish MFA or Danida, they might come into conflict with different notions of gender equality and human rights found in Uganda and Vietnam, both legally and culturally speaking. Other *counter frames* might instead be those other crosscutting themes like climate change, the environment and energy concerns, as they all are competing for the limited resources and capacities of development implementation staff members. But the strong focus on effectiveness and cost efficiency could also be directly adverse to long-term efforts and process orientated work like gender mainstreaming and equality, although the strong priority given to women's right and status could outweigh this bias (Danida, 2007:4, 6, 10, 13-15, 20-21), (Danida, 2006), (Danida, 2004a), (Danida, 2004b).

When examining the logic of these different frames and discourses in relation to that of gender equality, certain inconsistencies seem to appear, as several framing strategies are at work simultaneously. The poverty reduction discourse builds on notions of inequality and power structures, but at the same time it is a tool to help promote gender equality and economic growth. Gender equality is at the same time a mean to improving the efficiency of poverty reduction. Good governance is seen as a precondition for various social, economic and political reform work, whereas human rights, democracy and legal rights are seen as efficiency tools for societies to benefit more developmentally speaking in terms of greater social, economic and political dynamics. Interesting enough, left out is the strategic framing of human rights and gender equality as a matter of social justice, fundamental social values and respect for diversity,³⁹ which could be called the *invisible, closed and unspoken frames*. Although, these discourses and framing strategies are not utilized in writing, it would be worth noticing, whether they turn up during the interviews as part of individual Danida staff members' discursive repertoire and understanding of gender and equality

³⁸ There are several critical voices of the human rights regime, which argue that human rights are western, capitalist and individualistic orientated. For example, the emphasis on individual property rights contradicts the more Marxist, Asian and Confucian values towards harmony and the family, which are thoughts expressed in the Bangkok Declaration from 1993. Other conservative voices stress that human rights are hostile to religious beliefs. In addition, some feminists criticise the privilege point of view given to patriarchy by stressing the rights-bearer as men and heads of households, but also the active form of citizenship, which lie in the articles of freedom of speech and association etc., which they argue does not apply to the living conditions of many women (Brown, 2005:699-700). Although, it can be discussed whether these more essentialist categories of Asian, Western and Feminists do exist, they do illustrate conflictual views on human rights issues.

³⁹ Kristina Weibel found in her Master Thesis about internal gender politics, four legitimizing reasons for working with gender; the social justice and value argument, image and symbolic value, and the efficiency argument (Weibel, 2007).

issues. Or the answer could be that they in fact represent the *contested frames*, for which reason they are closed to the institutional frame of Danida and the Danish MFA (Ibid), (Agustín, 2007:24). A *contested frame* already mentioned has been the lack of equality as real transformational change and no mention of how to gain *de facto* equality (Agustín, 2007:24-25), except through legal, institutional and political level measures. The more informal institutional norms and inter-relational inequalities are left out of the gender equality equation as well. Theoretically speaking, however, it is interesting to note that some discourses are opened institutionally by Danida applying them, whereas others are closed, which is due to an apparently well defined and developed hierarchy of discursive order and framing resulting from the various conceptual, agenda setting, and legitimizing power struggles between economic goals, efficiency claims, and human rights and political influence. In theory this all indicates that a political economy of policy formulation has taken place and influenced the final policy design of Danida's 2004 Gender Equality Strategy Paper.

A critique of this “strategic frame theory” is that it at times is hard to say, what are *contested*, *counter* and *invisible* frames? For example, implementation staff's orthodox practices and discriminatory attitudes, as previously mentioned, can indirectly be invisible frames that function as counter mechanisms, because they contest and are inconsistent with the work on gender equality and mainstreaming. Therefore, I choose not to see these different frame categories as fixed and frozen, but instead as negotiable and changeable framing strategies that develop in interaction and interrelation with their many contexts and actors. This leads me to highlight another problematic, namely the fact that the distinction between discursive and non-discursive praxis is very unclear in Fairclough's discursive theory. Also, he does not give any guidelines for the borderline between the analysis of discourses and the analysis of other social praxis. The difficulty in separating them is due to the fact that Fairclough's division is more theoretical and analytical based, than empirical or “real life” founded. To deal with these issues I have chosen *not* to pursue a theoretical discussion of what constitutes discursive and non-discursive praxis within and related to the phenomenon of gender and GM. Instead, the concept of discourse is seen as an analytical tool that can help identify the various meanings, interpretations and understandings connected to the informants' notion of and ways of working with gender mainstreaming and equality. This implies that the discursive and non-discursive elements are defined in accordance to two aspects. First, their place and function within the communicative setting, meaning the specific terminology and language used both spoken and written in connected with GM, which stem from the informants' ways of thinking, seeing and

talking about a certain field like GM and gender equality. Second, it is related to the social praxis of GM, which is connected with informants' way of acting and interacting with GM/GE stakeholders.

Conclusively, I want to comment on the fit between the various theoretical perspectives chosen to constitute this thesis' theoretical framework. But also the incommensurable part of the problem formulation – discourse, framing and policy analyses versus impact analyses, and how these different theories speak to or against each other, ontologically and epistemologically speaking, and how these biases will be dealt with. Because at first glance the way that knowledge is understood and produced by constructivist and contextual related theoretical paradigms, under which most discourse, frame and policy analyses belong, could collide with more objective and universal driven ways of doing research as impact studies often are. But as a more discussion and explorative approach to impact was chosen, the theories are more supplementary than competing. And ontologically speaking, the project subscribes to an art holism, which influences both the way the study object is analysed and the optic through which it is examined. Holism should naturally *not* be understood as analysing everything, as this would be an idiocy. Instead, within the case units and through the theories chosen, there is a focus on certain aspects of development aid; implementation variables, discursive practices and impacts etc. This also implies that this thesis' ontological position is informed by a critical realism, which assumes that the reality can be analysed as an entity, separated from the social researcher and the whole discursal language makeup of society. The result being that a partial glint of reality becomes visible for the reader through the analysis (Lykke, 2008:160-163). In relation to this framework, I will therefore, not just look at the different components of cases nor their meaning(s), context(s), and characteristic(s), but also the experiences and opinions given by the women themselves, as their specific perspectives and interests are at the centre of attention in the problem formulation as well as this thesis' epistemological position, which resembles that most often found in standpoint feminism. Namely, a strive in promoting women's position, interests and needs in a society, which implies that a certain educational, political and explorative element becomes a direct aim and objective of this kind of feminist research as well.

But the fact that gender mainstreaming primarily is seen as a policy concept also means that factors outside and beyond those connected to the policy and political realm, I am somewhat discarded from discovering. Therefore, it has been imperative to highlight both the technical and more operational sides of GM processes throughout this master thesis and theory chapter as well.

4.0 The Method Chapter; indicators, research techniques & the empirical data

The last step before entering the world of analysis is to present and discuss the project's choice of scientific methods, research techniques, use of primary and secondary data, but also the actual problems related to data collecting, developing indicators/questions, and finally all the related bias.

4.1 The utilized secondary and tertiary data and studies

This master thesis utilizes a great deal of studies and research materials, which come from secondary or tertiary sources. This does not need to be problematic, as long as a critical methodological assessment of the empirical data is made in order to be aware of the limits and opportunities, it possesses. This exercise is crucial in ensuring the overall quality of this thesis.

In order for me to evaluate what two different Danish sector programmes and various interventions have done or not done for women in Uganda and Vietnam over the last 10 years, it has been necessary to use all the available impact studies, reviews, evaluations, documents, and engendered research. These assessments are carried out by a great variety of actors. The National Audit Office is responsible for undertaking independent financial and performance audits of Danish development assistance, whereas the academic world produces research and dissertations on aid issues in order to better understand the driving forces of development processes etc. However, in order to provide for accountability and learning Danida's evaluation unit also evaluates⁴⁰ the use of funds and methods of aid practices and undertakes yearly in cooperation with their partners reviews on implementation issues etc. Due to the mission, political agendas and mandates of these various institutions, they produce quite different evidence on the use, quality and results of aid (Lundgren, North and Rist, 2003:7-8). Also, a variation in data collecting methods, definitions and ways of interpreting the material might influence the conclusions of evaluation, and impede the possibility of comparability and enhancing the thesis' overall reliability, as the different sources do not show similar results. Therefore, the evidence stemming from the evaluations must be used with the utter most care.

⁴⁰ Three important points should be made about Danida's evaluation unit/practice. First, it is not an independent unit but a part of MFA, which in terms of knowledge production and sharing can be an advantage, as external institutions often become remote and marginalized, and evaluations are then more seen as a critique (Lundgren et. al, 2003:3). Second, to ensure objective and impartial evaluations Danida also hires consultant agencies and cooperates with research institutes on different evaluation tasks. And third, as Danida subscribes to the OECD/DAC's definition of evaluation, which is an evaluation as objective and systematic as possible, their approach is different than the one advocated for in this project (Lundgren et. al, 2003:8). This should *in principle* mean that their evaluation results are more "reliable and neutral".

This point is strengthened by the fact that none of these studies and assessments was designed to fit my study object and empirical data needs, for which reason different vital aspects could be and remain critically unexamined. But the lack of transparency about what is left out or included could also make it difficult to use and reproduce the evaluation results. Another way of tracking progress on gender equality and women's empowerment is to utilize the indicators and statistical measures e.g. GEM, HDI and GDI produced and published by the UNDP and World Bank. However, they do not give an in-depth enough picture about the complexities of women's lives and their many needs.

4.2 The primary empirical data and the research techniques chosen

To compensate for some of these biases and reliability and validity issues embedded in the data materials mentioned above, I have chosen to collect two kinds of empirical data myself; one internet based survey using the data processing programs SPSS and SurveyXact, and another using in-depth interviews with informants, who have been chosen, because of their role as key stakeholders and/or their status as field experts in relation to the sector or country programmes studied, or both, or their great knowledge of Danish development aid and/or Danida's work methods. However, when selecting informants, there is naturally always the risk of representation bias in the sense that the wrong people are chosen, or key informants are left out. Therefore, I will also employ the snow-ball effect method, so when interviewing the informants I will ask them to identify other key agents within their field of expertise and/or that of gender equality and mainstreaming. Nevertheless, whether all the informants identified can be interviewed is a matter of time and resources, both for the interviewees and interviewer. But even if an interview cannot be conducted, it does allow me to get a clearer picture of which perspectives that are included or eventual excluded from my thesis.

In relations to using an internet based survey there are both advantages and disadvantages, which are connected to conducting quantitative methods like questionnaires, and how these factors relate to this project's approach to studying gender mainstreaming through a case study design will be addressed as well. The advantages are that it is a cheap method, which can reach a large number of people in a short period of time and over big geographical distances. The respondents can have total anonymity and feel comfortable answering sensitive questions without fearing for the consequences or feeling obligated to act and respond in a certain way, which can be a bias in a regular interview situation. But there are several disadvantages involved with this data collecting method as well.

For example, it gives low response rates, it necessitates knowledge of and access to the internet and computer hardware/software, and to avoid misunderstandings the questions have to be short and concise, which can produce superficial and less in-depth knowledge (Olsen, 2006:23). However, there are many techniques to deal with most of these issues in order to reduce these biases. In relation to the latter, open response categories can be applied, which allows the respondent more autonomy in giving answers, and the knowledge produced becomes more nuanced. A downside is the problems with and the time consuming exercise of recoding the responses afterwards, and eventual interpreting them wrong. Reduced reading skills, illiteracy, and lack of computer access and skills especially apply to Danida's target groups in the rural areas, for which reason they cannot be reached with this method. Therefore, as earlier mentioned, their opinions would be covered through fieldtrips and secondary studies. Another group of my respondents, who might not have stable power and computer access, could be those implementation staff members stationed closest to the rural beneficiaries. But I do expect by giving the respondents two weeks to reply that they would have sufficient time to answer. The reason for not giving the respondents more time is twofold. First of all, because of my own time constraints in completing this master thesis and secondly, experience has shown that most questionnaires are answered within the first week, where after the response rate dramatically drops (Frederiksen, Pedersen, Præstekjær & Stenager, 2005:68).

However, I cannot deny that this study might end up being embedded with a server selection bias due to choosing the survey method. Because local (government) institutions in Vietnam and Uganda might not all have the resources and capacity to operate computer-based surveys, as many of them still work in paper form. Also, some groups might feel more comfortable with IT than others, such as the younger population groups versus the older and elderly. In addition, the question of time constrain and limited resources is a problem I expect to find with most implementation staff members, for which reason I hope my gate keepers can help me in motivating people to responding the questionnaire(s). But a general representation bias is still expected to occur, as street-level bureaucrats, beneficiaries, and their interrelation cannot be sufficiently and systematically covered as previously mentioned. In order to avoid this imbalance of viewpoints I would have to have had more time when conducted my fieldtrips, in order to observe how these stakeholder groups act and interact with each other, as they might themselves have another version of their relationship, which is coloured by their own interests, agendas, needs, perceptions, and interpretations, as indicated in the theory chapter as well. Also, more resources could have meant more systematic data coverage.

The matter of subjectivity is of great concern in this study, as there will be questions related to problems of implementation, which mean that the staff has to evaluate themselves and each other. This could imply several things. One scenario is that they would try to put themselves in a better light, justifying their insufficiencies or weaknesses, or they might try to blame it on their colleagues or organization in terms of the lack of resources, support, and expertise given. These biases I expect reduced, as the internet based survey provides total anonymity. However, in terms of the interviews, these issues could be very present, for which reason I also will interview key stakeholders, who do not work for or with Danida, as they *should be* more impartial in assessing Danida's aid for women.

4.21 Issues connected to the field

Practically speaking, this means that two set of questionnaires⁴¹ and several interview guides must be developed,⁴² one set for Danida staff and partners,⁴² and another for other key stakeholders and civil society agents within the gender equality and women's empowerment field and development aid. The problems involved with getting access to all these actors have already been mentioned. But a general issue with the questionnaires is that the field is much harder to control, and ultimately I cannot know, who answers the surveys, or why a person chooses not to respond. Non-responses are therefore normally regarded as a refusal to participate in a questionnaire study. Depending on the way that internet surveys are implemented, the nature of the sample, and topic of the study, the response rates obtained can be equally good to personal and telephone interviews. For example, when the respondents targeted for a survey represent a specific and more homogeneous group such as an organization, the same groups of professionals and/or (development) specialists, the response rates are quite high – (60-70 %). Also, if the topic under investigation is of special interests to the informants and respondents, they will generally be more willing to participate (De Vaus, 2002:127-128). In regards to the last mentioned point, this will vary among the informants and respondents. Some of them will have gender issues as their special field of expertise, for which reason it could be assumed that they would be especially interested in my study object, whereas most people involved in development aid has gender mainstreaming, as one cross-cutting issue among many others in their everyday work practices. Some might even find it trivial and a less important issue. This leads me to discussing some of the specific methodological issues involved in face-to-face interviews.

⁴¹ Each respondent will receive a cover letter email with practical information regarding the survey, which guarantees anonymity plus a link to the website, where the questionnaire is situated and has been constructed. This allows me to follow the number of responses and non-responses received, and eventual send out another motivating e-mail to people.

⁴² (To view the English questionnaire and the interview guides 1a, 1b, 1c and 1d, see the appendix II.) Also, to Vietnam the questionnaire was translated into Vietnamese, as not all Danida's partners and NGOs are fluent in English.

4.22 Specific issues connected to face-to-face interviews with elite groups

In all interview situations there is a risk of interview effects, as face-to-face interviews are dynamic communicative and interactive processes, where the participating parties unavoidably influence one another. Therefore, it is important for any interviewer to reflect upon his or her role as interviewer. For example, body language e.g. nodding to heavily and one's general mimic, verbal expressions and expressions of personal opinion are inexpedient, because they are all factors, which can have some bearing on the ultimate replies given by the interviewees. Generally, the way that questions are asked and the language used have to be taken into consideration, as these variables can affect answers as well. In terms of the way that questions are put, it is normally stressed that this must not be leading. However, leading questions can also be used constructively, critically, and consciously; to verify, control, and thereby enhance the overall reliability of the data (Kvale, 2003:153-157).

The language used in the interview situation should optimally reflect and be suited to the type of informants interviewed e.g. with resource weak and/or lower educated people it is more fitting to utilize an everyday language without advanced and professionalized terminology, whereas such verbal communication might be preferable or even necessary with highly educated and resource strong informants like Danida bureaucrats, politicians, MFA diplomats and employees with NGOs. Although, the language used must never be so much out of character for the interviewer that it feels and sounds unnatural, because then it could constrain more than benefit the interview situation. Due to some informants' status as experts and elitists I have employed two other strategies in order to benefit more from their expertise and specialized knowledge. First of all, the interviews are not conducted until a preliminary analysis of program sector impacts have been carried out, and the first results from the questionnaires from Uganda and Vietnam have been reviewed. In this way I have concrete and factual information to debate with these field experts. Second of all, it is imperative that the questions are relevant to the informants and the use of their time is limited (20 minutes).

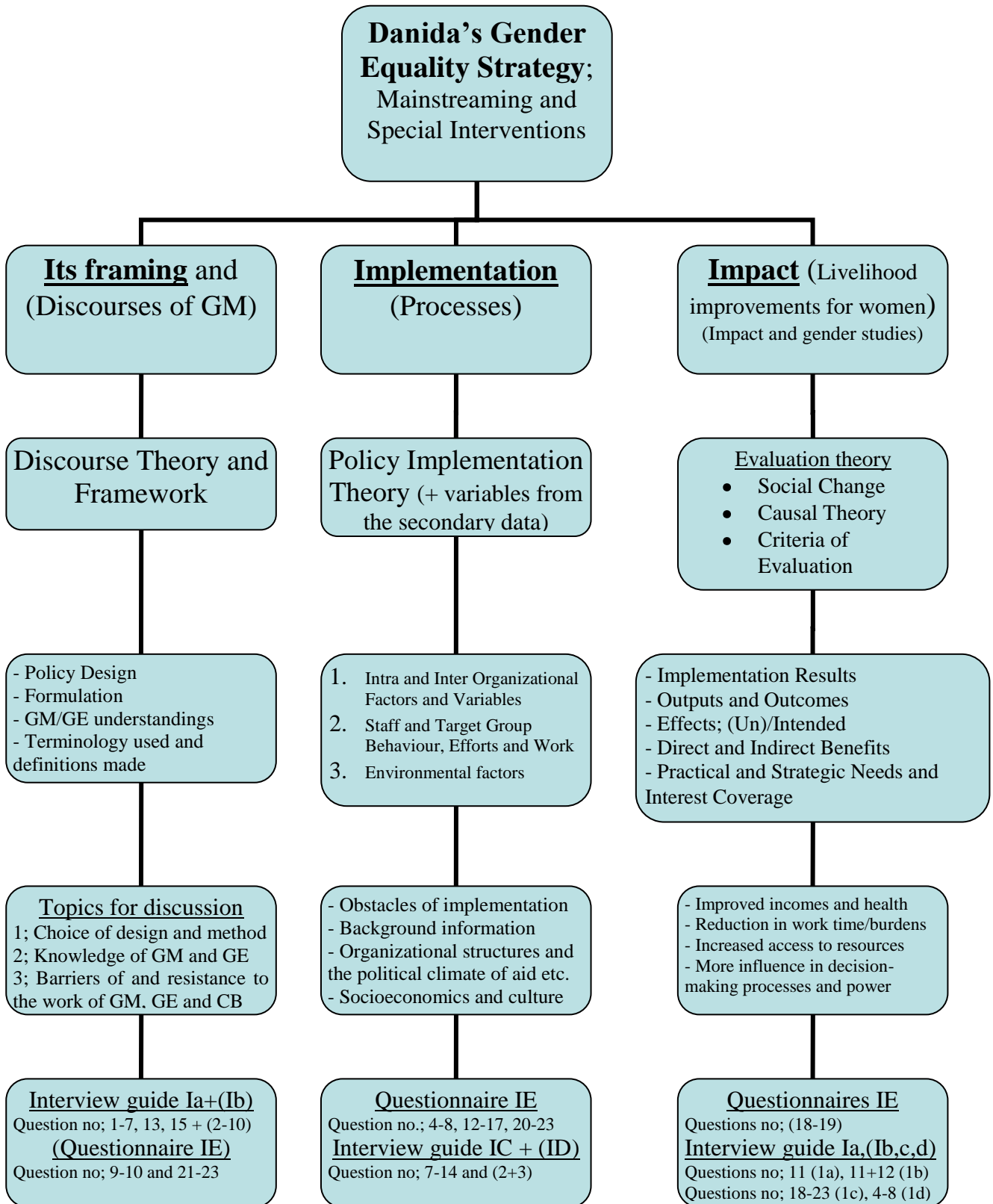
Conclusively, in relation to conducting interviews it is also important to reflect on ethics and transcribing techniques. Ethics can concern a whole range of aspects when interviewing resource weak informants and/or the study object is a very sensitive topic. As both of these issues apply to this project, I choose to subscribe to the codes of conduct that emphasize fair scientific research practices e.g. anonymity, confidentiality, respect for privacy, and informed consent (Kvale, 2003).

The latter applies to the interviewees being informed about the purpose of the study and the empirical data provided by them to the study. Also, in terms of using a Dictaphone this is only possible, if agreed upon. And when transcribing the interviews, the identity of the informants should be concealed by giving the interviewees surnames and identities, which do not alter their socio-economic and cultural status, or by simply labelling the interviews e.g. I, II, III, IIII etc. But, as the transcribing from audio to text implies some technical and interpretative problems, it is necessary to make some choices about which procedures and techniques to use. In order to ensure interview comparability, the most important thing after choosing methods is to be consistent in their application (Kvale, 2003:170-173). As a part of the analysis consists of discursual and meaning interpretation, it is important to transcribe the whole interview and not just selected paragraphs. This has two advantages. First, an ethnographic interpretation can be made, where those things not mentioned or said between the lines can be included as well. And second, that the data, which not only support the theory, can be visible, for which reason the empirical data can inform the analysis and show new dimensions and add specific knowledge about the cases examined and theories used.

4.23 Specific issues connected to developing valid & reliable questions in cross-cultural settings

As there in questionnaires is not the opportunity of correcting question misinterpretations, it is vital that questions are developed and indicators operationalized so rigorously and exact as possible. Because the understanding of words and response categories can be multiple, and this signifies statistically different responses. The language and formulations chosen should therefore contain; common words, short sentences, one question at a time, and no negations, words with few connotations, and generally using grammatically correct wordings. The sequence of questions – from factual to more complex - is vital too, as are visual aids and gimmicks to avoid boredom (De Vaus, 2002:129-138). Similarly, the response categories should be as exhaustive as possible, yet not so many that it is too incomprehensible for the respondents to read. Also, the categories should be mutually exclusive, except when several responses are wanted or requested. Still, when conducting surveys in cross-cultural settings, it cannot be denied that context effects are a critical bias. Due to the importance of response comparability, it is not possible to contextualize and tailor the survey to a certain country or types of respondents, as many different nationalities (at least three) and groups of professionals will answer the questionnaires. In order to deal with the worst biases, pilot tests have been made by discussions it, laboratory testing by method experts, and selected target group members piloting and critiquing the survey to improve it (Olsen, 2006:29, 38, 57-62, 67-70).

The Project’s Operationalization of Gender Mainstreaming⁴³



⁴³ *(In order to view the different indicators and interview guide (Ia, Ib, Ic, Id) questions, see appendix II, pp. 19-29).*

The diagram presented above illustrates the way that gender mainstreaming is understood and operationalized in this master thesis. Therefore, this last part of the method chapter will be concentrated around explaining different selected areas of this particular operationalization of GM.

The first pillar – (from the left), deals with how various discourses and framing strategies influence the approach taken to working with gender equality. Also, donors, civil society groups and government bodies are involved in policy formulation and implementation, for which reason their knowledge of and perceptions on gender equality and gender mainstreaming is important to reveal. Interview guide IB will involve Danish donor agents e.g. TAS/MFA staff and council members etc. And interview guide IA will cover Danish civil society representatives, and civil society groups in Uganda and Vietnam.⁴⁴ Questionnaire IE and interview guide IC will involve government institutions, service providers, and Danida partners and advisers. What is most important in relations to questionnaire IE is that the various implementation levels and agencies of gender mainstreaming are targeted, not necessarily as a census, but at least with some staff members representing each level of Danida's gender equality work, especially in relations to the two chosen programme sectors; agriculture and water and sanitation, and including gender machinery bodies.

The second pillar – (in the middle), is concentrated around the barriers of implementing Danida's gender equality strategy in terms of special interventions and especially gender mainstreaming work. In order to studying such complex implementation processes, it is necessary to include a wide range of indicators and questions in the questionnaire (IE) about factual information concerning the structure, work methods and mandates of the particular institution participating in the survey as well as background variables about the respondents e.g. socio-economic status, educational level, age, ethnicity and race etc., but tapping the commitments made and resources given for gender equality and gender mainstreaming work, as well as the incentives and instruments employed is important.

Lastly, the third pillar - (from the left), is concerned with measuring and detecting livelihood improvements for rural women by asking them, (1d) and using impact studies. The areas of *special concern will be*; improvements in women's incomes and health conditions, a reduction in work time and burdens, whether they have increased their access to or control over various resources, and finally, have the women gotten more influence in decision-making processes and political power.

⁴⁴ The civil society representatives in Vietnam are; VWU, NCFW and research institutes, and for Uganda; NAWOU, WOUNET, ACFODE etc. and religious leaders, for Denmark; KULU, Gendernet, Women's Council and Projectaid.

5.0-6 The Analysis; framing, implementation & effects of gender mainstreaming

In reference to the problem formulation; “*Is the way that gender mainstreaming is being framed (by Danida) and implemented in two sector programmes – WSPS & ASPs, in fact, improving the lives of women in rural Uganda and Vietnam?*” three aspects need to be addressed in this analysis, namely how gender mainstreaming is being framed; its actual implementation; and different effects for various groups of women in rural areas in Uganda and Vietnam within the scope and intension of the water and sanitation sector and agricultural sector programmes. In order to structure such an analysis, both the sector programmes and countries will be examined separately, whereas eventual commonalities and differences between them first will be considered in the final conclusion of the analysis.

5.1 The background information for GM and WSPS in Uganda

In order to understand the policy framework and the actual operation of a sector program like water and sanitation in Uganda, it is necessary to examine the reasons and logics behind its establishment. The development of water sources in Uganda was traditionally seen as a technical assignment, which was undertaken by the government with little involvement of the community in actual construction or decision making. However, the breakdown in government systems after years of dictatorship under Idi Amin and Obote II meant a reduction in funding and the operation of water sources. The water decade in the 1980s with the slogan; *water for all*, drew a lot of attention and funding into the rural water supply sector. And with the National Resistance Movement’s (NRM) takeover in 1986, Uganda became a candidate for countries like Denmark to “invest” its ODA⁴⁵ in. The Danida funded project during the 1990s was RUWASA – Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (Okuni and Rockhold, 1995:32). From mid 1990s ECWSP was funded as well – Eastern Centres Water and Sanitation Project, which used a methodological approach very similar to RUWASA. RUWASA consisted of 38 detailed steps to be undertaken, but the major activities were; the formation and training of committees; purchasing and installation of sanplats; site selection; appointment and training of water point caretakers; basic training in operation, maintenance, sanitation and hygiene (Mutono, 1995:28). However, RUWASA⁴⁶ was very explorative and

⁴⁵ For more background information, see the appendix I, section 1.1 in particular and section 1.A in general.

⁴⁶ In its first phase (1991-1995) WID was dominant, (see appendix I, sub-sections 1.7 + 1.8), which meant that women’s physical participation was crucial, for example; as producers of concrete slabs and sanitary platforms and training in hand pumps mechanisms with different success, as women faced discrimination etc. (MFA, 2000:36, 44-45).

flexible, as it tried out different strategies and adjusted its methodology along the way (MFA, 2000:37). From its successes three key elements were transferred into WSPS; 1: the involvement of communities in planning and implementation, known as CBMS, (*see the appendix: 1.D, pp. 17*), 2: linking water with sanitation, and finally, 3: attention to maintenance issues (MFA, 2006:56).

As mentioned in appendix I, (section 1.1) Danida helped establish and gave technical assistance and skill development to the staff in the Women in Development and later Gender and Development Ministry all through the 1990s. This implied that ministry staff learned how to plan and design programme activities. With the Local Government Act of 1997 and the ongoing decentralisation process, attention was directed to working directly with districts officials and gender sensitisation.⁴⁷ The work of the of National Machinery for GM and women's advancement was in the beginning concentrated mostly with dialogue, advocacy and training, as it had to convince stakeholders to put gender and women on the development agenda.⁴⁸ But later on it also moved to documentation tasks, institutional and human capacity building. In 1997 the National Gender Policy was established but revised in 2007 due to a re-examination of its strategies and reform processes (MGLSD, 2007:iv-v).

5.2 The institutional set-up for GM and WSPS in Uganda

The mandate of the WID/GAD Machinery is to operationalise Chapter 4 of the 1995 constitution, (articles. 31-42), concerning affirmative action and the promotion of fundamental human rights for marginalised groups especially. In addition to this, it administers and monitors 8 regional and 7 international agreements, 17 national policies, 18 laws and 11 sector strategic plans in relations to gender and women's issues, from which 80 % was developed in 2000 and onwards. This gives an indication of the resources and attention that goes into monitoring and policy development tasks. As a development officer from the ministry said; *“For us here in the government we have our schedules and reports, so when CEDAW needs their reports we have to throw everything that we have in our hands, as it has to be done by a government institution and we are asked to do it, have to (...), but these reports are a balance, as the government don't want to be embarrassed either”* (25/06/08, CD: Uganda Data).

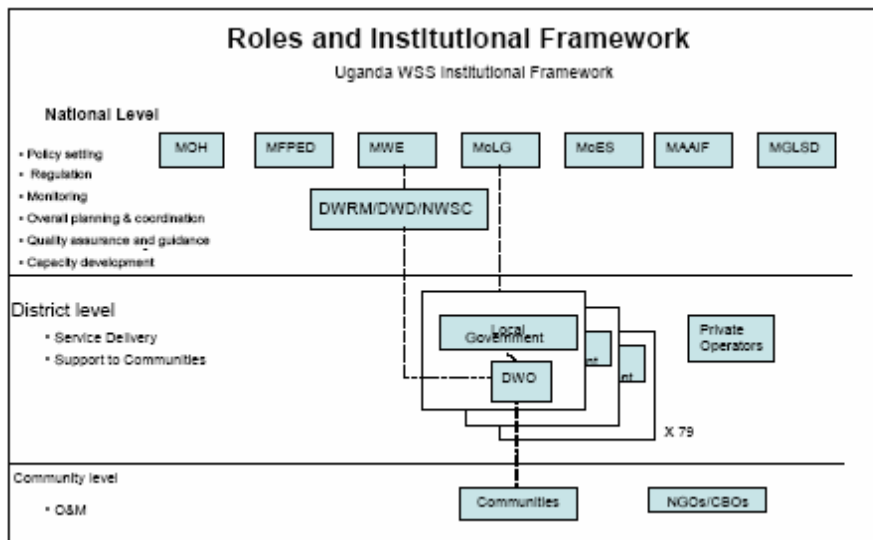
⁴⁷ Although the term sensitizing might seem patronising, it is a common used word in Uganda for introducing a new and unfamiliar concept (MFA, 2000:39) and making people conscious of the different needs, interests and perceptions of women and men arising from their different social positions and gender roles (MGLSD, 2007:34). This is typically taught by analysing the tasks and access to productive resources by different age groups and sex (MFA, 2000:36).

⁴⁸ As a development officer that has been with WID/GAD since 1992 explained; *(...) making appointments and getting contacts, the willingness from people and that the information is forthcoming. Also, timing and strategizing your work is important”* (25/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). This also demonstrates the importance of advocacy and strategic planning.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING – *Equality Lost in Translation?*

This points to another problematic as well, namely that of “real” monitoring and evaluation, as the reports and numbers might have to be decorated a little, in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of the institution and/or ministry on the one hand, *is it achieving results*, but still show problem areas for funding sources to keep floating on the other hand. Besides these M&E tasks WID/GAD also gives technical support including tool development, setting standards, and coordinates activities. In terms of GM the Sector Ministries must develop gender strategies, put funding aside, train their staff in gender analysis and budgeting and monitor its gender equality impacts with data that is disaggregated by sex (MGLSD, 2007:3, 23). As this is still mainly voluntary, actions lack in practice. The same ministry officer said; “*At the national level there are no possibilities for sanction, if they don’t report back or implement their plans (...) At District level they have started to request gender training more, because, if they score bad, they can be financially punished*” (25/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). In Some cases the threat of monetary penalty seems to have given incentives for local district officials to act.

Figure 2: Water and Sanitation Sector Institutional Framework, (MWE, 2007:32).



Above is seen the overall institution set-up for WSPS.⁴⁹ At national level the Ministry of Water and Environment (MWE) has the overall responsibility for setting policies and standards, managing and regulating water resources and determining priorities for water development and management. The Ministry of Health (MOH) is responsible for hygiene and sanitation promotion at household level through the Environmental Health Division (EHD).⁵⁰ The Ministry of Education (MoES) has the hygiene education and sanitation responsibility in primary schools. MAAIF – The Ministry of

⁴⁹ The GoU carried out a number of water sector reform studies in 1999 and in 2004 in order to operationalise the National Water Policy of 1999 and achieve the MDG7 targets which resulted in several plans (ADF, 2005:12).

⁵⁰ EHD is said to be a low funded with only two employees, making sanitation a low priority area (Uwasnet, 2002:8).

Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries is in charge of on-farm use and the management of production including irrigation, animal production and aquaculture. The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) mobilises funds, allocates them to sectors, reviews their spending against objectives and coordinate donor inputs, whereas MGLSD also assists MoLG – The Ministry of Local Governance with community development and implementation of sector programmes, so that they are gender responsive. This leads the focus to the 3 main implementing institutions and directorates under MWE, namely DWRM, NWSC and DWD. The Directorate of Water Resources Management is responsible for managing, monitoring and regulation of water resources through issuing water use, abstraction and wastewater discharge permits. The second is The National Water and Sewerage Corporation, which is in charge of all services for the 22 large urban centres across the country. The Directorate of Water Development has been supported by Danida, as it has the tasks of providing overall technical oversight for planning, implementation and supervision of the delivery of small urban and rural water supply and sanitation. In addition, there are about 84 NGOs operating in the water supply and sanitation area and private sector firms are mostly involved in design and construction tasks under contract to the local and central government. The local government e.g. Districts, Town Councils, Sub-Countries receive a conditional grant for the provision of water services. Finally, the communities are responsible for demanding, planning, contributing a cash cost (2 %), and operating rural water supply and sanitation facilities, which is done through water user groups and/or committees - WUC at each water point (MWE, 2007:32-34).

Although the rural water and sanitation sub-sector in particular and WSPS in general is considered to be one of the most advanced Sector Wide Approaches (SWAP), and the third phase of WSPS is increasing becoming totally basket funded, the coordination and its facilitation take up a lot of resources. As an informant from TAS in the Danish MFA said; *“What you have to realise is that they have few resources to operate with, and just getting two ministries to talk together can be a challenge. They would rather not share information, and they see each other as competitors for the few resources available”* (20/10/08, CD: Denmark Data). Thereby the inter-organizational environment seems to be marked by some hostility which ultimately could hamper knowledge sharing, cooperation and the synergy effect that SWAP is intended to deliver. If too much energy is spent on competing instead of combining resources, the end result could be less capacity for implementation efforts.⁵¹ Also, just achieving consensus on which plans and actions to follow consumes much of the time.

⁵¹ At district level such tendencies were also found e.g. lack of actor coordination and supervision (MFPED, 2004:194).

5.3 Discourses and framing strategies related to GM and WSPS in Uganda

One thing is the formal institutional and legal structures and how beneficiary they are to gender mainstreaming processes, and yet another aspect is the informal and social structures that govern attitudes and every day aid implementation practices and priority making. How these informal and formal structures interlink and affect one another is tried captured in the following five sub-sections. They are results of empirical findings of my own data, reviews of central policies and studies, and theoretical considerations. The discursal order is sorted under the headlines; dominant, assisting, counter, contested and invisible frames as outlined in the theory chapter.

5.31 Dominant Frame; Sanitation is a household and thereby a woman's issue

The dominant frame as discussed in the theory chapter consists of those discourses or policies that are given most weight and priority. For all sector programmes in Uganda the overall policy framework is PEAP – The Poverty Eradication Action Plan, 1997, and revised in 2000 and 2004. When looking at the priorities given to water compared with sanitation, it becomes apparent that sanitation and basic hygiene has a secondary status. For example; The Water Sector Strategic Investment Plan (2000/1-2015) awards specific funds for rural water (\$ 951 million) and for urban water (\$ 481 million) and sets the goal of (77 %) rural and (95 %) urban safe water coverage by 2015. In terms of funding to the water sector the proportion covered by GoU compared to that of donors has been rising. In 1998/1999 GoU only financed about 8 % of the budget, which had increased to 30 % in 2005/2006 (UNESCO, 2005:31). Still, the MDG7, subscribed to by the GoU, does include the ambition of reducing by 50 % people living without basic hygiene and sanitation.

So why is there this difference in priority between water supply coverage and sanitation? This is due to several factors that are socially, institutionally and historically related. First of all, sanitation was traditionally not a government task like water supply as previously mentioned, but considered a household issue. With rural water supply and sanitation projects in the 1990s, the institutional support and personnel for hygiene promotion and sanitation were entirely funded by external sources.⁵² These funds are no longer available due to SWAP and WSPS. This means that donors and other stakeholders must put energy into getting it more prioritized and funded nationally.

⁵² In this sense sanitation and hygiene schemes can also be seen as foreign imposed agendas in Uganda.

An informant from the Danish MFA explained; *“Danida has tried to put a lot of pressure on the issues and get it more prioritised politically by getting the different ministries together with MOH. And every year at the sector reviews we do the same with all the donors (...) but the big culprit is the Ministry of Health, because they don’t want to put money aside for preventive work like sanitation and information campaigns. (...) At a meeting a couple of years ago the President Museveni said; you should be ashamed of yourself, we have lots of people dying of basic diseases due to the lack of sanitation and hygiene”* (20/10/08, CD: Denmark Data). Whether the support to the sanitation and hygiene issue on the part of the President was real or a more symbolic gesture, in order to get credit from donors and his peers, whereby making MOH the scapegoat, is hard to say. The fact is that no extra resources have been provided for this area, and in terms of health workers it has been reported that their transport is no longer paid for, so that they can conduct community follow-ups. However, in the newer PEAP sanitation is recognised as an inter-sectional issue, which raises the problems of institutional responsibility and funding for sanitation between DWD in MWE and EHD in MOH, as the quote above illustrates.

Besides these historical and institutional factors related to areas of responsibility, mandate, and a priority in funding, what kind of variables can then help shed light on this deeply rooted social praxis and division between water and sanitation? A turn to actual attitudes and conduct in terms of the division of labour and gender roles might provide an answer. It is a well known fact that women, girls, and sometimes young boys are the main responsible for ensuring the water supply and keeping the household and its surroundings clean. Thus when men are seen near a water point, it will most likely be due to the wife being sick, the animals needing water, or that the water can be sold for cash (MFA, 2000:34). Behind this gendered division of labour may lay social attitudes and norms about what women and men are supposed to do. As a woman from Rakai District said; *“Women have to cook, have to give bath, and have to fetch the water and all the housework.”* (23/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). And the men seem to agree; *“I bought a water tap, when I married my wife”* (MFA, 2000:34). Although, such statements cannot be generalised or qualify as valid perceptions of all men and women in rural areas in Uganda, they can give an indication that the current division of labour is rooted in a general belief that the responsibility of water and sanitation lies with women. In addition, the Ugandan Household Surveys indicate that households prioritise water supply, but not sanitation as much (MFPED, 2004:194). This was a realisation that RUWASA also made, for which reason an implementation strategy was tested, where sanitation was made a condition for getting water (Mutono, 1995:29). Thereby, the reason for water taking precedence over sanitation could also be a social rooted idea about sanitation being a household and thereby a woman’s issue.

5.32 Assisting Frames; Gender Policies, Focal Points and Expertise in place

Danida has a reputation for pushing hard for gender mainstreaming in general and in Uganda in particular, which most likely is due to all the gender related interventions, it has spearheaded. In relations to the water supply and sanitation sector this is also the case, as Danida along with Sida assisted in developing the Water Sector Gender Strategy in 2002, which will be discussed below.

The Water Sector Gender Strategy is described as an operational guide (DWD and MWLE, 2002:6). In terms of the justification for gender, then the rationale is that increased participation of women within an institution (like DWD for example) can be related to transparency and good governance. And for the lowest organisational unit, the WUC, an equal involvement of men and women will bring about more sustainable water supplies. Therefore, the rationale seems to be that the mere involvement of women will bring about institutional change in the form of more open and better financial management, as if women per definition are better with finances and more honest about their work procedures etc. However, it is also mentioned that the institutional and power relations need to be changed along with attitudes and behaviour. The problem is the actual interventions to achieve such a goal, because the tools are team building forums to foster debate and respect and setting up so-called codes of conduct rules. Whether such initiatives can break gender biased norms or bring about institutional and behavioural changes is time bound, as they are long term processes. The same questionable logic applies for the so-called correlation between women and the degree of sustainability (DWD and MWLE, 2002:7-10, 25). Because whether a women or a man, the degree of their commitments, qualification and the possibilities within the institutional set work frame will properly have a higher affect on issues of sustainability and good governance, than the sheer composition of their social and engendered abilities. Therefore, the explanation for this line of argumentation shall most likely be found elsewhere. Because this legitimization of women's increased participation is due to the water sector's application of WID, where targets are set for involving women more actively in different decision-making bodies, for example, in accordance with the affirmative action policy of the GoU, DWD tries to achieve 1/3 female employees over a ten year period and 50 % in WUC. Although, as common is for liberal feminist inspired approaches, they are mostly voluntary. However, an important aspect is whether actual resources, both human and capital, have been awarded to implement GM. The budget for software (training, technical units and extra staff) has increased from 3 % to 12 %, meaning that expertise and anchors are in place.

5.33 Counter Frame; Men and Women Equally Responsible for Water and Sanitation

In the 2007 water and sanitation sector performance report it is stated that the purpose of gender mainstreaming is; “to ensure that women, men, girls and boys are able to move out of poverty and achieve improved and sustainable livelihoods” (MWE, 2007:10). This give GE and GM a welfare and poverty orientation, since both men and women have the right to escape the poverty trap and improve their lives. And as mentioned in the appendix I, section 1.C, these two approaches are popular with recipient governments, since they do not threaten the status quo of economic privileges and political power. Another explanation for this focus can be due to MWE’s and DWD’s own mandate of contributing to poverty eradication and improved health for Ugandans and better water service delivery. Although, in reality gender mainstreaming methods are commonly, as the one outlined above, a mix of discourses, resulting from being the end product of political compromise over different agendas, strategies and economic concerns. For example, the WID influence has already been mentioned, but GAD becomes apparent in DWD’s attempt to change its biased and patriarchal institutional structures and becoming a more female inclusive department. In addition to this, the fact that women and men have different roles and thereby motives in joining the sector activities is also acknowledged and tried taken into consideration in both design and the set-up of the CBOM, the Community Based Operation and Maintenance System. But in accordance with the equity model women must take on responsibility themselves and become active agents of change, as it is formulated in the Water Sector Gender Strategy from 2002 (DWD and MWLE, 2002:9). Because the assumption is that gender inequality can be reduced by giving women economic and political influence through state interventions like quotas, whereby women become active stakeholders.

But there are no where in WSPS’s gender policy design, district work plans or sector reviews, (as was the case for RUWASA⁵³), any specific emphasis on the roles and responsibility of men in relations to water and sanitation, or to the unequal division of labour related to these work tasks. In PEAP the disproportion of women’s labour burdens are recognized, but the solution is to reduce women’s water collecting time, so that they can become more efficient and productive citizens by earning an income. The social value of water and sanitation is acknowledged, as is to some extent women’s contribution to the sector, but there is no mention of the social injustice involved in women having the main responsibility for water and sanitation, or how it can be ratified.

⁵³ However, with RUWASA II interventions were tried out to break stereotyped gender roles about water and sanitation by using drama groups, radio as a media and posters. MOH does similar things to improve sanitation behaviour (Ibid).

5.34 Contested Frames; We do mainstream – 1/3 are women

Instead the approach taken is to give women more responsibilities by including them as water point caretakers⁵⁴ and in WUCs. However, it has been stressed that it should be meaningful participation. A plausible reason for this is, that it is widely believed and have been documented that committees elect women to non-executive positions, because they have to, (for any committee to be valid in Uganda, there must be 1/3 women), implying that the participation does not translate into real decision making power (MFA, 2000:41). This can have several consequences. First of all, women, that do not want to, or have the time for committee work, are pressured into it. Second of all, it can be a requirement that they can read and write, and the fact that the fewer women with education are elected is due to having status in the community already, for which reason current power balances between groups of women are not challenged, but instead reinforced. Focus group discussions from MWE's 2007 performance report confirmed the validity of the latter stated point. Because some women expressed the view that in order to be a leader you have to have a certain status in the community. Others said that those, who know, how to read and write, would undermine them, if they became more active (MWE, 2007:155). This problematic have been known for at least eight years, as it was pointed out in a Danida evaluation in 2000 at the Beijing +5 Summit in New York. The question is then, why the problem has not been solved. There are several reasons for this.

First of all, most districts simply use the monitoring track system and format provided by DWD, which is a quantitative measure, of how many percentages of WUC and Water Boards that have at least one woman holding a key position e.g. Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Treasurer. This does not necessitate or encourage an examination of the qualitative aspects of participation as discussed above. In addition, the Community Development Assistants and Health Assistants in charge of data collecting, community mobilization and gender sensitizing are often understaffed at Sub-country level, because many positions remain vacant and issues of a lack of resources and training exist as well (DWD, 2003:11-12). Second of all, the huge emphasis on performance, and the need to scale up in order to be both cost efficient and effective and reach certain sector targets and goals like MDG7, often contradicts and prevents more resource demanding and process orientated work like including community members, building their capacity and creating ownership.

⁵⁴ And even though RUWASA and WSPS I + II have stressed that caretakers should be one woman and one man, which means that they work closer together, it has not changed the traditional wisdom about gender roles and responsibilities in connection with water and sanitation as outlined above (MFA, 2000).

5.35 Invisible Frames; Gender Mainstreaming is not my Critical Path to take

These kinds of attitudes can be found from “top” director level and “down” to local and district implementation workers. However, their reasoning, logic and causes might vary extensively. A development officer from The WID Ministry said; *“Well, funding and resources are general difficulties (...) but even getting the time and attention of some ministries and (the private sector) is a great challenge. It is also attitudes, for example, when top directors say that gender mainstreaming is not their critical path to take, what can you do? It is really frustrating, not to get appreciation for one’s work like that”* (25/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). As there at central level seems to be a lot of administrative tasks and responsibilities in terms of monitoring and evaluation and other report burdens, it could be possible that an area like gender mainstreaming takes a secondary position. Policy implementers, as Winter’s theory suggests, always feel that their resources are limited compared with their work loads. In this case it could appear that the top directors apply a double strategy to overcome this demand from The WID Ministry, namely not giving out any information about their GM work or intentions by simply not showing up or giving the gender officer the time of day. Another one of Winter’s deviation mechanisms could very well explain, why an officer from Kayunga District cannot see the necessity of gender tools and activities. He states; *“We have no activities that require gender analysis tools”* (MWE, 2007:155). And as it was noted in another report by DWD, the district water officers are more interested in and attend to the hardware than the software (DWD, 2003). This implies that the district officers tend to prioritise the assignments that they are used to and that they are hired to do, than more complex and complicated activities in relations to gender. In RUWASA this was also experienced, since civil servants found it difficult to grasp and accept more complex gender relations than those related to the simple division of labour (MFA, 2000:40).

This could be the reason why the 2007 performance report found that none of the examined districts had planned for gender awareness and education activities, five years after the GM strategy was established and the budgets for software activities were set and raised. Still, some district officers maintained that money and resources are an issue. An Apac District Official said; *“There is a lack of funds for training at lower levels”* and a District Official from Kasese shared this opinion; *“There is no specific budget line for gender related activities”* (MWE, 2007:155). So the question is why there is such a discrepancy between apparent allocated funds and the district officers’ ability to require them or know of their existence. The explanation probably lies in a bureaucratic funding structure and a lack of coordination between different district departments.

5.4 Actual implementation and fieldworker’s work methods

One thing is then again policy design and another is actual implementation, or said in another way; what is being done and what is not *and why?* When dealing with such questions, it can be helpful to have some kind of measuring stick or bench marks on different implementation parameters like the ten golden indicators as shown below. Qualitative data will also be used to elaborate on key issues.

Diagram 1: The 10 Golden Indicators, (MWE, 2007: 24)



One of the indicators, that can demonstrate whether any implementation measures have occurred, is water access.⁵⁵

The registered data takes its beginning in 1991 with the donors’ entry into the rural water supply and sanitation sector. The trend is that the access to improved water supply has increased from 8 % in 1991 to 62 % in 2006/7. For the urban areas the number is 75 % (DWD, 2003:5), (MWE, 2007:94). However, these numbers mask differences in

coverage, distances to water sources and collection time between the Central, Eastern, Northern and Western Regions in Uganda. Not surprisingly, the districts with the lowest coverage and access (below 20 %) lie in the Northern Region, which population wise is the smallest, but geographically is the largest and socially the poorest (UBOS, 2008). This is among other due to the conflicts in the region, which have left over 2, 2 million people (40 % of the region’s total population) into the category of Internally Displaced People living in camps, where their water supply and sanitation needs are compensated for, but not sufficiently meet (MWE, 2007:83). The Northern Region has the longest waiting time of 53, 8 minutes, where average is 28 minutes, implying very long waiting queues at the water sources. The ten districts with the best access of at least 80% lie mostly in the south and south west, and not in the richer Central Region as should be expected. The fact that these best-covered districts have used the cheaper technology springs and gravity flow schemes taps can explain the higher amount of water sources, as the less-covered are characterized by costly technology usage (MWE, 2007:95). However, 35 districts (44 %) are above the average coverage.

⁵⁵ As it is not physically possible to measure or with total accuracy to estimate, the distance to every single water source in the country, proxy figures are used. For example, rural water supplies assume a certain number of users per different source type (150-300) and this number is again divided with the total population size in that area based on UBOS data. Other methods are also used and they are compared to obtain better understanding about access (MWE, 2007:92-93).

Therefore, other explanations than technology practice must be examined in order to give reasons for this relative evening out of average distances of 0,8 kilometres to water sources for 72, 3 % in the Central, 72, 7 % in the Northern, 67, 9 % in the East and 67, 5 % in the West Region. One reason for these more common trends is probably the indicator of equity. The overall intent with equity is to provide equal opportunity for the water services and minimise differences between groups of people. As outlined in the 1999 National Water Policy; *“Some for all and not all for some”*. Technically speaking, the equity indicator is defined in terms of the mean Sub-country deviation from the district average in person per water point. However, in practise there can be several factors affecting and challenges in complying with the equity criteria. As a District Water Officer said; *“When we get the DWSCG, we deduct funds for programme management and divide the rest for water supply based on the number of Sub-countries and respective populations we have, so that each Sub country gets a proportional amount of the money. This is caused by (local) political pressure to ensure equal distribution of resources in the district. As a result the communities in the areas with low water potential and requiring rather expensive facilities like boreholes get fewer facilities, while those with high water potential construct more cheap facilities like springs”* (MWE, 2007:135-138). So such an interpretation of the equity principle created by political pressure means that the most needing or areas with non-optimal water potential might not really be served. This could be a method practiced several places and explain the examples with degree of coverage and use of technology as outlined above. Still, there also seems to be districts that according to villagers themselves give to the most in need first. A woman from Tororo District explained; *“(…) you know always, when a grant is released into the District, it mobilizes meetings and find out ideas from people, who live in the Sub-countries (…), the LCs also have meetings in order to find out, where there is need, so that before they dispatch the money, they will know, which village that do not have a borehole. This is how we get services. They give to the most needed”* (28/06/08, CD: Uganda Data.). Although, such cases without doubt occur, there does not seem to be any mechanisms in place to ensure that equity is enforced at village level. Since villagers have to contribute with 2 % input, the more educated and richer people participate in WUC and get a say on location, which they are going to try to affect to the places, where they live and not the poorest.

Lastly, in order to keep benefiting from increased access to water sources, it is vital to look into factors related to functionality, operation and maintenance issues. The average non-functionality percentage is about 20 %, depending on the data source used. A functional water source is one that is found to produce water at the time of spot check. Rural water supply sources are; deep boreholes, springs, shallow wells, valley tanks and gravity flow scheme taps (MWE, 2007:106).

In addition to the hydro geological challenges discussed previously about low water potential areas, poor choice of site near swampy areas and low quality of construction are common factors. Reasons that could help explain these incidences are that private firms have been sub-contracted by districts without proper qualifications, sometimes being family members or a lack of supervision done and records kept (DWD, 2003:9). But interestingly enough, when asking water officers and water user groups about the causes for operation and maintenance failure, the reasons given vary, as if neither villagers nor fieldworkers really want to take on responsibility. The former says that there is a lack of training and facilities, and the extension staff is hard to reach, as two people from Rakai District explained; *“We have dogged the holes, and set up the foundation for the tanks, but we are lacking cement for the construction, and we are lacking money for buying bricks”* And *“It is few people, who receive the tanks due to little facilitation. So they just taught us, how to build the tanks, but we did not manage”* (23/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). The fieldworkers, on the other hand, claim that the lack of monetary contributions and facility ownership are the problem. A water officer from Tororo District said; *“Maintenance is the biggest challenge (...) well, resources – financial as the money and time is always a problem. That the farmers themselves invest in their facilities, as they should contribute 2 % of the input and the government provides for the rest. But (even) this can be a problem”* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). These statements are most likely an expression of two versions of the same story. Studies have found that a lack of training and hurried committee formation have left unsettled issues on and confusion about; who should pay for what, committee meeting culture and roles, and responsibility in terms of cleaning. Earlier the lack of extension staff at Sub-country level in general and their time and resources in particular have already helped explain, why software activities got lower priority. This issue is getting more attention, as more of the software budget is being spent. Also, spare part availability, more training in hand pump mechanisms and trying to solve the lack of bank facilities are initiatives taken in order to improve the functionality of water sources (MWE, 2008:109, 148).

5.5 Livelihood improvements in the eyes of rural women and men

It is a well-known fact within the water and sanitation sector and repeatedly found in several studies and impact evaluations, that,⁵⁶ when water and sanitation facilities do work, they can create both social and health related benefits for communities and individual households, as well as having potential positive monetary side effects, which my own data collection from Uganda also will show.

⁵⁶ UNDP has calculated that the economic rate of return in saved time, increased productivity, and reduced health costs for each US \$ 1 invested in achieving the MDG7 target is US \$ 8 earned (MWE, 2007:29).

GENDER MAINSTREAMING – *Equality Lost in Translation?*

The social benefits from having water sources closer to the village come across very clearly, as a teacher from Kwapa Sub-country in Tororo District explained; *“For instance I am a teacher, before the boreholes were drilled, we as teachers were having problems in our schools, for the children were sent very early to get water and then we find that the children come late, because of the long distance that use to be there. But now our children, because of nearby distances, the children run very fast and carry the water to the house and so now they come early to school (...) They are not so tired, so it has improved even their learning. Even in the school now, we have a borehole, which did not use to be there, so they don’t have to fetch water during school time anymore”* (28/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). This means that the children have benefited, as their labour burdens are reduced, so they have more strength to concentrate on being educated in school. Another kind of positive side effect that came out of having closer water in Ddwoniro Sub-Country, Kooli Country in Rakai District, a man said; *“For my group we have a tank, it has helped us so much, because it keeps a lot of water, which is very clean. And it has solved the problem of travelling long distances after water, so we need more tanks. So the water has helped the neighbours as well, and up till now we still have the water in the tank, because it rained. It has solved the problem of diseases like diarrhoea, which the children use to suffer from the most. Even our wives are happy about it, because it has reduced their domestic work, where my wife just stands around and get the water, and she no longer has to go far away to collect the water. We used to cane the children, if they didn’t collect the water from the well, which was quite a distance, and now we don’t do it. It has brought peace in the home”* (23/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). So according to this man the children are not corporally punished anymore. Their health has become better as well, as they no long suffer from diseases like diarrhoea. On the issue of improved health a man from Tororo District and Kwapa Sub-Country agreed by saying; *“And the good thing that we have seen now is in the community that we no longer have these kinds of diseases that we used to have, because of safe water”* (28/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). So there is a potential health benefit for everybody in a community, when safe and nearby water can be accessed. But hygienic gains were also mentioned.

A teacher from Tororo District said; *“Even it has improved hygiene, because some people used to sleep without bathing, because the water was far and now people are clean”* (28/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). An aspect is also that Ugandans generally drink too little water, which nearer sources can help with. The problem and importance of getting enough water especially apply for the 5, 4 % of the population still living with AIDS/HIV in Uganda (Avert, 2008). A woman from Tororo said; *“Okay, you know that for some of us, who live with the Virus, (...), they advice us to take water all the time, so now we see that the project is useful,(...), it helps us digest the drug, we are sure that it is clean”* (28/06/08, CD: Uganda Data).

A social reward mentioned was that there are fewer arguments, which has brought about more peace in the home, as it was formulated. The discussions that used to be there about the time spent and labour contributed may have other causes as well. Another man from the focus group discussion meeting in Rakai District⁵⁷ said; *“Our wives have always travelled a long distance to the spring and wells, and they find long lines, which means that they have to stay there a long time, and it makes me get very worried about my wife. So if the water is nearer, my wife can prepare food early enough and it brings peace in the house without worries”* (23/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). One aspect is that the husband is genuinely concerned and worried about this wife. Another dimension to it can be that he does not like her to be away from home longer periods of the time. And he prefers to have his meals at a certain time, *early enough*, so there could have been arguments of that nature previously. In relations to the time saved, which was most commonly mentioned and what it was used for instead, there are indications of financial benefits.

Two different men from Tororo District explained; *“It has eliminated some of the costs, as you can think about getting the water, if you are tired or sick, you might buy it instead.”* And *“Especially in the evening, you can go to the gardens instead of walking long distances for water (...)”* (28/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Thus some of the direct expensive to water can be reduced as well. It seems that the time is also used for other income related activities like garden work and improved livestock could be a side effect too. A woman from Rakai District summed it up; *“The project has helped us so much, especially with the farmers, we can water the plants, we can give the animals water to drink, so the water gives us time to do other housework”* (23/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). However, the quotations about water sources being used for both livestock and domestic purposes have been raised as a problem. The lack of other improved water sources forces people to use untreated water from water for production facilities like the tank with rain water previously mentioned, which can result in increased health risks (MWE, 2007:161).

To sum up; in the water and sector programme support – WSPS, gender mainstreaming is primarily being framed as a woman in development (WID) approach with the focus on women’s increased participation in water user committees (WUC). But due to a lack of mechanism and extension staff resources, it cannot be guaranteed that this WUC involvement leads to more decision-making power. But besides various problems of implementation, when rural water supply do work, it helps women and children reduce their work time and burdens, increase children’s learning opportunities and can bring about positive health side effects in the form of fewer water and (sanitation) related diseases.

⁵⁷ The focus group discussion about WSPS was conducted after a local meeting, where we were allowed to ask some questions. This meant that there were representatives from WUC and 20 different parishes and not just one village.

5.6 The intentions behind and the institutional framework of ASPS I in Uganda

The framing strategies discussed in relations to WSPS and GM above were policy discursive and institutional in their core, because these two aspects were judged to have the greatest influence on the framing praxis in question. However, framing strategies can also take on a much more aid practice and design approach, as is the case for ASPS I + II in Uganda. However, as ASPS I and II vary in design, and methodology, they will to some extent be dealt with separately. Therefore, the following sections will entail; the intentions behind; the actual implementation of; and eventual benefits for rural women.

The first phase of the Agricultural Sector Programme Support – ASPS I, belonged to the first generation of Danida sponsored agricultural sector programmes after the project approach⁵⁸ became outdated. Therefore, depending on the context, ASPS I was experimental and explorative in approach. A former Danida Counsellor from MFA explained; *“The Uganda model was far more experimental and examining as it progressed (than ASPS I in Vietnam was) with secondary education in agricultural subjects and farmer organisations (...).It had five components. HASP was directed towards the poor farmers with livestock etc. The idea was not to make them into commercial farmers, because they don’t have big enough land plots”* (21/10/08, CD: Denmark Data). ASPS I in Uganda had originally a wide range of different intended interventions, but was eventually concentrated around four major activities, those being; managerial and technical support to households; financial support to households; adaptation and introduction of improved technologies; and improved effectiveness of Agricultural Support Services (ASO). The institutional framework was a decentralised political, technical and administrative structure of the local government system, (the local councils I to V), where District Executive Committees were responsible for Household Agricultural Support Programme (HASP) activities. At village level households were organised in Common Interest Groups (CIGs). At central level a National Coordination Unit was established in MoLG and a Policy and Resource Committee was in charge of overall policy guidance and coordination. This meant that there was a dominant focus on training at local levels with both extension staff and farmer groups. In addition, the private sector and NGOs were to some extent included by handling agricultural education. This training should be demand-driven, meaning that farmers choose and decide all activities, under the idea of the *active poor farmers* (Hasp, 2005:9-14).

⁵⁸ As outlined in appendix I, section 1.1, Danida gave sub-sector support to dairy, livestock and forestry during the period of project aid. The agricultural sector as a whole was much in need after very low productivity levels under long periods of dictatorship. In fact, after Uganda became independent in 1962, it was a promising economy in Sub-Saharan Africa with a sound agricultural base, a developed industry and mining sector, and exports of textile. Uganda had a road network and railroads, so some social and economic infrastructure were in place (18/11/08 at 14 pm), (www.ilo.org).

5.7 The framing strategies and actual implementation of HASP

Because the actual implementation of HASP was very much affected by how it was framed in terms of its design and interventions, these two aspects will be dealt with simultaneously in the following subsections. As ASPs I + II have interventions that apply to farmers and use some of the same extension staff, there will be similar attitudes and work methods found, which therefore are analysed together.

5.71 Dominant Frame; The Active (Poor) Farmers

The framing strategies of very few inputs and no handout principles greatly influenced, who ended up participating in the HASP activities and forming its CIGs. As a LC3 Chairperson from Bukulula Sub-Country in Masaka District explained; *“It lies in the approach (...), because there were not a lot of inputs, the men (young) did not have time to participate, but as the women are considered to have more time, they were allowed to participate (...) But slowly after seeing the success of the women, the men are starting to get on board as well, and many men are joining their wives in their activities”* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). This quote thereby also helps to explain why; there in the beginning were 62 % women and only 38 % men in the CIGs (Danida, 2003:27). A number that towards the end had changed to 28 % women’s groups, 15 % men’s groups and 57 % mixed groups (Hasp, 2004:5). Because it is not uncommon that men join or take over an activity, whenever they can see that it is profitable, as the quotation also demonstrates. In addition, a motivating factor behind many men participation in HASP toward the end could be that a HASP Development Facility Grant of 500.000 Ugandan Shillings (USD 300) was introduced in 2003 to the 212 most well functioning CIGs (Hasp, 2005:2). The fact, that women’s time are judged as less valuable than the time of men, explains, why they were “allowed” to participate. But it does, however, not give any indication of the intension and motivation behind women’s decision to join HASP or aid programmes. For such questions to be answered, it would be beneficiary to take a closer look at who these women in HASP’s CIGs are in terms of different socio-economic data. An extensive gender and poverty profiles and monitoring data was collected for the HASP districts as a cooperation between different Danish and Ugandan research institutes. This study showed that the women primarily came from the better-off households (51 %) and the less poor with 34 %. 66 % of them had no access to land and most of them (76 %) also came from the less equitable homes, (*see: 5.75*). These women, who are *not poor* but *active*, might see HASP membership as a way of achieving land ownership and/or visibility vis-à-vis the outside world against the oppression that they normally feel (Danida, 2003).

5.72 Counter Frames; We are not Social Developmentalists

So, why has HASP only succeeded in capturing the active farmers and not the poorest segment of the villagers? Generally, all development programmes struggle with this issue. Because the very poor and the destitute, which cover a wide range of people e.g. landless, old, disabled, mentally disturbed, “idle people”, HIV/AIDS affected, alcoholics, widows etc., do not have the social status or human resources to enter into these group formations. Another aspect can be the lack of inputs required; land, small fees or the time that needs to be invested for an income generating activity that might be profitable later on. In accordance to HASP activities they can be assessed according to the evaluation criteria of *feasibility* and *relevance* as outlined in the theory chapter. The relevance criterion refers to whether interventions cover the wishes, needs, and interests of farmers in general and the poor in particular. HASP was primarily concerned with training and skills acquirement, and farmers do not consider training as real aid. They ask for; access to markets; credits; different agricultural inputs etc., preferably without paying for them (Danida, 2003:5-7). The poorer farmers might have to establish food security on a day to day basis and not more long term by acquiring new agricultural techniques, as HASP intended it. The poorer villagers might, therefore, not be in a position, where training in itself provides solutions to their problems, for which reason HASP interventions are not that suitable or feasible for the poorest.

But could there be other reasons as to why; the poorer farmers are excluded from many agricultural interventions? The next couple of quotations indicate that the attitudes of agricultural fieldworkers might be biased against the subordinate farmers. An extension staff from HASP said; “*There is not much that we can do about them (referring to the poor)*” (Danida, 2003:26). And a gender researcher cited some hostile attitudes expressed from agricultural extensionists about working with gender and HIV; “*What is gender about? That is not our job, we do agriculture and this should not be mixed (...) why we need to work with these people (HIV/AIDS)? They will die soon and just use or sell the inputs for money or medicine*” (19/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). These prejudices might be very severe and not representative of the average fieldworker in agriculture, but there seems to be a general assumption that agriculture is not social aid. A Danida advisor for ASPSP II in Uganda said; “*(...) many in agriculture feel that we are not social developmentalists. It is agriculture and not a welfare program*” (26/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Winter’s concept of creaming can help illustrate the logic of extensionists, who think that giving the inputs to the poorest will be “wasted”, as they don’t have the necessary resources to invest, implying that no agricultural progress or output will emerge, for which reason *active farmers* are chosen instead.

5.73 Assisting Frames; SEAGA and PM&E

In order to combat such attitudes HASP put great emphasis on gender sensitizing the extension staff and district officials involved. The SEAGA tool, (Socio-Economic and Gender Analysis), was used as in other Danida funded programmes (also mentioned in appendix I, section 1.D). It focused on the needs of various groups e.g. people with disabilities, poor, women, old, HIV/AIDS affected etc, for which reason it was an important tool in forming and working with groups (Hasp, 2005:2, 4). And these practical tools were highly appreciated by the staff, who claimed that their planning, supervision and interaction skills with farmers had improved (Hasp, 2004:10). This also meant that these work methodologies were transferred to Sub-countries (LC3), where HASP was not working, whereby some spill-over effect had occurred. But why do such attitudes as outlined above still prevail? Two factors especially apply to explain such matters. The frequent transfer of staff means that training has to be repeated which do not always happen due to resource constrain – financial and time. In addition, training must be accompanied by activities and discussions that challenge the notions of masculinity and femininity that rule daily social practices, because they help reproduce structural and gendered divisions of labour. Before even starting on income generating activities, the HASP group members went through lengthy training on how to plan, finance, calculate risk and share benefits between them. This was to ensure that the CIGs would function better in terms of social cohesion; business venues undertaken; and self-leadership. The teaching of agricultural techniques were done through a training and visit approach, where extension staff tried to conduct an a-theoretical knowledge transfer via practice work on demonstration plots with farmers and/or farmers, who were selected as change agents to train other farmers, did it (Danida, 2003:23, 25, 43). These various techniques are commonly used.

5. 74 Contested Frames; Scaling up and Competing Projects

The above outlined care and attend, that HASP directed towards agricultural education and new skill acquirements, was very costly in time and extension staff resources. At times the quality of training was compromised due to several competing programmes in the HASP districts that paid better facilitation than HASP did, resulting in extension staff being overworked and only available at certain time periods (Hasp, 2004:7). This meant a restraint on scaling out to more Sub-counties, as the whole methodology of HASP build on an idea of well-functioning CIGs instead of many CIGs. The overall coverage remained low, between 2 % to 6 % in the 6 districts, where HASP operated (Hasp, 2005:5).

5.75 Invisible Frames; Notions of Gender Equality and Inequality

Before discussing whether gender mainstreaming efforts have made any improvements in the lives of women in different rural areas in Uganda, it would be relevant to discuss different notions of gender relations; gender inequality; and equality, as they are seen by rural people themselves in Uganda.

A gender relations measure was developed from a household sample of 1998 from the HASP districts. Qualitative indicators given by the women themselves were quantified into a gender relations index via SPSS and its factor analysis function. In addition to this, female well-being rankings were made as well. Characteristic from these data was that female well-being seems to be defined by two main elements. 1. The general state of the household as such, in terms of source of income, housing quality and the ability to acquire dresses etc. 2. The relationship within the household, particular between the husband and wife, refer to five indicators e.g. the degree to which a woman has a say on, how money is spent, the extent to which the husband contributes to household expenditures and women's access to means of income and production like land and animals. This implies that women perceive gender equality as a situation, where they have access to their own income, but at the same time the husband is providing the household with money that she also has a say in as well (Diis, 2004:20-25, 48-52). As seen in many studies about gender equality, the men and their perceptions are hardly captured, which then leaves out, half of the gender equality equation so to say. A young man from Tororo District explained; *“I have seen that when the women is never included, it does not work, and I don't want that. When a man and a woman have a common understanding, also about money, equality can evolve. To get respect as a man is very important from society and one's wife. They should listen to you. Women sometimes sit down and study a man's failures and weaknesses and this is not good (...) but some women, they don't want to invest their own money in the household, but will try to pull as much as possible out to their parent's household and they should contribute like a man”* (29/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Although this younger man has somewhat progressive views in the sense that he considers his wife an equal partner, both in decision making and income provision, the notion of getting respect as a man is repeatedly mentioned. Two other men said; *“(...) respect from the wife, that she does not complain and ask for money all the time, if so, you need to discipline her (...) a man decides everything about how money is spent and a woman what is eaten (...) some older men want to show that they are the bosses of their homes”* (29/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Interesting enough, respect means something different to men and women. For men it implies that women do not pressure them about money issues or complain, but contribute to the common household, whereas getting influence over the finances for women means that they can help out their own relatives.

5.8 HASP and NAADS benefits and constrains for women and men in rural areas

Engaging in smallholder agriculture is both a complicated and risk taking business in many developing countries, as is the case in Uganda, where various structural constrains are still limiting small scale productivity from really rising. These unsolved issued are among others; lack of access to affordable credits; land issue questions; lack of access to stable markets with great fluctuations in agricultural produce prices; corrupt middle men and transport difficulties etc. (MFA, 2005:27, 35). Solving all these problematic and rebuilding and modernising a whole agricultural sector⁵⁹ is naturally beyond the means and scope of an agricultural sector programme like HASP was a part of. Instead, its intension was to raise incomes, improve food security and enhance the agricultural extension service system, for which reason ASPS I benefits and constrains should be judged and assessed with this in mind.

An internal evaluation of HASP found that thousands of farmers had their knowledge and skills improved through numerous trainings and demonstrations in different disciplines, technologies and commodities. It is estimated that 16.000 farmers have participated in the 812 established CIGs with an average of 20 members in each. Naturally, there was been some drop outs and new members have joined. In addition to this, spill-over effects have occurred in farmers teaching other farmers, and from extension staff applying HASP methodologies in Sub-countries outside the operation of HASP, as already mentioned. Therefore, an absolute number of benefiting farmers is impossible to calculate. Still, from those farmers, who applied the learnt skills and techniques, it was found that 80 % had reported that their food security had improved, and 75 % had increased their income levels compared to the situation before the HASP interventions. Because there is no data on pre and post production or marketed outputs, it is had to estimate exactly which factors that caused these trends. And how much attribution HASP should be given. 83 % of the farmers also stated that their contact with public extension staff had improved from zero to 3-4 times every three months. This, however, also indicates the poor state and reach of the public extension service previously. Moreover, some women have experienced new roles and status in communities by participating in decision-making bodies and getting influence in their households, hiring labour, marketing and selling of produce independently. (Hasp, 2005:6-7). So these are some of the general benefits that HASP at least helped to create.

⁵⁹ The Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) is supposed to deal with some of these issues. It has 7 main pillars; research and technology development, agricultural advisory services (NAADS), agricultural education, rural finance, agro-processing and marketing, natural resource utilization & management, supportive physical infrastructure. In ASPS II Denmark with other donors decided to support PMA and NAADS, but continues to support FO as well.

Going back to some of these farmers and CIGs four years after that HASP officially ended, I found similar benefits in my research, along with some of the constraints in creating long lasting “impacts”. However, two reservations must be kept in mind, before examining how HASP has affected the lives of women in rural areas in Uganda. First of all, the time that has passed can imply some recall biases. Second of all, these recall biases are severely influenced by the introduction of NAADS in 2001 – the National Agricultural Advisory Services. Because in some aspects it provides similar services to what HASP did, but the methodology differs, for which reason some farmers by confusion mix up the two programmes. To deal with this dilemma, the benefits and constraints of both HASP and NAADS are analysed together, but whenever possible, attribution is clarified, demonstrated and sort explained.

In a focus group discussion with a women’s group (+ one man), it became apparent that the 40 members had benefited in different ways from their involvement with HASP⁶⁰ and now NAADS. Some of the women elaborated on the case of food security as outlined above by saying; *“So the group has helped me so much, because I don’t have a husband, in other words I am keeping/taking care of orphans, so the group helps me with the children and feeds them”* And *“The group has benefited me so much, I have an account, a goat, I keep chicken, which has provided me with a lot of food. I no longer sleep hungry, and I can afford to buy cloth for both me and the children, and we are very happy”* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). The food security means that the household income does not have to be spent on food items, but it can instead be invested in other things like buying clothes or uniforms for the children. The women can plan better and are not so worried about the future, as a woman from Masaka District explained; *“Yes, I was very worried before, I had to wait a long time to get anything. But today I even make records of the profit I make, be it 5,000 Ush., or more, I note it down and make budgets; buy uniforms for the children, as well as for the orphans I look after”* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Another element is that some of these women are either widows (husbands died from AIDS) or separated (husbands found another woman), so being able to provide for their own household means that they can take care of orphans, or they do not have to get married again. An opinion another woman from Masaka District shared; *“I am actually not interested in another marriage, I have my children to look after”* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). In some cases the new husband will not recognise the children of previous marriages; for which reason some women prefer to stay alone, which a programme like NAADS and HASP can help them with. But being a member of a group can have both positive social and psychological side effects as well.

⁶⁰ This group was already a group before HASP, so it is a very well-functioning group, for which reason it probably appears in many of the different evaluations undertaken. The agricultural extensionists in Tororo District directed me to this particular group in Iyolwa Sub-country, who has become very “experienced” in making evaluation contributions.

On the issue of social cohesion two women from Masaka District said; *“Oh, outside NAADS, we look out for each other, visit each other and often when there are marital problems, we find someone, who is friends to the concerned couples and ask for intervention. This has worked.”* And *“We group together and visit each other, to see what is happening in member’s lives and help and learn from one another”* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). In this sense the groups can be a social forum and function as marriage counselling. Other members claimed that they have become more active farmers and no longer have time for petty activities like gossiping, as a man and a woman from Siem-ber CIG explained. The former said; *“The project has helped me so much, I am no longer idle, it has taught me so much. I was taken and taught as an extension service provider. I have learnt how to borrow money, use it in the right way and save it. In this group we are strengthened through encouragement.”* And the woman said; *“(…) the group has given me knowledge and skills on how to keep the home (…) a business, skills of cultivation, and how to plan the farming activities, the group has made us come together, we have made so many friends. I am on longer engaged in Lugambo”* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Besides these social aspects the groups also have the function of being an economic safety net and along with a little social pressure, they are used as a membership bank. In relations to the former issue a woman from Masaka District reported; *“We discuss in the group and when some members do not have money or food, we make contributions of 500 to 1000 shilling in order to help them out to buy things like more seeds to plant”* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). And on the banking matter two women from Tororo District explained; *“I am the treasurer of this group, and I have 7 children, since I joined I have never gotten problems anymore, because I am the treasurer, we can borrow money of the group at any time.”* And *“(…) the business that we engage in, at times it pays off and sometimes it does not, and yet the group needs you to pay back the money. At times the group can arrest or take your cow as collateral, and yet you cannot deny that you received money from the group”* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). The previous somewhat idolized and harmonic picture of the farmer groups can be disrupted over disagreements about payments, if members do not understand their roles and responsibilities, as seems to be the case in the quotation above. This is probably due to all the time and effort HASP put into sensitizing farmers about group culture (MoLG, 2006:5), which NAADS have been accused of neglecting.

Two people explained this difference; *“HASP has lasted for a long time in this village, teaching and sensitizing the village (…)”* And *“(…) so in the way NAADS came in, it was just like fallen down from a tree, with no sensitization. That is why that service providers and the government got a lot of misunderstandings”* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Generally, it has been criticized that NAADS has put too little time and systematic efforts into training the private service providers (SP), who work directly with the farmers. Also, the main mechanism for mainstreaming cross-cutting issues like gender and HIV is a problem.

Because it is integrated in the SP's terms of reference and left more or less up to them, how the issues can be dealt with. And with limited follow-up on the performance of the actual implementation, the outcome is that the gender mainstreaming efforts are sporadic and considerations about gender roles and work loads are often neglected in the timing and scheduling of farmer's training, which can create problems for women participants (MAAIF, 2008:84-86). A woman farmer explained this latter point; *"Since a woman is the one that does all the household activities, and struggles so much, she makes a timetable of the lessons learnt. HASP lessons have always taken place in the evenings, so our husbands don't get worried and we don't get beaten"* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Although getting beatings might not be a common outcome, when women neglect their other duties, it does illustrate how important a deep understanding of local rooted gender roles and dynamics is. Another example is the mixing of female and male groups. A male member told a story; *"In the past when they get you as the only man in the group, people would comment on it and say that he is a womaniser, others may say that why are these women sharing one man. You may not be respected as a fellow man"* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). This indicates that there can be a price to pay for everybody that challenges the traditional norms of society.

Another important aspect is, whether these acquired skills, besides bettering agricultural outputs, have had other affects on group member's lives. An examination of the empirical data indicates three additional benefits; influence on political and household decision-making; increased self-esteem and knowledge as negotiation power. In terms of the latter a woman from Tororo District explained; *"(...) For example, I am disabled, so I have to teach many people, especially my friends, who will in turn help me"* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). This woman uses her knowledge in exchange for help on her field, which she said to struggle with due to her disability and HIV, which makes her body tired and weak. On the matter of increased self-esteem several of the informants' statements show an improvement. Some examples are; *"This group has also made me able to have cows and stand alone as a woman without a husband"*, *"So the groups changed us from poor to people with skills (...)"* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). But for some people this higher feeling of self-worth has implied that they are able to voice their opinion in public like a woman said; *"I can stand up and ask a question, if I am not satisfied and make contributions, even with the local councils and Sub-country meetings. This happens because of all the knowledge and resources I have accumulated from NAADS"* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Other women believed that their increased status and local political leadership roles could be attributed directly to what HASP has taught them; *"Our status has increased in the community (...) so, the group has helped us in getting the idea of advocacy and lobbying. So during the political campaign most of us women were all voted in as leaders"* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). This occurring is probably more the exception than the rule.

Because, it seems as if, many of these women, who got elected, had some kind of previous status in the form of being older, educated and speaking English, which is the same trend as found under WSPS. For most women, when a status rise occurs, it will happen within the household like this woman from Masaka District explained; *“My husband works a lot, but now I have a voice, because of all the animals and crops that I produce. When he comes from work, he consults me first as regards things happening in the home. My husband doesn’t feel badly, he feels proud, because of my constructive ideas”* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Due to this woman’s contribution to the household the husband has really started to listen to and value her opinion, which was previously not the case, she reported as well. However, in a country like Uganda, where the men are still considered the main providers and the ones with control over the finances, creating an income for women without having a mechanism to ensure mutual influence can have unfortunate consequences. Another woman from Masaka pointed out that; *“(…) I give the women advice that they should discuss and plan together for the household activities, because the woman will lose strength once the man monopolises the money”* (22/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). Other examples were given; the husband using the money to drink or get a second wife. High well-being of women was not a situation, where they did all the work, but had no influence over the money.

The next question is then which complains and constrains that the villages expressed in relations to the two agricultural programmes, or about the risks involved with being a smallholder farmer. Two people from different villages in Tororo District voice their opinion on these matters; *“(…) another problem, we have, is a lack of a market of the crops that we grow. Even if we get the market of these products, we have the problem of the middle men, who threaten us a lot, (…) our animals are attacked by diseases, (…) the pesticides and the medicine for the animals that we keep are very expensive, but we also have the problem of sunshine and a weed called Kayongo, which makes the plants less productive”* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). HASP was criticized for not creating market linkages, and although it still is an underdeveloped component in NAADS, it has in some cases been able to make connections to some markets and eliminating the middle man problem with higher profits for farmers as the outcome. But the challenges in the agricultural sector are many, as the above outlined quotations also illustrates, where new problems constantly arrive and must be dealt with. Therefore, training sessions are not a one time event, but ongoing, where the availability of a well-functioning agricultural extension system, whether public or private, is crucial. For this reason it is a problem that the private extension system under NAADS is tied up to certain enterprises, short-term contracted to service providers, because the flexibility and general extension advice in relations to weed, pest and disease control, as outlined above, is then left out. Other issues mentioned were too little land for a growing population, transport and price changes.

5.9 The NAADS programme and its institutional framework

An agricultural programme neither can nor should solve all the problems related to farming, but equip farmers to better do so themselves. This is the intention behind Uganda's Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA⁶¹), which NAADS is a part of. NAADS has been adjusted during its first phase of implementation, lasting from (2001-2008). So currently it has 6 components e.g. farmer institutional development, advisory services and information to the farmers, agri-business and market linkages, capacity development for service providers, planning, monitoring and quality assurance, programme management and coordination. In addition to this, NAADS operates after 11 guiding principles.⁶² It has the overall objective of improving farmer's income and food security through better agricultural production along with developing a demand-driven and farmer led agricultural advisory service. The lowest institutional framework of NAADS is the Farmer Institutions, comprised of farmer groups at parish (LC2) and village (LC1) level and Farmer Foras (FF) at Sub-country (LC3), District (LC5) and National level. The FF is responsible for priority setting, resource use and quality assurance, whereas the local government is in charge of administration and actual administration of NAADS. Committees at this level oversee the technical planning, investment and production aspects of NAADS. The Board of NAADS gives guidance on policy and coordination of the entire programme, including support to the NAADS secretariat. MFPED should release the funds, and MAAIF has the overall responsibility. The actual service provision, farmer mobilization, and GM was/is private sector led by SPs, but is still lacking due to several factors related to the implementation pace and the political climate of NAADS.

5.91 The political climate in and around NAADS

First of all, the whole debate about whether agricultural extension services should be privately or publicly led has become political. This has resulted in a periodic shut-sown of the NAADS programme and a return to government led extension services. A Danida Adviser for ASPs II explained; “(...) *The NAADS programme closed down last year, because the President had been out to some villages and talked to some government officers, who complained about SPs. But farmers also complained of a lack of inputs, so*

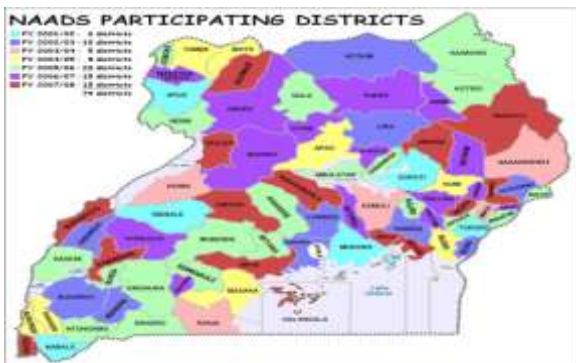
⁶¹ The PMA's stated mission is; “eradicating poverty by transforming subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture, whereby making it a profitable, competitive and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector” (MAAIF, 2008:7).

⁶² Commercialisation, farmer empowerment, fostering participation, increasing institutional efficiency, privatization, improving linkages to markets, targeting poverty with the focus on subsistence farmers with limited access, skills and knowledge, who are defined as the *economically active poor*, gender mainstreaming, natural resource management and utilization, HIV and harmonisation (MAAIF, 2008:6-12). NAADS is more privatized and commercialized than HASP.

the president closed down the program for three weeks in November last year (...) In the Agricultural Ministry there were two camps, you could say. One that was frustrated over not being able to do their jobs and saying haven't we learnt more, and why can't we move on. And the other camp, who used to be government officers themselves, so for them it was a personal and sentimental issue as well about keeping these kinds of jobs public and not privatized, also an extra source of income for government agricultural implementers” (26/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). This second camp has ceased a political opportunity to get extension services back on public hands and again having the economic and political benefits involved with hiring employees etc. But the frustrations of the first camp also exist at local and district levels, where this interference has meant that important tasks such as capacity building and training do not occur. An agricultural officer from Tororo said;“(…) *It is going to be scaled up, thinking in a big way now. The politics of it all (nationally and locally) has meant that there has not been a lot of time for training”* (27/06/08, CD: Uganda Data). The local politics and interference referred to by the officer are; contracts of SPs and agricultural zoning. The latter refers to some local politicians who try to pressure farmers into choosing commercial enterprises related to their zones, but not suited for subsistent farmers. The contracting of SPs is also interfered with, implying that the best qualified are not always the ones being hired (MAAIF, 2008).

5.92 NAADS coverage and scaling up

Figure 3: NAADS Coverage and Pace of implementation⁶³



Second of all, when taking into account the scale and pace of implementation the last couple of years, it becomes more apparent why the quality of service provision and inclusion of poorer farmers could be insufficient. In the first four years the yearly implementation was between 8-12 %, whereas it in the last three years is between 19-35 %. This is due to

political pressure of seeing visual results and local departments that want their districts served as well. The result is that 39,600 farming groups were formed with 100 % district coverage in 2008. And although the mobilization strategy is claimed to be very inclusive, the poorest are seldom reached due to education and group fee requirements etc. Women form many of the group members, but only 1/3 in decision-making bodies, because it is required as the minimum and due to rules of literacy (Ibid).

⁶³ The figure is taken from NAADS official website; (www.naads.or.ug) the 21/11/08 at 13.02), and copied down in size.

To sum up; it was found that both HASP and NAADS have had succeed in attracting female farmers to their groups. This has, however, not been the result of the actual implementation of any gender mainstreaming strategy as such. Instead, it has been due to the way that the two programmes were framed in the beginning, with little inputs and handouts. Nevertheless, HASP’s careful attention to training and the sensitization of both farmer groups and extension staff did result in consideration about gender roles and workloads, especially in the timing and scheduling of training sessions. This has not been the case in NAADS, as gender issues are left for individual service providers to decide upon. And they have not had the necessary qualifications or gender training. This is due to several factors e.g. lack of priority and follow-up, the rapid pace of implementation and short-term contracts of service providers, not leaving time for demanding work like gender mainstreaming. But also the fact that NAADS has suffered from political interference has hampered quality aid assurance. Still, both programmes have benefited “500.000” women in terms of getting concrete skills and techniques, which have provided them with better food security and incomes. These demonstrated results have to some degree given women higher self-esteem, status and influence in household decision-making.

6.0 The historical background of ASPS I and its components in Vietnam

In 1993, when Denmark became a donor in Vietnam, it was already an important rice producer and exporter country. However, due to poor quality and inefficient marketing the prices obtained were often low, for which reason this area was of particular interest to the Government of Vietnam (GoV). The three project interventions e.g. Post Harvest and Rice Processing, Seed Supply and Integrated Pest Management (IPM) in the 1990s are in this context considered highly relevant (MFA, 2002:34-35). At the same time there were ongoing discussions of the appropriateness of state owned enterprises (SOE), which the processing units of the two former projects interventions were a part of. A gradual transfer of ownership to the farmers was therefore intended as well. On this ground the programme support to the agricultural sector was formed and ASPS I (2000-2007) consisted of 6 components, 5 projects, 25 counterparts and was represented in 36 out of the 58 provinces in total. At national level, the National Management Unit (NMU) supported ASPS I with financial management and carrying out the overall monitoring and coordination. It also gave support to research cooperation and cross-cutting issues like HIV/AIDS and gender activities. NMU consisted of ICD, ICHRD, ILSSA and MARD - the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, which had the overall responsibility. ASPS I was comprised of a Seed, IMP, Post Harvest Handling (PPH), Small Livestock (SL), Credit and a FU component (Ibid).

6.1 The institutional set-up of the various ASPS I components and GM in Vietnam

Common for all the components, except Farmer Union (FU), is that they are implemented under the institutional structures of DARD – the provincial Departments of Agriculture and Rural Development under MARD. IMP worked with the Plant Protection Department (PPD). Seed had the Department of Crop Production (DCP) and the Department of Science and Technology (DST) and several research institutes as its main partners. PPH had both DST and VBARD. The latter – Vietnamese Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development was the main partner of the credit component, which cooperated with PPH and SL. In addition, the Small Livestock component (SL) worked with the Department of Agriculture and Forestry Extension (DAFE) and NAEC – National Agricultural Extension Centre (ASPS Completion Report, 2007). The National Committee for the Advancement of Women in Viet Nam (NCFAW) main function is; to give advice to the Prime Minister on the formulation of new laws and policies; and collaborate; promote; monitor; and advocate for their implementation. A National Strategy for the Advancement of Women by 2000, 2005 and 2010 has been approved during this thesis's evaluation period (1995 onwards). In order to “speed up” women's advancement different targets are set in relations to various livelihood aspects.⁶⁴ But the areas most relevant to ASPS I are; women receive 40 % of new jobs created, 50 % of credit borrowers are female and 80 % of female household heads under poverty alleviation programmes. And MARD is responsible for carrying out research on female workers in agriculture, establish employment and protective policies for them and reduce labour migration from rural areas. The training of female workers would apply here as well.

6.2 The framing strategies and actual implementation of ASPS I in Vietnam

A gender mainstreaming strategy for ASPS I never materialized, for which reason the actual choice of agricultural design and interventions had the biggest influence on the participation and benefits accruing to women, because they were mainly a reflection of the socio-economic situation and the dominant gender roles in the different provinces. In addition to this, and similar to ASPS I and II in Uganda, the actual implementation of the ASPS I components were affected by how they were framed in terms of their design and interventions. Therefore, the framing strategies and implementation issues of the ASPS I components will be discussed and analysed together in the following five sub-sections.

⁶⁴ Other areas mentioned are; education, training and 95 % will become literate, different health care measures and more influence on decision-making bodies, where targets from 15-40 % are set (www.ubphunu-ncfaw.gov.vn), (24/11-2008 at 13.22 pm). In order to see an elaboration on these issues, see the web-site outlined above.

6.21 Dominant Frames; Commercialised Farming

One of Denmark's overall development goals is poverty alleviation, for which reason it's relatively low focus in ASPS I is somewhat startling. According to a former TAS adviser at the Danish MFA in Copenhagen, it is due to the high priority on commercialised and export orientated agriculture set by the GoV. He said; *"(...) and the Vietnam programme was more traditional in that sense. It was mainly due to the recipient countries. The Vietnamese was interested in the commercial and the hard kind (...)"* (21/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). When reviewing MARD's policies and priorities the picture is mostly towards more industrialised farming. And a component manager adds on by saying; *"(...) and there is really not that big an interest in poverty reduction, because there is no prestige in working with poor farmers, locally, provincially or at central level, and there is no money in it. The government extension workers are not supposed to get paid, but in reality they do, and they cannot get anything out of the poor farmers compared to the richer ones"* (16/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). Winter's creaming concept seems to take place at all levels. At central level production numbers and increased growth count, whereas there at the lower levels can be earned extra money by working with the richer farmers. But the farmers act according to this logic as well and expect to get some inputs out of joining an aid programme. This is due to a tradition that has developed over the years. The Development Counsellor for ASPS I explained; *"In Vietnam there is also the whole envelope economy, which means that you get paid for participating in meetings, constituting a big part of their salary. And then there is the whole per diem system. We also tried to get rid of the tradition with paying farmers to participate (...) but we did not succeed, for example the PPH, which had to do with the richer farmers, they kept on saying that if input was not provided, the farmers would not listen (...)"* (24/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). There seems to be a common pattern for both Vietnam and Uganda, where it especially is the men and better-off farmers that seek the aid programmes, which provide inputs and/or cash. In addition, the ASPS I components were more male and well-off farmer orientated, for which reason they had a poverty and female bias. This was due to their focus on post harvest handling, integrated pest management and seed, which are considered to be male working areas due to "all" the equipment and investments involved. Land ownership is also a precondition. So the very way that the agricultural interventions are designed and the mere contents of them will attract certain groups of farmers. However, the creaming also entailed nepotism and a social dimension, which is difficult to solve by design. A Danida Counsellor for PPH-C reported; *"And who should be supported is in my opinion governed by personal interests and relations, you would never get this confirmed, but it is my impression"* (20/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). This has to do with the unofficial system in Vietnam, which is very influential and bound up on personal networks and contacts as the quotation outlines.

6.22 Assisting Frames; Targets of 50 %

For ASPS I in Vietnam there was no official gender mainstreaming policy, although it was attempted to establish one. The Development Counsellor for ASPS I said; *“We tried to make a gender strategy, but if it is not respected, or you don’t work locally, it does not help to sit and make these fine plans”* (24/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). And a critical issue with ASPS I was that all the advisers, except one, were working with government bodies in urban cities. Because when the counsellors are at the central level, the degree of gender mainstreaming implementation is depending on; how well the message can be sold; finding strategic partners to cooperate with; and the willingness and knowledge of partners to work with gender issues. On the question of understanding and knowledge of GM and GE topics, it was found in a survey that the departments belonging to MARD in general and the whole branch in particular is dominated by traditional stereotypes and fixed ideas about gender. Although, half of the 270 officials interviewed believed to have a clear notion of gender matters, only 1, 2 % could actually explain basic concepts and ideas in relation to GM and GE. In addition to this, the institutional set-up of the Farmer’s Union (FU) and Women’s Union (WU) has sometimes breed the idea that WU works with women and FU works with men, which is not beneficiary to female farmers (MARD, 2003:6).

However, there are also other dimensions to this lack of knowledge. First of all, training on GM has been insufficient, as well as explaining the matter in a practical and accessible way to non-gender experts (Gaynor and Pham Ngoc, 2008). Second of all, both the time and workloads of staff does not seem to be taken into account, as well as the fact that mainstreaming and thematic issues have been rising to include 15 focus areas. One of the Danida advisers for PPH-C outlined the problematic; *“In general there are too many priorities, and not just poverty reduction. Advisors are appointed on the basis of their respective technical capabilities, yet during implementation there is a trade-off in terms of what can be achieved given the scope of coverage. Typically, technical training, HIV/AIDS, good governance, poverty, anti-corruption, gender etc. The overall policy guidelines are wonderful utopian concepts, but do not take account of the resources available, prevailing and entrenched social and cultural practices”* (13/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). The lack of proper gender analysis was a problem from the beginning, which meant that the special needs and interest of women was not systematically taken into consideration, and gave some arbitrary results when setting targets of 50 % or 30 % women. Because some of the same women were pressured into taking training sessions that they due to gender specific roles never would apply. This meant being overburdened with work. However, the IPM did conduct HIV forums on the demand of the women, and the PPH conducted half-day training in the evening to improve the access by women.

6.23 Counter Frame; But we have gender equality

In the theory chapter it has already been mentioned that *this sameness* to the law and constitution in Vietnam has fostered a notion about the existence of gender equality. These kinds of attitudes can be found at all levels, from central, provincial, district and down to community and village level. In the rural areas, it is believed by the men that they do the hard work and the women do the lighter work, for which reason the gendered division of labour is considered “fair and equally” distributed, at least according to the teachings of Confucianism which help reproduce the structural division of labour. Because males are expected to be the main providers and publicly represent the family unit, whereas the women are taught to be obedient to their male counterparts, supported by the strong emphasis put on values of social harmony, solidarity and diligence. This could explain the lower self-esteem and higher sense of responsibility found with many Vietnamese (and ethnic) women; “(H’mong) women have to do a lot of work and (H’mong) women have to be more miserable than men. We work a lot, but we don’t think that’s a problem, because that is women’s tasks. Sometimes we also want to do like our husband – have time to rest at lunch and night time. But if husbands take a rest and we also take a rest, no one do the housework, no money for children and life” (11/05/07, CD: Vietnam Data – a raw data overview, pp.69). The unequal division of labour might be more severe with certain ethnic minority groups like H’mong than the typical Kinh woman, mainly because they are poorer, live in more isolated and upland areas, illiteracy rates are higher, for which reason they are not always aware of their rights, or that gender roles could be distributed in another way. Even when aware of their rights or wanting to reduce certain male behaviour, which they view as undesirable like drinking, they might not know what to do about it, because it is socially acceptable and expected of the men to drink. The women said; “*That is a husbands behaviour and we have to pamper him*” (Ibid). The same tendency was found in Uganda, where the women said that they felt bad about the husband’s drinking, but they could not do anything about it, except sit back and wait, or else they would get into trouble. Implicitly the women seems to know that there is “a price to pay”, if they challenge the social practices and norms of society. This could also help explain, why women do not automatically question the unequal and engendered division of labour. But the dialectic nature between the structural divisions of labour and the social norms also hold a key explanation. Because already in childhood boys and girls are given their social roles, and thereby taught their gendered expectations; what female and male behaviour, roles and tasks are, and how they are valued. This explains why the women believe that it is their fate to work a lot and be more miserable than men.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING – *Equality Lost in Translation?*

Table 3; bench marking lunar and activity calendar showing gendered labour roles, burdens and gaps.⁶⁵

Activity	Men's tasks	Women domains	Shared tasks	Wish to share	Women's tasks
Farming	Ploughing, field work, repairs, sharpen tools, building houses	planting the fruit trees & vegetables, (food processing + marketing)	Field work, fence the garden & clear the land + fertilizing	Heavy work, (tutoring child + house work)	All except repairs & building house (+ ploughing & clearing the field)
Household	Almost none	Children, sewing & (cooking)	Seldom	Wash clothes, (cooking)	All
Animals	Cows, buffalo	Working with pigs	Pigs sometimes	None	Pigs, chickens
Social	All + drinking, village meetings	Women's Union	Weddings and funerals	Training courses, PFM	Women's Union

Traditionally, the first stage of rice cultivation were male designated and the latter stages belonged to the women, but due to a higher activity of off-farm activities and migrant labour by males, women are thus increasingly involved in all stages of rice production (FAO, 2008:2). Therefore, when looking more closely at the different labour tasks, discussed and elaborated upon by both genders, it does appear, as if the women have more jobs than the men, since they do both reproductive and productive work, including hard physical labour like exposing maize to the sun, grinding maize, husk the rice, carrying firewood, selling vegetables at the market and take water for irrigation. But the women have some tasks, which they would like to keep to themselves, the so-called women domains. These tasks are related to more typical household jobs such as bathing and nursing the children, and sewing and broidering cloths and productive tasks in working with pigs and selling crops. The reason why that there are some tasks, which the women would like to keep to themselves, can be explained by the fact that these responsibilities are ones, which help define the women and give them social status. And why would the women be interested in giving themselves tasks, which make them worse-off than before. On the contrary, when asked, they prefer to do the lighter types of jobs and participate more in cultural and social events such as training courses, protecting the forest's area and generally have influence in matters important to their everyday life. Some women said that men and women have equal opportunity to attend the village meetings, but fact is that the women only participate, when the men are prevented. In relation to decision-making and access to the political power, there is namely also a difference between the genders. Generally speaking, the women decide most things related to food and buying clothes, whereas the men decide the "important work" like repairing and building houses and the purchase of motorbikes and farming equipment. However, some women mentioned that if they do

⁶⁵ This table is made on the basis of my own field work from the Northern and Mountainous areas of Vietnam in 2007, for which reason it normally would not qualify as an illustrative example of the engendered divisions of labour for a whole country. In order to make this possible, two strategies have been employed. The specific features, which apply to certain minority groups and regions, have been removed. The remaining data was validated by adding FAO research.

not agree, then decisions cannot be made, which is due to the fact that most men handover some of the finances for the women to dispose over. When looking at the political influence at village and community level, it becomes clear that the males are practically dominating all official positions such as village heads, People Committee members etc. This at least goes to show that the notion of de-facto gender equality is highly questionable. And as outlined above and in the theory chapter, but also repeatedly documented in various gender reviews in Vietnam, the work burdens, hours and actual health conditions of women constitute the biggest gender inequality issues for women in rural areas.

6.24 Contested Frames; Participatory and Small-Scale Agriculture

It has already been indicated above that small-scale agriculture like poultry and chicken has a low priority, because poor smallholders, who constitute about 30 % of the rural population, are not viewed as natural participants in or contributors to national growth and modernisation. Instead, they are seen as obstacles to development and passive recipients of handouts and aid. In fact, the programme almost closed down, because the Vietnamese wanted to switch to commercial-scale production of lean pork for export, which pollutes and targets the richer farmers, for which reason Denmark would not support it (Dalsgaard, Minh, Giang and Riise, 2005). A compromise was made, where pig, chicken and duck models were included in the SL component, designed to target the poorest, ethnic and female farmers.

However, this component like most others came to the realisation that there were households that are too poor and have too few resources (especially labour) to be able to participate meaningfully. The programme, therefore, and like the one in Uganda, focused on the economically active poor farmers. In the previous sections the implication of this choice has already been discussed, for which reason the attempt to make the extension system more demand-driven and participatory will be argued for. For almost all the participating farmers it was the first time that they had received formal training in pig, chicken and duck husbandry. This fact alone stimulated interest, demand and more status to the small livestock field and motivated the extension staff, and especially the women involved. Nevertheless, this excitement and enthusiasm for learning and teaching new skills was probably also mixed with the desire and hope to access and receive funds e.g. micro credits, bonuses and reward salaries etc. (Ibid). Generally, the SL impact study from 2007 claimed that the new extension approach had gone from scepticism over passive acceptance to active support and partial adoption (SL, 2007:6). Although, the component from working in three provinces has had some effect, it is questionable, whether it actual

has been able to change the traditional, supply-driven and somewhat top-down extension system. An evaluation by the Danish Agricultural Advisory Service in 2004 found that the training methods still were very trainer-led, emphasizing knowledge and technology transfer, but lacking attention to the development of practical and managerial skills. In addition, the lead institutions; DARD and NAEC, did not take ownership or show any real interest in the component. This was mainly due to the fact that Danida wanted to focus on poverty reduction, whereas DARD/NAEC mandate and beneficiaries relate to developing agriculture as an industry and creating export opportunities. This difference in target groups and mandate remained an obstacle throughout the whole lifetime of the component (Ibid). But as ASPS II mainly builds on this component and attitudes take time to change, progress could emerge.

6.25 Invisible Frames; Northern Discipline or Southern Laissez Faire

When discussing agricultural interventions in general and gender roles and inequality in particular, it is important to keep in mind that much diversity exists within a society like Vietnam, as do cultural differences in working methods between Northern and Southern Vietnam. A component manager from IPM reported; “(...) for example, in the north there is much more control and discipline, if goals are set, they will reach them in the north, where there is much more drive, whereas the south is more laissez faire you could say. Furthermore, the women are much more involved in agricultural production in the north than south, where the land plots are bigger and more machinery is involved” (14/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). It could seem, as if the bigger land plots and therefore more commercialized farming practices with machinery mean that the division of labour is more traditional with women’s farming participation limited to production and marketing etc. (as discussed in sub-section 6.23). Thereby, there appears to be a socio-economic dimension to the degree of gender inequality experienced in terms of work burdens, hours and eventual damaging health conditions as a consequence hereof. Because, my own as well as other poverty assessment studies show that the better-off farmers in Vietnam generally are those with; bigger land plots; higher productivity levels; have hired labour; better housing and electricity; motor bikes and small business incomes as well. This is in agreement with recognised work of gender experts like Squires, who with the concept of intersectionality stress that experiences of gender inequality vary across hierarchies of; race; economic class; age; religion; disabilities etc. (Squires, 2005:376). This could help explain why especially the ethnic minority groups in Vietnam are lacking behind on most (social) inequality parameters. But structural barriers as language, culture and discrimination count as well. Therefore, they are the main target groups of the ASPS II in Vietnam, ongoing until 2012.

6.3 Benefits from the different agricultural components for women in rural Vietnam

Impact studies were undertaken for all the components at the end of ASPS I. A critical discussion of these studies will form the basis on which to assess potential livelihood improvements for women in various rural areas of Vietnam. The main benefits found were; environmental; health; financial; social; and psychological, for which reason these thematic will be dealt with independently and the various component contributions or lack of such will be included in this last ASPS analysis section as well.

6.31 Environmental impacts

Especially the Integrated Pest Management (IPM) component contributed to potential environmental improvements, because it worked directly with raising the awareness of the damaging effects of a high and uncontrolled use of fertilizer. This was done by teaching in bio-diversity and the whole ecological cycle in an assessable way for farmers to understand. 356.000 farmers were taught from which about 39 % were women. The success was estimated by cropping practices adopted and the reduction in fertilizer utilization. The impact study from 3000 household showed on average that pesticide spraying had gone down by 37 %, insecticide with 55 %, and nitrogen with 15 %. However, there were three trends that directly work against these achievements. First of all, there were all the fertilizer companies that constantly advertised for cheap products. In addition to this, IPM's main partner PPD kept on offering free pesticides, implying that old habits are hard to eliminate. Lastly, the component did not work at policy level, which meant that tax policies or a reduction in subsidy practices could not be affected either (IPM, 2007). A direct cause of the intense use of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and weed killers is soil degradation. Such a negative environmental trend is especially unfortunate for women, because they depend more on natural resources in order to carry out both their farm and household activities and thus they are disproportionately affected compared to the men (FAO, 2008:2).

6.32 Health and nutritious improvements

Nevertheless, to the extent that pesticides and other dangerous fertilizers were reduced, health benefits would have occurred as well. Directly in healthier rice and vegetables, which were the two main crops being trained on, but also indirectly for those women who work in the rice fields. An IPM component manager explained; (...) *it has direct consequences health wise, because the pesticides have very negative*

reproductive consequences and in addition, it is unhealthy for the women to walk around and brush their teeth in the rice water” (14/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). That part of the work is naturally also important for the household, and especially the women, to become conscious about, in order to protect themselves. All the components that contributed to an increase in yield outcome or new and improved livestock can have helped to better the entire nutritious status of the households directly involved. This is an important aspect of livelihood improvements, because there is still 10 % of the population in Vietnam that is undernourished, although the figure has decreased from 21 % in 1990. To improve this aspect even further the IPM component also gave lessons in nutrition management. An aspect valued by the women, because this area is their main responsibility. IPM had HIV/AIDS forums as well, which reached about 44.000 households and topics were taught in some secondary schools. This might at least have had a preventive effect and helped break the taboo about the issue in Vietnam. The women asked for this intervention, because in many provinces the men work away from home, and the women were afraid of what they might bring back home with them. So this created a forum where such an issue could be discussed, without the women directly accusing the men of infidelity (IPM, 2007).

6.33 Financial benefits

The Post Harvest Handling component helped reduce post-harvest losses by 1-2 %, which sounds insignificant, but as export markets to a higher degree focus on quality and value, instead of just quantity, the market value was estimated to 180 million DDK per year.⁶⁶ The seed component adds to the improvement in quality and production levels, because the seeds are better suited for the different local and climatic conditions. The seed component trained 42.000 farmers in seed production and breeding, meaning an extra income could be made by selling seed locally (Seed, 2007). Although the beneficiaries of PPH and seed were the better-off and medium income farmers, Danida anticipated that the poorer farmers would benefit from access to better and cheaper seed and storage capacity. Although, the two components only had an average female participation of 20 %, improved access to better and cheaper seed is important to women, as they are responsible for sowing the seedbeds as previously outlined. But better storage capacity would also help the women with marketing their produce in a more cost-efficient manner, as bigger quantities can be sold at a time with potential higher prices as a result. The latter could be strengthened further by the overall improvement in yield quality as well. A component that directly benefited the poorer farmers was SL. It trained 7000 small-

⁶⁶ However, as it is not specified how such calculations were made, or which reservations that needs to be taken into account, this number is not seen as an absolute, but as a relative figure expressing a trend of financial improvement.

scale and 438 commercial farmers from which 70 % were poor and 82 % were women and ethnic minority groups. This has to do with the fact that the small livestock operated in the North, where the highest participation of women was achieved.⁶⁷ Most of these women increased their incomes through higher production levels. The Avian Flu in 2004-2005 reduced this profit, but as only 10 % was trained in poultry, much of the profits remained, as it came from pork sells. The IPM demonstrated direct household financial benefits of 80-100 USD per year, but again this is questionable for several reasons. First of all, due to the complicity of calculating exact rural incomes and second of all, because a reduction in inputs does not necessarily imply an increase in output, lastly there were incidences of over reporting and cover-up. The same IPM adviser as above said; *“I don’t believe in those numbers, because they rounded them up, as there was a clear intension of showing success, so some households reported insane numbers. Also, just because you reduce inputs do not mean that output goes up, the ecological cycle is not that easy, but at least our training means, they don’t go bankrupt”* (14/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data).

6.34 Social and Psychological side effects

However, it cannot be denied that both engaging in and improving agricultural produce can make households less prone to risks. In addition, the training from the credit component on proper book keeping was an eye opener to many farmers, who were surprised of low productivity levels, and started to view agriculture more as a business. The proven results on the basis hereof have also given both women and men an increased confidence in their own ability to improve their situation, as well as more status in the community. Out of the 3510 farmers trained to train other farmers 60 % remained active during the final years of the IPM component, because the rest had gotten leadership positions in the communities. Still, it was mentioned that many of these women already had some status by their involvement with the Women’s Union, but also because the farmers with technical and communication skills are sought for these trainer jobs, which necessitates some education and prior recognition in order to educate others. Finally, the lack of attention to women’s workloads and the insistence on the part of the embassy in increasing female participation can have meant more constrain on some female farmers, especially during harvesting where they are pressured for time (SL, 2007).

⁶⁷ This has to do with several factors. First of all, the PPH component in the south was more focused on larger-scaled (in relative terms) crop drying technology, which is mostly dominated by men, whereas it in the north was structured on smaller-scale operations and thereby more women friendly. Second of all, many of the men in the north are migrant workers, because the land plots are too small to make a proper living for an entire household, for which reason the women are responsible for most of the farm work as previously mentioned. But Poultry and pigs are also female tasks.

To sum up; clearly, the lack of gender mainstreaming efforts and strategy has meant that the benefits or constraints awarded to female beneficiaries were a result of whether the agricultural interventions chosen reflected their specific gender roles and division of labour. Therefore, setting targets without considering the workloads, needs or interests of women can imply more hardships to women. But for the women, whose participation were meaningful and reflected their work areas, increased self-esteem, income and knowledge can be detected, as indirect benefits of more healthy food and work conditions.

6.4 The Water and Sanitation Sector in Vietnam and its institutional set-up

The first phase of sector support was in Vietnam as in many other countries not a programme, but rather a cluster of individual projects (Boomsma et. al, 2006:35), for which reason more focus will be awarded to WSPS II (2006-2010). It is quite exceptional in the sense that the Vietnamese are financing over 50 % of the entire programme; RWSS NTP II. At national level there is a well established RWSS Strategy and institutions with the necessary capacity. The Management Board for NTP II is the main decision making body and MARD is the planning and through CERWASS implementing unit of rural WSS. Sanitation, water quality standards and public awareness is the responsibility of MOH (Ibid).

6.5 Framing strategies and the implementation of gender mainstreaming

For the Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme (RWSS NPT I + II) in Vietnam the focus will be on discussing and analysing the actual attempts made to implement gender issues in accordance to gender roles, responsibilities and workloads in relations to water supply and sanitation, both at household and institutional level. Lastly, the results of these efforts will be seen in the light of how women view them, but also in terms of whether RWSS programmes help promote gender equality.

6.5.1 Dominant Frames; WSS facility construction is a man's job, but its daily labour is female

Beginning with a lower level analysis, a 2002 fieldtrip study, made to two different provinces for identifying common gender issues, showed that collecting water and cleaning latrines is the women's tasks. But as men by both genders were considered to have higher knowledge and technical flair than the women, they were in charge of constructing the water supply and sanitation facilities (CERWASS, 2002). This picture fits with that found in Vietnamese agriculture where men *believed* they do the hard

(and technical) work and women the lighter (and domestic) work. In addition, water supply was a high priority by community members, but sanitation was not (Ibid), the same trend as found in Uganda. So, what about the institutional mandates and responsibilities which in Uganda also were found to affect the degree of water supply units versus sanitation measures implemented. In most of the evaluations, aide memoirs and debriefing notes reviewed, the MOH is made the scapegoat for the lack of sanitation improvements demonstrated. MOH is blamed for being passive and just waiting for guidelines from the national standing office (SO). But, although sanitation has gotten higher priority in NIP II than I, there has not been any increase in the budget allocated for MOH, which could explain why MOH has not yet assigned a full time staff to the NTP II (JAR, 2008:19). And the NTP II document is unclear on the roles and responsibilities of MOH, for which reason the Department of Preventive Medicine might not have prepared the necessary guidelines for the district departments. However, other explanations might apply as well. Lack of cooperation and coordination between the three main ministries; MARD, MOH and MOET is claimed to exist at both central and provincial level, making the actual planning difficult for district level officials (TSM, 2007:5). A situation worsened by the limited capacity of staff at district and commune level (Boomsma et. al, 2006:13). An area that would need serious attention, if the intended reach of RWSS NTP II should be 7, 4 million people, and 85 % of the rural population should have and use clean water and 70 % hygienic facilities by year 2020 (GoV/MARD/MOC, 2000).

6.52 Assisting Frames; GM is indirect through community based planning (CBP)

In the 6 year evaluation (1999-2005) titled; *Water and Sanitation for Millions*, it is claimed that Danida within this sector has played a stipulating role in gender mainstreaming in Ghana, Uganda and Vietnam (MFA, 2007:17, 40). By that is meant securing a minimum of female participants in Water and Sanitation User Groups, the so-called WSUGs. However, the mere participation of women in itself is no guarantee for change and/or more gender balanced decision-making power, because the older or more educated women might end up influencing and setting the agenda. In the 2002 gender study a similar trend was found in Vietnam, because a selection criterion for Commune Steering Committees etc. was that the members previously had a leadership position, resulting in fewer women and women that already had status from their involvement in WU. These women that do participate are said to voice their opinion and make good recommendations (CERWASS, 2002). But criteria like education or leadership roles can both mean that poorer women are excluded and that the better-off women are overworked by having to represent women, especially if certain targets are set without bursting the

confidence of uneducated and younger women to speak and challenging public opinion about the value of their participation. The study suggested given women certain reserved time to speak at the WSUG meetings and having village heads or other leadership figures specially invite women to the meetings, because then it would be harder for the men to deny their participation (Ibid). Although, such practical initiatives can help raise female participation and their active involvement at the meetings, they do not directly address the issue of more shared responsibility for the daily water supply and sanitation related tasks. Because one of the key barriers to female participation is that women do not have the time for it, for which reason men's increased involvement in daily water supply and sanitation workloads could be a way of given women the needed time. In addition, as the men have the final say in expenditures related to bigger investments like WSS, their physical involvement could make it more prioritized, as well as its operation and maintenance issues. Most often women's involvement and mere participation is seen as a success criterion and an expression of gender equality without taking these considerations into account, resulting in overburdened and worked women. To give an example from the sector is PHAST⁶⁸ or similar initiatives to promote hygiene and sanitation at household level. Here the target groups are mainly the women, because sanitation is their responsibility, but also considered a private issue. And it becomes their job to educate the rest of the household on various health issues (JAR, 2008:5-7). GM must therefore become more direct in CBP to uncover actual available resources, needs, and interests.

6.53 Counter Frame; Time is of the essence across sectors and at all levels

Above the importance of reducing Vietnamese women's work burdens and time has been argued for as a key to increase their meaningful participating in decision-making bodies. This could be done by including men psychically in daily WSS tasks as already mentioned, but also by reducing other of women's work tasks by making them more effective and/or eventual eliminating less important ones. When doing community based planning all tasks and work areas would need joint examination.

But time seems to be a general constrain and one of the main barriers for more GM work. A Danida counsellor explained; *"I really feel passionate about the environment, gender and HIV/AIDS, maybe not so much the latter, but the two others I would really like to have more time to do something about. And we are told that we should do something about the cross-cutting issues, which I express to my advisors and partners, but the problem is that we don't have or get the time to study, what it means"* (02/06/08, CD: Vietnam Data). It could

⁶⁸ Participatory Health and Sanitation Transformation or related tools are used to change behaviour, because only using; information; education; and communication (IEC) may affect attitudes, but results in few practice changes (JAR, 2008).

seem, as if the time for absorption is much needed, in order to grasp what gender mainstreaming really is, and what it implies in practice. All the respondents in my survey replied that they lacked knowledge and skills, especially on how to apply it in practice. So although half of them had received training on GM, it does imply that the education given, lacked the practical hands-on and sector specific knowledge and tools that fieldworkers need and studies document is necessary for the actual implementation of GM to occur, (as already mentioned in section; 1.2). A Danida adviser elaborated on this idea by saying; *“More personal time + guidance from gender experts, because from an adviser’s perspective it is, quite honestly, also a subject that is too easily pushed down the priority list”* (07/11/08, CD: Vietnam Data). So what does the expertise base in Vietnam consist of? NCFAW and WU are the two main gendered machineries, but they are claimed to lack the capacity to analyse and influence policy and thereby gender equality progress. Specifically for the WSS sector gender expertise has been involved in developing a gender action plan and a manual on pro-poor targeting. But the focus of partners is argued to be; coverage, functionality and disbursements and not cross-cutting issues (Gaynor and Pham Ngoc, 2008:7, 10), which could explain why all the survey respondents said that they often had problems with cooperation from partners, but also in convincing them of the importance of gender equality work. This could imply that selling the idea to and speaking a language that interests partners is just as important a part of GM knowledge and work as being able to implement it in practice. Because the attention and cooperation of partners have to be captured and established before the actual gender mainstreaming work and planning can begin. An adviser explained; *“(…) it is a very centralistic and top down system, and it can become a daily struggle and negotiation, which can be very energy demanding and exhausting, and I know many of my colleagues feel the same. But having a Ph.D. gives you a lot of recognition and age matters”* (16/10/08, CD: Vietnam Data). A gender toolbox has been created by Danida to overcome implementation barriers, but unfortunately it is considered too complex, excessive and inaccessible by non-gender experts (Ibid).

6.54 Contested Frames; Lack of incentives, visible effects and feedback

However, could there be other dimensions to why a subject like gender mainstreaming is easily pushed down the priority list as the Danida adviser above formulated it? Normally, when trying to achieve behavioural change, whether it is targeted at employees or aid beneficiaries, interventions mostly deal with knowledge transfer and education. Nevertheless, important dimensions are argued to be attitudes and norms, but also what motivates us to change (Schein, 1986). These latter two points have not been addressed systematically by Danida. According to my empirical data this could be advised. Moreover, to

get the GM work done, it seems like good logic as a starting point to concentrate on what motivates employees. Because there is a clear connection between the lacks of incentives to gender mainstream due to no feedback and visible effects of the work in general and gender mainstreaming efforts in particular. And the few people, who do get feedback, see visible results of their work and to some degree have both management support and responsive supervision do not lack these incentives. But why is this not the case for the majority then? Several explanations apply. First of all, it is said that follow-up and the speed of work is lacking, when it comes to GM. Second of all, a monitoring and evaluation system is first being piloted in 2008, which could explain the general lack of visual effects. But the mere fact that advisers know that gender has a low priority due to the low prestige involved in working with it, could be a de-motivating cause in itself and explain the lack of incentives as well.

6.55 Invisible Frame; The difficulties of women are the advantages of men and vice versa

In order to understand why gender equality in many sectors in general and in the water supply and sanitation in particular has not materialized; a key answer may lie in its actual practical implications, namely that the difficulties of women are the advantages of men, but also vice versa. A Vietnamese woman explained the practical consequences of joint decision-making for the men by saying; “(...) after the decision is made, the woman gives the money to the husband and goes to sleep. The husband then has to worry about the execution of the decision and will stay up all night because of it” (CERWASS, 2002:7). While the women might have the daily work, worries and responsibilities connected with rural WSS, they, on the other hand, do not have to be involved in its actual construction or the trouble of raising sufficient capital. Although, 46 % in Vietnam is covered by user fees, this is only possible due to the social credit policy made available to this sector and ownership going to household, whereas the poorest are covered by a government fund (MFA, 2007:54-55), leaving less males with capital stress. Most often aid programmes succeed in involving women in “men’s traditional fields of expertise”; income generation, decision making bodies and credit schemes, whereby women get more influence, but simultaneously also double responsibilities, worries and workloads. However, the same does not seem to be the case for the men, who get their responsibilities reduced by sharing them with women, but to a much lesser degree release women of theirs by getting involved in domestic chores like washing clothes, cooking or taking water for irrigation, which were areas women wished to share. What would this mean for the men? Less spare time for conversations, drinking or taking a rest? It just seems paradoxical that gender mainstreaming efforts “only” focus on women and their contributions.

6.6 Benefits from rural water supply and sanitation for women in Vietnam

There has not been conducted any impact studies or assessments related to gender mainstreaming efforts as such. Instead, the evaluation of the water supply and sanitation sector from seven countries was undertaken for WSPS I or the transition period from project to programme as mentioned above. Therefore, general achievements within the sector will be combined with women's own assessment about their importance to their lives, and how this potentially could create more gender equality.

In the period (1999-2005) 814 304 had gotten their rural water supplies improved and 687 840 their access to better sanitation facilities in Vietnam as a result of Danish aid to the sector (MFA, 2007:29). This has meant a reduction of labour time for these women, who instead could use the time on other things, for example; for the time to rest and take care of their children. As women in Vietnam work much longer hours than men, this is an important contribution to enhancing the actual condition of Vietnamese women. However, as outlined in appendix 1.C, it is not the amount of hours that is the primary problem, but rather the fact that women have to balance their time (between paid and unpaid) work, which reduces children's nurture time and affects women themselves and the functioning of the whole household. Due to these longer work hours, women have less spare time than men do. So the reduction in water collection time means that they get leisure time, which they spent on reading books and watching television, believing this would enhance their knowledge. This is interesting, because the lack of knowledge and understanding was the main reason given, as to why women do not participate as much as men in political and decision-making bodies. Therefore, when the saved water collecting time is reinvested in self-educating activities, there could be a potential political gender equality gain, because with more knowledge women could discuss and participate in public debates like the men do.

The general applicability and validity of this RWSS sector contribution can be questioned for several reasons. First of all, the illiterate women would to a lesser degree have this opportunity, although the government has set a target of 95 % literacy and offering classes to all below 40 years of age, these women might need some extra encouragement or assistance to learn, how to read and write. For some ethnic minority groups learning Vietnamese is a precondition for participating in the public debate. Second of all, poorer women might have to spend the saved time on things that are more productive for the whole household such as extra income generating activities and/or other household duties. Also, poorer households might not have the luxury of electricity and television either, for which reason

this political gain is more possible for better-off households and the younger and middle age women. In fact, if poorer and/or uneducated women are not supported on their knowledge enhancement, it could shrew the power of balance between groups of women even further, creating “elitists” groups.

Normally, the RWSS sector can also contribute to health improvements. The women interviewed expressed that their personal hygiene had improved. Because due to women’s need for privacy when bathing, they could not go to public places like the river, which the men did. As a result the men commented that their wives had become very beautiful to look at. But what about a reduction in water born and hygienic related diseases, which was claimed to decline in Uganda as a result of RWSS? It has not been mentioned in the study, which, however, does not necessarily imply that these health benefits are not obtainable or occur within a Vietnamese context as well.⁶⁹ Therefore, it is especially important that the new water supply and sanitation facilities are accompanied with improved hygienic practices in order to enjoy full health benefits from the investments made in the RWSS sector.

To sum up; there is no evidence that gender mainstreaming has gone beyond the mere participation of women in water and sanitation user groups by setting certain targets. Although community based planning is used and can help secure that water supply and sanitation facilities are better suited for the community, both financially and socially speaking, it does not seem that CBP has been used as a tool to avoid overworking and burdening the Vietnamese women even further, or given them free time to participate meaningfully in decision-making bodies and/or achieving increased knowledge and argumentation skills and negotiation power. The women, who are achieving these things, are most likely the more resourceful and better off women, because they can afford and believe in the worth of investing their time in such activities. But without a mechanism to ensure that subordinate female farmers get the same opportunities, inequality can widen even further between groups of women.

⁶⁹ There can be several causes as to why health issues and benefits are not explicitly mentioned in this study. First of all, due to its limited coverage to two provinces; Ha Tinh in the North Central Coast and Nam Dinh in the North Red River Delta. Because the great majority of the population lives in the lowlands and the South of Vietnam (FAO, 2008:1), where there are special hygienic and sanitation issues. For example, in the South, and especially the Mekong Delta, fresh excreta is used as feed for fish with intestinal worm problems as a result. However, a more plausible reason is that the study is from 2002, and in 2000 70 % of rural households still used water, which did not meet basic hygienic criteria and half of the rural households did not have latrines. Therefore, water and sanitation related diseases such as diarrhoea, intestinal worms and diseases were very typical and accounted for the highest proportion of the Vietnamese people’s common diseases (GoV/MOC/MARD, 2000:7, 13). In addition, some of the informants answered on the basis of what they believed would be the benefits of RWSS, so the lack of sanitation and basic hygiene knowledge could explain, why these positive health side effects and benefits were not mentioned. Also, the households that had gotten RWSS facilities might not yet have changed “bad” sanitation practices, for which reason few health impacts would have emerged.

7.0 Comparative Perspectives and the Main Conclusions

This last chapter will entail the main conclusions and perspectives of this master thesis by comparing the different framing strategies, implementation work and effects of gender mainstreaming across two sector programmes and countries e.g. water supply and sanitation sectors and the agricultural sector in Uganda and Vietnam. Thereby country programme and sector specific trends as well as more general patterns should become apparent. Lastly, from the main conclusions and findings perspectives will be drawn to Danida's role as gender equality promoter, especially in the light of more budget support.

In both case study countries, Uganda and Vietnam, it was found that gender mainstreaming in the water supply and sanitation sectors primarily was framed as the women in development approach, implying that targets of 50 % female participation is set for the water user committees (WUCs) and water and sanitation user groups (WSUGs). In order to ensure that women's involvement becomes meaningful in the sense that they also get influence on decision-making processes, different initiatives have been made. In Uganda this is done by having an indicator that measures percentages of WUCs in which at least one woman holds a key position e.g. Chairperson, Vice Chairperson or Treasurer. The outcome is that almost all of the WUCs have a woman holding a key position, although it most often is that of treasurer, because women are considered more trustworthy than men when taking care of funds. For the normal WUC membership only half of them reached the target of 50% female participation. This is probably due to the fact that the common practice in Uganda is to subscribe to the 1995 Constitution which "only" demands 1/3 women membership in order for any board to be legal. But the fact that female participation remains voluntary, because there are no sanctioning measures might also play a vital role and explain why targets are not met. In Vietnam it has been suggested to give women reserved time periods to speak at the WSUG meetings and having village heads or other leadership figures specially invite women to the meetings. Because then it would be harder for the men to deny their participation. Whether this in fact has been implemented cannot be validated, because the lack of a monitoring and evaluation system for the rural water supply and sanitation sector generally means that data coverage and availability is insufficient. However, for WSPS in both countries the biggest barrier for female participation in WUCs/WSUGs does not seem to be the men, but rather the women themselves. In particular the older and more educated women are claimed to dominate at the meetings, either due to demands of literacy or previously holding a leadership position, or because the younger and less educated women feel that these women would undermine them, if they voiced their opinion.

So why has this problem not been addressed? Primarily due to the lack of gender training and analysis, because gender sensitizing does reveal diverse interests and power dynamics in communities, which fieldworkers are not always conscious about or have the tools to combat. An issue that was dealt with in RUWASA in order to make sure that the women benefited. In Vietnam community based planning is used to ensure that facilities are better suited for the communities, both socially and financially speaking. But also to cover the specific needs and interests of the women and men involved. However, there is no indication that that CBP has been used as a tool to avoid overworking and burdening the Vietnamese women even further, or given them the needed time and knowledge to participate meaningfully. This is due to the fact that RWSS in both countries are concentrated on covering practical gender needs and not the strategic needs as outlined in appendix I, (section 1D, pp.14). The focus on practical needs coverage, which is related to inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision and health care issues, has to do with the RWSS institutions' mandates of contributing to poverty eradication, improved health and better water service delivery. This is supported by an organizational culture that mainly focuses on coverage, functionality and disbursement, the so-called hardware and not software issues like training, gender equality etc. In addition to this, the inter and intra environment of the sector in both countries is also characterized by a lack of cooperation and coordination between the different departments, where especially the Ministry of Health is highlighted as a problematic partner, because it does not take ownership of its sanitation responsibilities at household level. This is also due to the fact that institutions see each other as competitors over the few available resources. But within the RWSS organizations insufficient collaboration from colleagues is mentioned as well as the lack of incentives, visible effects and feed back on their work. This also demonstrates that targets and affirmative action cannot stand alone. A systematic and explicit focus must be directed towards working with institutional work procedures and organisational culture as already found in the extensive gender mainstreaming research. An attempt has been made in the sector in Uganda, but it does not appear to go beyond an increased participation of female employees and making codes of conducts to ensure their influence on decision-making processes. The much needed emphasis on the value of intra and inter organizational cooperation and prioritizing of software issues is left out. Moreover, the inability and difficulty of fieldworkers in particular and communities in general to grasp gender issues that goes beyond the simple division of labour is not addressed either. Because there is no where in gender actions plans, gender policies or strategies any mention of the roles and responsibilities of the men in the rural water supply and sanitation sector and thus a questioning of the unequal sector division of labour or combating the norms that help to reproduce it.

Besides these various problems of implementation and the lack of interventions to address structural barriers, when the rural water supply and sanitation facilities function and are made available, they help women and children reduce their work time and burdens, increase children's learning opportunities and can bring about positive health side effects in the form of fewer water and (sanitation) related diseases. In Vietnam the benefits of RWSS were mainly socially related, because the Vietnamese women reinvested their saved water collection time differently than the Ugandan women did. This meant that some Vietnamese women have spent the time on self-educating activities such as reading books and watching television, believing this would enhance their knowledge and possibly enable them to participate more in public debates like the men. But more time for resting and nurturing the children was also an outcome. The two latter benefits were also found in Uganda. So why is there this apparent country disparity in time usage? As already indicated under the Vietnamese RWSS analysis, it is more the case of socio-economic differences than cultural ones, because poorer and illiterate women might have to spend the saved time on things that are more productive for the whole household such as extra income generating activities and/or other household duties. This was also the case in Uganda. Moreover, women's literacy rates are lower in Uganda (75 %) than in Vietnam (93 %) according to Unicef statistics. In addition, poorer households might not have the luxury of electricity and television either. And on most common socio-economic indicators Vietnam scores lower, indicating that poverty levels are higher in Uganda than in Vietnam, relatively speaking.

In ASPS I in both cases there was no gender mainstreaming or equality strategy as such implemented. However, in Uganda HASP did put a lot of efforts into gender sensitizing government officials and service providers, which resulted in considerations about gender roles and women's workloads, especially in the timing and scheduling of training sessions. Such concerns were only made in one of the components in Vietnam, namely Post Harvest Handling, primarily due to a lack of gender training, analysis and reflections in the whole design of the program. Similar tendencies were found in NAADS in Uganda, but mainly because gender mainstreaming is left for individual service providers to decide upon. The lack of time, resources and concrete knowledge about how to mainstream gender in practice were factors that applied across both sectors and countries. According to Winter's theory a deviation mechanism for fieldworkers in order to deal with these kinds of pressures is to prioritise routine assignments over the more complicated and complex ones like gender mainstreaming. Additionally, the low prestige involved and priority given to working towards sector gender equality is undoubtedly connected to a professional pride and notion that agriculture is a commercial business enterprise and

not a social aid program. This implies a double bias towards those female farmers who also are small holders, because they do not have the financial, material and human resources to engage in commercialised farming, combined with the fact that poultry is a female production task that in society in general and in the agricultural sector in particular is given less value and status than other livestock. Therefore, the efforts of the small livestock component in Vietnam in trying to get smallholder farmers recognized as valuable contributors to economic growth, instead of mere passive receivers of handouts and obstacles to development are important. This is done by professionalizing the whole poultry sector in connecting it with research institutes, allocating more funds and putting more focus on the training aspect, and trying to alter the whole methodology of the extension service sector. This “mission” has proven hard to fulfil within the scope of ASPS I, but it will continue under ASPS II.

Nevertheless, the fact that both agricultural programmes (ASPS II in Uganda and ASPS I in Vietnam) have suffered from political interference has hampered aid quality assurance, but has also shrewd the focus even further away from being gender orientated. In Uganda the NAADS program was closed down for three weeks in 2007 and the small livestock component almost encountered the same fate in Vietnam. In addition, the political interference is found in the hiring and contracting of service providers, but also in the selection of agricultural enterprises and which districts, provinces and population groups that should be supported. This implies that the best qualified extension workers are not always hired, nor are the most suitable agricultural enterprises or the most needed farmers selected. Winter’s theory has already been criticized for not including these more political economic aspects of policy implementation, which is due to its Danish origin, where daily implementation practices do not seem to have such a close connection to the political processes, as is the case in Uganda and Vietnam.

Still, the ASPS I + II in Uganda have directly benefited about “500.000” women and ASPS I in Vietnam about “175.000” in terms of getting concrete skills and techniques. This has provided them with better food security and incomes. These demonstrated results have to some degree given women higher self-esteem, status and influence in household decision-making. To a lesser degree some women got leadership positions in the local communities, although these women often had some previous status by their involvement with the Women’s Union in Vietnam, or by having education, speaking English and/or being older in Uganda. Due to focus of the Integrated Pest Management component in working with fertilizer reduction and an awareness of environmental and ecological farming issues, indirect benefits of more healthy food and work conditions also appeared in Vietnam.

There seems to be a general country difference in both how far, in relative terms, that gender mainstreaming efforts have gone, and how experimental that the interventions were e.g. agricultural designs and challenging gender stereotypes and conducting gender training and sensitization. The fact, that the Vietnamese government is known for exercising strong country ownership of its development agenda and being a less affectable recipient, could help explain why the Danish interventions in Vietnam were more conventional and less innovative, culturally speaking. But Danida's long-term commitment and involvement in the WID and GAD sector in Uganda could give reasons for Danida being "allowed" to try out different methodologies. Danida has not played this role in Vietnam, because Sida has occupied this sector by giving intense support to the Women's Union. Furthermore, the environment surrounding the women's movement is quite different in the two countries. In Uganda the civil society is more diverse with different NGOs involved in policy advocacy and most of them have both a GAD and WID focus, whereas national stakeholders seems to be absent in playing this role in Vietnam. This is mainly due to the fact that the Women's Union and NCFW are "expected" to cover the whole sphere; from service provision to women's advocate and civil society watch dog, while simultaneously being a part of the government body. The result being that the two latter aspects are given low priority and resources. In addition, their main focus is on WID and WAD and not GAD.

However, one might argue that it is self-explanatory and tautological that a gender mainstreaming strategy that primarily is framed as a WID approach, with no actual interventions directed at challenging the structural divisions of labour or the cultural norms and social practices which help to reproduce them, would *translate into very few gender equality improvements*. A pressing issue is then why the WID approach can bring about some gender equality progress in one sector like agriculture and not in another such as rural water supply and sanitation? The women participating in the agricultural programmes mentioned that it was the concrete skills they achieved, and the agricultural results that they demonstrated, which gave them recognition and made people, including their husbands, appreciate their opinions with increased influence on decision-making as an outcome. This gave women a "new" role in comparison to WSPS where "old" roles become easier to handle. Finally, why has WID (once again) become the dominant approach? From a donor's point of view involving women in aid programmes help to create fast results and legitimize its aid, especially in a time where the new aid modalities make it harder to follow donor aid efforts. The notion that *it pays off* to invest in women is also a relatively easy idea to sell to recipient countries, who want to enlarge their economic growth, making the efficiency argument hold more merit than social justice and GAD do.

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