

Evaluation of the “Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation (1997-2005)”

Country case study: Zambia

September, 2005

**Carole Rakodi, International Development Department (IDD), School of Public Policy,
University of Birmingham**

For Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) and NORAD

CONTENTS

Abbreviation	3
Summary	7
1 Introduction	11
1.1 Purpose of the case study	11
1.2 Outline of the report	12
2 Gender policy and institutions in Zambia	14
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 Inequalities between men and women in the economic and social context of Zambia	14
2.3 Politics and human rights in Zambia	19
2.4 Gender policy and arrangements for its implementation	21
2.5 The policy process and gender issues	23
3 A profile of Norwegian development cooperation with Zambia and support to gender-specific activities	32
3.1 Current aid policy and administration	32
3.2 Procedures and capacity to undertake gender-related activities	35
3.3 History of Norwegian aid related to gender	36
3.4 Gender-targeted support: the current situation	43
3.5 Conclusion	
4 Gender in selected sectors and projects	45
4.1 The agricultural sector	45
4.2 Tourism, natural resources and the environment	53
4.3 The education sector	55
4.4 The health sector – HIV/AIDS	58
4.5 Roads	59
4.6 Human rights	60
5 Collaboration and dialogue with partners	62
5.1 The relationships between the Zambian government and the international donor community	62
5.2 Harmonisation and alignment	63
5.3 Bilateral partnerships: the Netherlands	67
6 The relevance of the W&GE in development cooperation strategy and its future	68
Appendix	
1 List of people consulted and meetings	69
2 List of documents consulted	70

Abbreviations

ACBF	Africa Capacity Building Foundation
ACF	Agriculture Consultative Forum
AGRIFU	Agricultural Innovation Fund
BESSIP	Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Program (Zambia)
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CSO	Civil society organisations
CSPR	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (Zambia)
Danida	Danish International Development Agency
DDCC	District Development Coordinating Committee
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EC	European Commission
EMIS	Education Monitoring Information System (BESSIP)
ESAF	Enhanced structural adjustment facility
FAWEZA	Forum for African Women Educationalists of Zambia
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GAD	Gender and development
GART	Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust
GBS	General Budget Support
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GFPP	Gender Focal Point Persons
GAD	Gender and Development
GID	Gender in Development
GIDD	Gender in Development Division
GMU	Grant management unit
GNP	Gross National Product
GRZ	Government of Republic of Zambia

GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HIP	Harmonisation In Practice (Zambia)
HIPC	Highly indebted poor countries
HRD	Human resources development
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDD	Institute Development Department, University of Birmingham
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDT	Livestock Development Trust
MCDSS	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
M&E	Monitoring & Evaluation
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoFNM	Ministry of Finance and National Planning
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MTEF	Mid term expenditure framework
NAC-S	National Aids Council Secretariat
NCDP	National Commission for Development Planning
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGOCC	Non-Governmental Organisations Coordinating Committee
Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NWLG	National Women's Lobby Group
NZTT	Natural Resources Development College/Zambia Export Growers Association Training Trust
OECD/DAC	OECD Development Cooperation Directorate
OSISA	Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa
PAF	Performance Assessment Framework (in relation to budget support)
PAGE	Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education
PDCC	Provincial Development Coordinating Committee
PEMD	Planning and Economic Management Department, Ministry of Finance and National Planning, MoFNM

PEMFA	Public Expenditure Management and Financial Accountability Programme (Zambia)
PEMFAR	Public expenditure management and reporting
PFM	Public financial management
PHRC	Permanent Human Rights Commission
PPA	Participatory poverty analysis
PRA	Participatory rapid assessment
PRBS	Poverty Reduction Budget Support
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRP	Poverty Reduction program
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategies
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAP	Structural adjustment program
Sida	Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation
SIP	Structural Investment Project
SNV	(SNV) Netherlands development Organisation
STD	Sexually transmitted diseases
SWAP	Sector Wide Approach
SWAZ	Society for Women and Aids in Zambia
SWOT	Strength Weaknesses Opportunities Threats (analysis)
TA	Technical assistance
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGEI	UN Girls' Education Initiative (UNICEF)
USAID	US Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Program
WGED	Women and Gender Equality Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women in Development
WIDD	Women in Development Department (Zambia)
WILDAF	Women and Law and Development in Africa
WLSA	Women and Law in South Africa
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZAWA	Zambia Wildlife Authority

ZEGA	Zambia Export Growers Association
ZFAWIB	Zambia Federation of Associations of Women in Business
ZNAN	Zambia National Aids Network
ZNFU	Zambia National Farmers Union

SUMMARY

This country report is part of the Evaluation of the “Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation (1997-2005)”¹. The evaluation was commissioned by Norad’s Evaluation Department, and carried out by Norwegian Institute of Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) and partners from May to November 2005. It is one of three country case studies in Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Zambia. Both the main report (Norad Evaluation Report 5/2005) as well as the three country case studies are available at Norad’s web-page www.norad.no.

Based on interviews, document review and two focus group discussions with NGO beneficiaries of Norwegian gender-targeted development assistance, it sets Norwegian aims and activities in the general economic, social and political context of Zambia, with particular attention to inequalities between women and men and how these have been influenced by Zambia’s colonial and post-colonial economic fortunes, policy approaches and political systems. Most attention is paid to the period since the early 1990s, when a one-party political regime and heavily state-led approach to development was replaced by political and economic liberalisation, followed by intensive implementation of a standard package of structural adjustment policies.

Gender inequalities have their origins in pre-colonial social relations that governed family structures, marital arrangements and land tenure, reinforced by colonial policies and practices. Despite some attempts since independence to reduce discrimination, improve women’s lives and enhance their access to opportunities, they remain politically, socially and economically disadvantaged. Economic decline since the mid-1970s has reduced access to social services and resulted in widespread impoverishment. Only in the last few years have there been any signs of renewed economic growth and improvements in some indicators of social well-being, although most of the latter still lag behind the levels they attained in the 1970s and 1980s, not least because of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Although the restoration of multi-party democracy in the early 1990s and the subsequent growth of a women’s movement have increased women’s opportunities for political representation and participation, they remain under-represented and marginalised in decision-making. Women’s poverty and lack of power is attributed to Zambia’s poor economic situation, socially ascribed gender roles and women’s limited access to the factors of production, especially those needed for small-scale subsistence agriculture. For example, while women have usufruct rights to land under the predominant customary tenure system, these are generally obtained through their relations to men (usually their husbands), leading to unequal gender relations within households and families and making them particularly vulnerable if a marriage ends through divorce or widowhood.

The evolution of Zambian gender policies and the arrangements to formulate and implement them have mirrored international trends. In 1996 the Women in Development Department in the National Commission for Development Planning was converted into the Gender in Development Division (GIDD) and moved into the Cabinet Office. A National Gender Policy was approved in 2000 and a strategic plan of action in 2004, following quite wide consultation with the emerging women’s movement. Gender Focal Point (GFP) persons have been appointed in all the line ministries and other major government agencies. The Policy aims to mainstream gender throughout government policies and practices, in order to eliminate gender inequalities, but also recognises the continued need for initiatives

¹ A Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation 1997-2005, MFA, 1997.

specifically targeted at women. However, political and bureaucratic commitment to gender equality objectives varies, the arrangements for mainstreaming are fragile, and implementation of the policy and plan of action patchy. Moreover, gender issues are neither consistently considered nor adequately addressed in the main development policy documents, such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2002).

In Zambia, as elsewhere, there is an enormous gap between policy rhetoric and the capacity and will to operationalise good but vague intentions. The attainment of gender equality is doubly hindered by these general governance deficiencies and specific lack of commitment or active resistance to achieving gender equality.

Norway's development cooperation programme has played a central role in

- the establishment of administrative arrangements to mainstream gender in Zambian government policy, operations and procedures
- the emergence of NGOs with key roles in the economic, political and social empowerment of women through advocacy, awareness raising, capacity building, etc, as well as an umbrella body for the women's movement, the Non-Government Organisations Coordinating Committee (NGOCC).

Today, gender is regarded as a cross-cutting issue in Norway's development cooperation policy. The policy documents that guide the programme in Zambia (the 2000 Memorandum of Understanding and 2001 Strategy) refer to gender although not in any detail, in the context of support to reinforcing human rights and democratisation, as well as ensuring that other sectoral programmes address each of the cross-cutting issues (gender, HIV/AIDS and the environment). In 2004, Norway's development assistance to Zambia totalled NOK 214.4m, increasing to a budgeted NOK 369.2m in 2005. To manage this programme, the Embassy has a staff of eight (responsible to a Minister-Counsellor and the Ambassador), of whom two have a specific gender remit in their portfolios. The efforts of the latter go into administering a small programme of gender-specific activities and trying to ensure that gender equality is adequately dealt with during the programme and project design stage of sectoral activities. Their capacity to monitor whether commitments to addressing gender issues are fulfilled during implementation or to assess outcomes is limited.

Norway is a central participant in moves towards general budget support and donor harmonisation. It also supports a number of preparatory planning and institutional reform activities. In parallel, rationalisation of the aid programme has led to the concentration of support to a limited number of sectors (e.g. education and natural resource management) and the phasing out of support to others (e.g. water, energy, roads). In addition, HIV/AIDS-related activities are funded because of the seriousness of the epidemic. Support to agriculture has only continued because agreement has been reached on a 'silent partnership' with the Netherlands Embassy. Directly gender-targeted activities concentrate on support for NGOCC, plus some funding for two NGOs that provide legal assistance to women, although other activities that support human rights and democratisation indirectly assist women.

Thus current work in Zambia addresses all the main priorities set out in the WGED Strategy: rights, participation in decision-making, economic empowerment, education, HIV/AIDS and management of natural resources. The arrangements for this portfolio have changed in recent years as a result of donor harmonisation and rationalisation of the aid programme. Norwegian support was crucial for the early development and operations of GIDD. However, at present, a 'division of labour' with the Netherlands has ended Norwegian support to (and its

engagement with) the Division. In addition, to reduce the administrative burden of dealing with a number of NGOs, support to individual NGOs is now channelled through intermediary organisations, including both Norwegian NGOs (such as Norwegian Church Aid) and the NGOCC. Thus support to Zambian NGOs concerned with women's empowerment and gender equality is now channelled through a newly established sub-granting programme administered by NGOCC. Despite some teething problems, this arrangement appears to be working well. However, it reduces the contact Embassy staff have with 'frontline' organisations and has, at least temporarily, disadvantaged those larger strategic NGOs that previously enjoyed direct support.

Many consider that continued support to targeted activities is essential, because of the continued disadvantages experienced by Zambian women, the still limited capacity of the GIDD, the limited progress made by line ministries in mainstreaming gender, and the recent origins of the key women's civil society organisations. For example, informants argued that

- Additional financial assistance is needed to strengthen the capacity of GFPs to ensure gender issues are adequately addressed at national, provincial and district levels
- Interim support to enable the key CSOs to diversify their sources of funding and increase their self-reliance is vital to their continued effectiveness.
- Continued and increased support to NGOCC and its sub-granting programme will be necessary for the foreseeable future to ensure that
 - the decision-making, administrative and accounting arrangements are reviewed, revised where necessary and consolidated, and
 - there are sufficient funds to support not only the large NGOs but also smaller and rural members of NGOCC, to strengthen the women's movement country wide and avoid accusations of favouritism and resentment should some members fail to obtain a grant.

Although in theory, gender is integrated into all sectoral programmes, in practice the extent to which this is translated into practice varies. It is more evident in the education sector than in natural resource management or agriculture. Thus parity in access to education is widely accepted as an objective that is not only desirable but also achievable. While lip service is paid to gender in other sectoral programmes, Embassy staff tend to have other priorities and to lack gender-related expertise. As a result, while gender is not ignored, many opportunities to adequately address gender inequality through the activities Norway supports directly, indirectly (through its sleeping partner, the Dutch Embassy, in the case of agriculture) or jointly with other donors (e.g. public expenditure management reforms) are being missed.

The contemporary donor agenda focuses on renewing economic growth and reducing poverty. In this context, the instrumentalist rationale for addressing women's continued disadvantage holds sway. Clearly, women's needs in Zambia are not being met – there is a very long way to go to enhance their well-being and ability to contribute to economic growth. However, there is a real danger that 'donor fatigue' and changing priorities will lead to reduced support for gender-related activities, undermining the efforts of Zambian citizens whose struggle for social transformation is inevitably long term. Some Embassy staff and Zambian informants were concerned at what they saw as a waning of interest in gender issues at headquarters and amongst some of their colleagues. The progress made in the last three to four years on donor harmonisation, initiatives to improve Zambian financial management and budget support has absorbed significant human resources, exacerbating the feeling that other objectives, particularly those related to the cross-cutting issue of gender, may have become secondary. To ensure that addressing gender inequality continues to receive high donor priority and that

gender issues are central to policy dialogue, it is felt that a joint donor policy statement on women and gender equality and the use of Zambia's own gender policy in policy dialogue would be more useful and appropriate than a revised Norwegian strategy.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the case study

1.1.1 As part of a series of evaluations of Norway's experience in taking gender into account in its development cooperation programme, Norad has commissioned an evaluation of progress in implementing the current Norwegian strategy for "women and gender equality in development cooperation" (1997-2005) (MFA, 1997). The evaluation (Norad Evaluation report 5/2005) as well as the three country case studies from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Zambia are available from the Norad web-page www.norad.no. The purpose of the evaluation is

- i. To assess the availability of institutional resources for implementing the strategy and how they have been employed
- ii. To assess the degree to which a gender perspective has been reflected not just in gender-specific activities but also in other key policies and activities, with an emphasis on rights, decision-making processes and economic participation.
- iii. To examine the relationships that Norway has developed with other development partners and their outcomes in terms of implementing the strategy, including relationships with partner governments and civil society organisations (CSOs), as well as bilateral partnerships and the new aid modalities
- iv. To assess the implications of the findings for possible revisions to the strategy.

1.1.2 As part of the evaluation, case studies have been commissioned of Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Zambia. This report summarises the findings of the Zambian case study. The questions it addresses are follows:

- i. What resources are available in the Norwegian embassy in Lusaka and how are these organised to undertake women and gender equality (W&GE) work?
- ii. How has the availability of capacity, resources and networks with partners influenced the content and outcomes of W&GE work in Zambia?
- iii. What has the balance been between gender-targeted activities and mainstreaming, and what progress has been made with both types of work?
- iv. What has the relevance of Norway's W&GE in development cooperation been to its development partners, what roles have been taken on by the embassy and other partners, and how are tasks divided between them?
- v. How does the embassy cooperate with national partner governments, CSOs and other donors on W&GE work? How has this cooperation been affected by the new aid modalities and donor harmonisation?
- vi. What are the views of embassy staff and local partners on the future of W&GE work and the Norwegian strategy that guides it?

1.1.3 The work was undertaken during a visit to Zambia by the lead consultant between 16th and 28th May, 2005. The local team was comprised of Carole Rakodi (International Development Department, School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham, UK), Edwidge Mutale and Sr Auxilia Ponga (gender consultants). The work drew on interviews with most of the embassy staff members responsible for development cooperation (see Appendix 1), interviews with staff members at Norway's most important bilateral partner (the Netherlands), government partners (the Gender and Development Division in Cabinet Office and the Planning and Economic Management Department of the Ministry of Finance and National Planning) and civil society partners (the Non-government Organisations Coordinating Committee and some of the women's NGOs which are its members). In addition, it was possible to consult some relevant files in the Norwegian embassy to identify how gender issues are dealt with in the official documentation surrounding project and programme management. Given the limited time available, such a document search was possible for the NGOCC, support to the agriculture sector, support to the Permanent Human Rights Commission, harmonisation and budget support. It cannot be claimed that all relevant documents were scanned, but the content is revealing and complements the information obtained from the interviews. The team wishes to express its gratitude to the staff of the Norwegian embassy in Lusaka for generously making their time available to respond to our questions, and for making available working space and relevant documents. It also wishes to thank all our informants (listed in Appendix 2) for their time and cooperation.

1.2 Outline of the report

- 1.2.1 First, an introduction to the economic, social and political context of Zambia is given in **Section 2**, with particular attention to inequalities between women and men and how these have been influenced by Zambia's colonial and post-colonial economic fortunes, policy approaches and political systems. Most attention is paid to the period since the early 1990s when a one-party political regime and heavily state-led approach to development was replaced with political and economic liberalisation, following by the intensive implementation of a standard package of structural adjustment policies. In Section 2.4, following a brief historical introduction, current gender policy is outlined, followed by an account of how the policy process has evolved in recent years, with particular attention to how it has dealt with gender issues, and progress with implementation of the PRSP prepared in 2002.
- 1.2.2 In **Section 3**, a profile of Norwegian development cooperation with Zambia is constructed, starting with current aid policy and administrative arrangements, followed by an assessment of the procedures adopted and capacity available to undertake gender-related activities in the embassy. In Section 3.3 a brief history of Norwegian assistance related to gender is presented. This is followed by more detailed discussions of the three main vehicles for assistance: gender targeted activities (Section 3.4), support to sectoral programmes and budget support. How gender is addressed in some key sectoral programmes (agriculture; tourism, natural resources and the environment; education; HIV/AIDS; and human rights) is discussed in **Section 4**. **Section 5** analyses Norway's relations with its development partners against the background of the Zambian government's changing relationships with the international donor community. Most attention is given to the new aid modalities: harmonisation and alignment (Section 5.2) and Norway's most important bilateral

partnership, with the Netherlands (Section 5.3). Finally (**Section 6**), the contemporary and future relevance of the W&GED strategy is briefly discussed.

2. GENDER POLICY AND INSTITUTIONS IN ZAMBIA

2.1 Introduction

- 2.1.1 Zambia is a large country with a population of 8.64 million in 1992. It has low average population densities and much under-used agricultural land. Its population grew rapidly in the decades after independence – at 3% p.a. between 1965 and 1980, and 3.7% p.a. between 1980 and 1990, due to declining rates of infant and child mortality. Women start child bearing at a young age and fertility levels are still high, but they have been declining slowly over the last couple of decades, assisted by urbanisation. Fertility rates in urban areas are lower than in rural areas, and an estimated 38% of the population was urban in 1990, although this proportion decreased to 36% in 2000. Relatively wealthy in the first decade after independence, a combination of external economic shocks and poor economic management has led to a long economic decline and a massive increase in poverty. By 2003, Zambia ranked 163 out of 175 countries on the UN Human Development Index.
- 2.1.2 Inequalities between women and men in Zambia today are rooted in pre-colonial social relations and practices, the country's colonial history and post-independence attempts to achieve nationhood, economic prosperity and social well-being. The power relations between women and men and their relative positions, the nature of inequalities in contemporary society, and policy approaches and their outcomes cannot be understood without an appreciation of the political, economic and social context. Therefore in Section 2.2, Zambia's historical development and contemporary economic and social conditions will be analysed, with particular reference to the ways in which inequalities between women and men are produced and reproduced by these wider development trends. In Section 2.3 political and human rights are examined briefly. Together, these sections provide the necessary background for a discussion in Section 2.4 of the evolution of gender policy and the institutional arrangements for its formulation and implementation. These depend both on a dedicated institutional framework and on mainstreaming gender in national development planning and resource allocation processes. The latter is discussed in Section 2.5, which focuses on the last ten years.

2.2 Inequalities between men and women in the economic and social context of Zambia

- 2.2.1 Zambia's development has been shaped by a history of colonial domination and uneven development. In particular, its colonial economy was based on copper mining and, to a much lesser extent, large-scale commercial agriculture, beginning in the 1920s. The demand for labour by these colonial enterprises led to the development of a migrant labour economy that supplied male labour to the copper mines in Zambia's Copperbelt and also to mining industries in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. Men migrated on short-term contracts and, until the late 1940s, were forbidden to take their families with them. African farming was undermined, therefore, both by the withdrawal of male labour and by measures to protect expatriate commercial farming, mainly along the line of rail. Reproduction of the labour force largely depended on small-scale agriculture, with much of the responsibility (if not the control over decision-making) left to the women who remained in the rural areas.

Zambia is thus highly urbanised compared to many African countries, as well as having a high proportion of female-headed households.

- 2.2.2 To a limited extent after the 1940s, and especially after independence in 1964, men living in urban areas were joined by their families and gradually the numbers of men and women in the urban population became equal. At independence, Zambia's economy appeared strong and it adopted a strongly state-led approach to development. There was considerable public investment in rural infrastructure (education, health, roads) and experiments with cooperatives, rural reconstruction centres and state farms. Early policy statements recognised the need for rural development and economic diversification. However, the country's dependence on copper exports, a belief that industrialisation was necessary for development, the need to develop public administration and services, as well as a lack of confidence in the capacity of the small scale agricultural sector to respond, led to patterns of resource allocation that in practice marginalised small-scale agriculture. Much emphasis was given to provision of health and education services in rural areas, but coverage lagged far behind both demand and targets, with the result that many rural people continued to be disadvantaged with respect to accessing services. In the colonial era, access to education had been extremely limited and had favoured boys over girls. Thus in 1964, educational levels were extremely low, especially for girls. Although progress was made with expanding access to all levels of education in the first decade after independence, literacy rates, access to secondary and tertiary education, and the educational levels achieved were persistently lower for women and girls than for men and boys.
- 2.2.3 In part the lack of priority given to education by the colonial administration was because many of the jobs for which male migrant labour was recruited were unskilled. The colonial association of urban wage employment with men persisted after independence. Thus most urban wage employment was regarded as suitable for men and women tended to be confined to jobs related to their roles as carers and nurturers – nurses, teachers and secretaries. In addition, until the 1970s, urban wages were relatively high (especially in the mining sector) and so men, for the most part, were able to support their households on a single wage. The political influence of unionised mine labour and the potential political volatility of urban populations gave rise to food subsidy policies that favoured urban residents and discouraged increased agricultural production. Agricultural policy focused much more on large-scale state and commercial farming than on the small-scale sector, even though the majority of households were dependent on small-scale agriculture, and attempts to support farming by state marketing and provision of inputs were inefficient and generally ineffective.
- 2.2.4 After the promise of the 1960s, the oil price shocks and collapse in world copper prices of the 1970s gave rise to a long-term economic crisis in Zambia. Initially regarded by both domestic and international actors as a temporary problem, to be tackled by stabilisation measures, structural adjustment policies were resisted for a long time. Indebtedness, slow or negative economic growth, and resistance to policy change by vested interests that had been created as a result of the approaches to economic policy adopted in the 1960s and 1970s, resulted in an on-off relationship with the international financial institutions. Typically, concessions by the government led to new financial flows (grants and loans). However, limited progress on promised

changes (in part because of their political impacts) was followed by suspension of programmes until the government capitulated once again. None of the efforts between 1973 and 1990 succeeded in addressing the structural problems of the Zambian economy: a large and wasteful state sector, inefficient agricultural production and an unsustainable policy of food subsidies (Rakner, 2003). Crisis and half-hearted structural adjustment measures produced a severe decline in real wages and incomes and increased poverty, to 60% of the population in 1980.

- 2.2.5 In the 1990s, and especially during the honeymoon period after the election of a new government in multi-party elections in 1991, far-reaching economic reforms started to lay the foundation for a market-based economy, although little progress was made with intended public sector reforms. The economic and political reforms resulted in massive inflows of aid, helping the government to sideline those groups that opposed the measures and also those who lost out as a result of their implementation. However, after a decade of economic reforms, there was little evidence of economic recovery.

“In terms of macro-economic growth indicators, the Zambian economy has shrunk and is now [in 2001] smaller than it was in 1991. With a 25 per cent increase in population over the last decade, per capita income has dropped by 4 per cent annually..., thus extending the long period of economic decline that began in the 1970s. Mineral production has declined throughout the decade, formal employment has been reduced in all sectors but public administration and social indicators reveal that poverty and infant mortality have increased since the 1980s. Zambia’s most notable success in terms of macro-economic stabilisation has been to bring inflation under control” (Rakner, 2003, p. 79).

Only since 2000 has economic growth resumed (4% p.a. from 2000-2003) (Folscher, 2004).

- 2.2.6 The fundamental ideology of SAP and its implementation, especially in the early stages, stressed stabilisation and macroeconomic balance. Little attention was paid to the human condition, especially of the poor (Seshamani, 2002). Today, extremely high levels of poverty persist. By 1998, according to the Zambian Human Development Report, 73% of the population were poor and extreme poverty (the inability to meet even basic food needs) had increased to 58% (83% in rural and 56% in urban areas, although urban poverty had increased more rapidly). Women were more likely to be poor than men: 65% of women were poor, compared to 52% of men, and child poverty had also increased. In particular, women heads of household were more likely to be poor: 70% of female-headed households were extremely poor in 1998 compared to 57% of male-headed households. Earlier figures (1991) show some differences between households of different types, with a higher proportion of households with de jure female heads in extreme poverty (87%) than households with de facto female heads (79%) or male heads (75% of ‘traditional’ households, 65% of single men and 54% of polygamous households) (World Bank, 1993, p. 26, quoted in Byrne, 1994, p. 17). Nevertheless, in 1998 77% of all people living in female-headed households were poor, compared to 72% of those living in male-headed households. In addition, female-headed households had experienced more and longer spells of food shortage – with 61% of female-headed households facing food shortages compared to 52% of

male-headed households (GRZ, 2002, p. 105; GIDD, 2004, p. 8)². “In addition to economic factors, socially and culturally ascribed gender roles and women’s limited access to factors of production has contributed to high poverty levels amongst women. The failure to adequately engender all macro-economic policies in the planning and programming processes to address the structural causes of poverty is also a contributing factor” (GIDD, 2004, p. 8). The results of economic crisis and structural adjustment policies are evident both in the productive sectors and in social outcomes.

2.2.7 Agricultural liberalisation in the early 1990s had a destabilising effect on the sector. Some product diversification has occurred and marketed production of crops such as tobacco, cotton, wheat and groundnuts increased. However, limited access to overseas markets, uneven implementation of proposed changes, continued government involvement for political reasons and limited supply responses, as well as periodic droughts, have resulted in limited growth of agricultural production. Most assessments of the outcomes of agricultural policy changes indicate that the benefits of price increases and liberalisation have tended to be captured by large-scale commercial farmers and, to a lesser extent, ‘emergent’ small-scale commercial farmers. The end of pan-territorial pricing, combined with increased transport costs and the removal of subsidies on inputs, have led to major shifts in cropping patterns away from maize in areas away from the line of rail. These changes have given rise to concerns about food security in parts of the country, compounded by the apparent increased frequency of droughts. Shifts in cropping patterns and agricultural intensification tend to increase the workload of women, without necessarily providing them with more control over resources, while their independent production continues to be constrained by lack of access to land, credit, technology, information and labour. Non-agricultural employment of women in rural areas is confined to a narrow range of occupations (e.g. beer brewing, garments, food processing), which have difficulty competing with commercial products and are constrained by a lack of access to credit (Byrne, 1994). Material and social deprivation, low levels of nutrition and loss of adult labour mean that the country as a whole, and many poor households in particular, have a limited capacity to withstand new or repeated environmental or economic shocks (including drought, ill health, removal of subsidies on farming inputs, especially fertilisers). Further discussion of the content and outcomes of agricultural sector reforms is contained in Section 5.1, where Norwegian assistance to the agricultural sector is discussed.

2.2.8 In urban areas, declining real wages and extensive retrenchment as a result of privatisation and public sector downsizing has led to growing poverty and increased numbers of people attempting to make a living in informal sector occupations. Delayed and failed privatisation of the copper mines is held by many analysts to have been a major hindrance to economic recovery (Rakner, 2003), although there has been some new FDI in mining since 2000. Many import-substitution industries established in the 1960s and 1970s collapsed and there has been little new investment in industry to date. Historically under-represented in formal wage employment because of their lower educational levels, socio-cultural barriers and legal constraints (e.g. they are prohibited from working underground in the mines), women are heavily concentrated

² Interestingly, however, levels of malnutrition in male and female headed households were either the same (29% of children <5 in each were underweight) or showed less difference (54% of children <5 stunted in female compared to 49% in male headed households) than would be expected from the figures for the incidence of poverty.

in informal sector occupations. Moreover, within the informal sector they are largely involved in easy entry occupations that do not require much capital, such as retail trade and food processing. About three quarters of informal entrepreneurs are engaged in petty trade, and at least two thirds of those involved are women. Many entrepreneurs, especially women, are constrained by lack of access to credit, limited skills, etc. Competition is extremely high (and has grown with increased male entry into the informal sector) and profits very limited.

2.2.9 Attempts to reduce the budget deficit led to declines in real public sector wages (resulting in an exodus of skilled personnel such as doctors), cuts in social service expenditure and the introduction of cost recovery measures (leading to severe deterioration in the level and quality of services provided and increased costs that reduced access, particularly by poor people). The results of increased poverty, deteriorating access to social services and the HIV/AIDS epidemic have contributed to declining indicators of social well-being. Education is discussed in Section 5.3. Because Norway has not provided assistance to the health sector (with the exception of HIV/AIDS – see Section 5.4), health is discussed briefly below.

2.2.10 As a result of economic crisis and deteriorating services, nutritional and health problems have intensified since the early 1980s. Malaria is the single biggest killer, because of drug resistance, over-stretched health services and lack of local government capacity to ensure malaria free environments. The HIV/AIDS epidemic is high prevalence (estimated at 20% of those aged 15-49 in 2001 – 14% in rural and 28% in urban areas) and long duration (the first case was diagnosed in 1984). Recent statistics show that 10% of the total population is infected and, although infection rates have stabilised in urban areas, they are still rising in rural areas and amongst younger people. Women are particularly vulnerable to HIV infection because of their subordinate position, socio-cultural practices such as dry sex, lack of control over their sexuality and their biological make-up that makes them more susceptible to STDs (in Ndola studies indicated a prevalence rate of 32% among women and 25% among men, and the differences are even greater in the 15-19 age group) (GRZ, 2002, p. 102). Most women receive antenatal care, but maternal mortality is high and increased from 649 deaths per 100,000 live births in 1996 to 729 in 2001/2 (800/100,000 in rural areas), according to the DHS surveys (to achieve the relevant MDG, it must be reduced to 162/100,000). The major causes of this high mortality include (GIDD, 2004, p. 15)

- early first pregnancy
- high fertility (6.1 in 1996, 5.9 in 2000/1)
- frequent pregnancies
- limited use of modern contraceptives (which has remained static at around a quarter of married women)
- lack of knowledge
- limited access to health services, especially in rural areas, resulting in a high proportion of unsupervised deliveries (53%)
- the poor general health and heavy workloads of women
- poor referral systems
- harmful traditional practices
- illegal and unsafe abortions.

2.2.11 Life expectancy reached 54 years in the mid-1980s but fell to 33 in 2002 (UNICEF, quoted in Folscher, 2004, p. 9), while infant mortality, which had fallen to 89/1000 live births in the early 1980s, rose to 110/1000 in 2000 (Hansungule, 2003; Folscher, 2004, p. 12). Women are particularly affected by health problems, both because of their biological functions and vulnerability and also because they are the main carers for children and other family members. Family planning programmes tend to target mainly women, without examining family pressures and the role of men in decision-making over reproduction. Moreover, the burden of caring for the sick rests primarily on women and may undermine their productivity. Thus the impact of ill-health and ineffective and inaccessible health care goes beyond the individual level, increasing the burden of ill-health on families and society at large through rising costs for health and social security systems, loss of productive capacity and depletion of the human capital base (Hansungule, 2003). Sectoral policy reforms have attempted to redress the balance towards basic education and primary health care, to improve provision in rural areas and to ensure that poor people can get access to basic services. There have been some positive results. For example, infant mortality has started to decline (109/1000 live births in 1996, 110/1000 in 2000, 95/1000 in 2002), as has <5 mortality (197 in 1996, 168 in 2002), according to the Demographic and Health Surveys (USAID, 2004).

2.3 Politics and human rights in Zambia

2.3.1 Gender relations in Zambia are underpinned by a dual legal and institutional system, in which uncodified customary law exists alongside state law. Customary law tends, in many respects, to determine women's rights, in spite of constitutional guarantees of equality and the provisions of state law. Thus women are in the main treated as dependents and have limited independent property and inheritance rights that are not contingent on marriage or familial ties (Byrne, 1994). Most groups in Zambia are patrilineal. Land is held by the group and men are entitled to usufruct rights, generally in perpetuity, over sufficient land for cultivation. Agricultural and other reproductive tasks are shared between men and their wives, with some common patterns but also considerable differences between groups and farming systems. Women's responsibilities include not only domestic work, including childcare and collecting water and firewood, but also food production. While they may be expected to contribute labour to cash crop production, men often retain control over all or most of the proceeds. Women's usufruct rights are, therefore, secondary, with the result that if a marriage ends through divorce or widowhood, they may be evicted from both cultivated land and the marital home, especially if their children are grown up. Similarly, in urban areas, if property tenure is registered through a lease or occupancy licence, typically documents are registered in the names of men and women may be disinherited when a marriage ends, even if they have contributed to the cost of land and house acquisition.

2.3.2 At the beginning of the 1970s, Kaunda declared a one-party state, justified by the need to foster national unity in the face of ethnic competition generated by multi-party politics. Intended to be 'participatory', gradually freedom of expression and association were eroded, and inefficiency and corruption increased. During the cold war period, Zambia took advantage of great power rivalry to obtain assistance from both western and non-western countries (such as the USSR and China). With the end

of the cold war, donor pressure and internal demands for political reform mounted, and the one-party state finally gave way to multi-party politics again in 1992.

- 2.3.3 The new constitution guarantees every person their fundamental rights and freedoms irrespective of race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex. It also prohibits discrimination in any law or administrative regulation. Chapter 1, Article 23 condemns various acts that cause physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women. However, these rights are negated by Article 23 clause 4, which allows for discrimination on the dissolution of a marriage and sharing of property, disadvantaging women. Currently, both the constitution and the Penal Code are under review. It is envisaged, among other changes, that gender rights and equality will be more systematically and explicitly incorporated into both (GIDD, 2005). The Human Rights Commission is mandated to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms, by carrying out investigations and dealing with complaints of abuses (see Section 5.6).
- 2.3.4 Although there have now been three democratic elections (and another is due in 2006), political practices associated with one-party rule, such as the centralisation of power in the presidency and extensive use of state patronage for political gain, have continued. The proliferation of parties, splits in important interest groups, elections fought on the basis of ethnic and personal rivalries rather than policies, and alleged electoral malpractices mean that there are almost no organisations that can contest the incumbent party's hold on power (Rakner, 2003).
- 2.3.5 The government of Zambia is committed to the principle of affirmative action in order to improve women's participation in decision-making positions. It has signed up to international agreements incorporating various targets in this respect, including the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender, which committed the government to reserving at least 30% of decision-making posts at each level for women by 2005, and the 2004 African Union commitment that 50% of AU decision-making positions would be held by women and that this should be replicated in all member states. Nevertheless, progress has been limited and women remain under-represented at all levels of decision-making. For example, although the proportion of MPs who are women has increased, it remains low, at 12% in 2004, and there is, to quote one informant, "appalling prejudice against women in Parliament". A quarter of Cabinet Ministers were women in 2004, but only 10% of Deputy Ministers, 19% of Permanent Secretaries, 23% of Directors and 44% of Deputy Directors of civil service departments and 16% of District Commissioners. The situation of women in local government is similar (for example, in 2001 93% of elected councillors, 94% of elected mayors and 100% of Town Clerks) were men. In addition, women are hardly represented at all in the membership of commissions of enquiry (GIDD, 2004, p.22-3). Issues currently under consideration in discussion of electoral reforms include ways of achieving the government's SADC commitment.
- 2.3.6 In 1991 both the print and electronic media, previously state-owned, were liberalised. However, despite the proliferation of private newspapers and radio stations, women's views and voices are still grossly under-represented. Women working in the media are identified in terms of their social roles as 'wives' and 'mothers' in a way that men are not. Thus women's limited access to the media, as well as stereotypical portrayals of men's and women's images, renders many women invisible, reduces women's access

to information and sustains insensitive portrayals of women and men (GIDD, 2004, p.30).

- 2.3.7 As part of the Beijing platform for action, UN member states committed themselves to providing data on all forms of violence against women; analysis of the causes and consequences, including the health, social and economic costs; and identification of best practices in addressing the issues. Despite the adoption of the National Gender Policy and Strategic Plan of Action (see Section 2.4), and a variety of specific measures, violence against women and children in Zambia appears to be on the increase. Domestic violence has probably always been common and was in the past considered a private matter, but the tensions associated with increasing poverty seem to have exacerbated it. Moreover, the incidence of rape, child defilement and other forms of violence, including traditional practices harmful to women, property grabbing and child neglect appears to be increasing (Hansungule, 2004). To the secondary socio-economic status of women, practices such as the payment of bride price, women's limited awareness of their rights and the strong patriarchal beliefs that reinforce men's and boys' dominance over women and girls have been added social reactions to widespread poverty (such as increased alcohol and drug abuse) and the effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic³. Despite the creation of a Victim Support Unit in the police service in 1994 and a Sex Crimes Unit more recently, convictions are secured in only a small proportion of cases. Inappropriate and costly court practices; an inadequate legal basis for prosecuting offenders; unsympathetic attitudes amongst police officers, magistrates and expert witnesses; and lack of access by victims to legal, social and financial support help to explain the low conviction rates. Following pressure from the women's movement, legislation on violence against women is pending (GIDD, 2004, p. 28).

2.4 Gender policy and arrangements for its implementation

- 2.4.1 The United National Independence Party was committed to ensuring the participation of women in government and in 1975 created the Women's League as a wing of the party. Because affiliation with the League was the only avenue for obtaining government funds, it tended to dominate other women's organisations. The party also had a Women's Affairs Committee but, unlike other party committees, it did not link to a specific ministry that could implement its recommendations. Nevertheless, some gains were made, including the right to vote, commitment to the principle of equal pay for equal work, and generous maternity leave entitlements for working women. Women's welfare was considered to be the responsibility of the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services. The aim was to integrate women in development and approaches focused on women's clubs and projects that addressed the specific needs of women. Eventually, in 1983 it was found prudent to establish a Women in Development (WID) desk in the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP). The Desk was upgraded to a Unit in 1987, with a staff of three professional women. In 1990, it was made into one of six departments in the NCDP, with a staff of ten professionals (SGS, 1999). The creation of a WID Unit facilitated the inclusion of a WID chapter in the Fourth National Plan (1989-1993).

³ Sexual violence against men and boys is not reported, perhaps because of the prevalent cultural belief that men and boys are supposed to be in control of their sexuality.

- 2.4.2 In 1992, the new government established a Women's Affairs Desk in each ministry to attend to women's issues. In the lead up to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, multi-stakeholder committees were established to consider inputs to the National Report to be presented to the conference, in which the Women in Development Department and CSOs played key roles. The agreements that the government signed up to at this and other conferences in the mid-1990s provided a basis for lobbying. In 1996, the WIDD was converted into the Gender in Development Division (GIDD) and moved to the Cabinet Office, where it was now headed by a Permanent Secretary, meaning that it had control over its own budget⁴. Subsequently, the Assistant Director was elevated to Deputy Permanent Secretary level. In addition, Gender Focal Point persons were appointed in all line ministries and other specialised government agencies such as the Drug Enforcement Commission.
- 2.4.3 GIDD's main activities included training in gender analytical skills for GFPPs and other development agents, consultations related to the national gender policy, coordinating implementation of a UNFPA-funded project aimed at strengthening the integration of gender and development and producing a gender statistical report, reviewing discriminatory laws and policies, and producing guidelines and tools for gender mainstreaming. An evaluation report in 1998 summarised the achievements of GIDD and the challenges it faced at that time. Achievements were considered to include some legal reforms (e.g. the Intestate Success Act 1989), the incorporation of gender in some sector policies such as the Education and Agricultural Sector Investment programmes, and the establishment of gender and development budget lines in some ministries. However, there was not yet a gender policy and so mainstreaming still depended on goodwill in particular agencies and GFPPs lacked clear terms of reference, guidelines and support from GIDD. In addition, GIDD itself had limited expertise, was short of its full staff complement of twelve, had not developed a clear work programme and management structure (SGS, 1999).
- 2.4.4 In 1996 a Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women was formulated, based on the Beijing Platform for Action. An inter-ministerial task force was set up to produce a comprehensive gender policy. Initially, consultants drafted a Policy Framework Paper, which served as the basis for a further consultative process at national, provincial and district levels. A draft policy was considered by a national workshop and then by an ad-hoc committee of Permanent Secretaries. Following a high level symposium in December 1998, the National Gender Policy was approved by Cabinet in 2000 (GRZ, 2000).
- 2.4.5 The Gender Policy includes a situation analysis and policy measures. It defines gender as an analytical concept that focuses on women's roles and responsibilities in relation to those of men. Because women have limited access to and control over productive resources, they are more vulnerable to poverty. In addition to economic factors, socially and culturally prescribed gender roles have contributed to high levels of poverty amongst women, who are not usually part of decisions made on resource allocation at household and other levels. The policy's vision is "to achieve full participation of both women and men in the development process at all levels in order to ensure sustainable development and attainment of equality and equity between the

⁴ There was some confusion in 2003-4 when a Deputy Minister for Women's Affairs was appointed in the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, although subsequent Deputy Ministers in that ministry have not been given specific responsibility for women's affairs.

sexes” (p. 44). Its overall aim is to eliminate the gender imbalance that places a higher burden of poverty on women, through enhancing

- women’s access to and control of economic resources and opportunities, including land, information, financial resources, employment and income-generating opportunities, and
- women’s and men’s participation in decision making processes.

2.4.6 By adopting the policy, the government committed itself to a wide range of ambitious aims and activities relating to poverty reduction; culture, family and socialisation; education and training; health care; water and sanitation; labour, employment and social security; land; agriculture; science, technology and vocational training; commerce, trade and industry; communication and transport; environment and natural resources; energy; information and media; housing; decision making; gender violence; and legal provisions. The organisational structure is sketched, and the intention to establish a Gender Consultative Forum, prepare a Strategic Plan of Action, and establish a M & E system stated. The Forum was established in 2003, with members drawn from government, civil society and the churches. Donors are only invited on special occasions.

2.4.7 The Strategic Plan of Action (2004-8) was agreed following wide stakeholder consultations. It is presented as a matrix that outlines critical gender issues and areas of concern, policy objectives, strategies, actions and (supposedly) measurable output and outcome indicators. A lead actor (always from government) or actors and a set of interventions are identified for each of the 19 areas in the Gender Policy, mostly derived from existing sector policies and programmes, and with the involvement of staff from relevant sectoral actors and organisations (GIDD, 2004c). The plan of action is comprehensive, with no internal prioritising – there are 32 policy objectives, 86 strategies, and 264 activities, most with at least two indicators.

2.4.8 GIDD’s current responsibilities are to

- coordinate the implementation of the National Gender Policy
- coordinate gender mainstreaming, including liaison with the MOFNP to ensure that the budget is engendered
- facilitate research and resource mobilisation
- establish a materials resource centre on gender and development
- liaise and network at international, regional and national levels, and
- monitor and evaluate the implementation of policies and programmes to ensure their gender responsiveness.

It is advised by the Gender Consultative Forum. Parliamentary oversight is provided by the Parliamentary Committee in Legal Affairs, Human Rights, Governance and Gender Matters.

2.4.9 Approaches to promoting gender equality have evolved from their early focus purely on women to a combination of initiatives aimed specifically at improving the position of women alongside gender mainstreaming. Thus GIDD advocates gender mainstreaming, but also undertakes women-specific activities, such as a programme for women entrepreneurs (with ILO support), because it deems that women-specific support and affirmative action both continue to be necessary in order to overcome

historical inequalities. It works with line ministries on women-specific projects and programmes, but also encourages them to adopt gender analysis in order to develop an understanding that, unless power imbalances between men and women in and outside the home are recognised and tackled, women's welfare is unlikely to improve. Thus it tries to ensure that national policy documents mainstream gender, including those issues that have become prominent since the approval of the National Gender Policy, such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic and participation of women in decision making. For example, emerging issues such as the apparent link between the epidemic and increasing gender violence, child defilement, and numbers of vulnerable children, including orphans, were not addressed in the Policy; while the need for legislation outlawing discrimination against those who are HIV positive and prohibiting the knowing infection of others was not recognised. Sometimes, the impetus to deal with such issues has come from other policy pronouncements – e.g. the President's Speech at the official opening of the ninth National Assembly (on 14th January, 2005) committed the government to reviewing the penal code in order to ensure that it addresses gender violence. Further support by the President led a firm commitment by the Ministry of Justice to review the legislative basis for dealing with gender violence and child defilement.

2.4.10 In 1996, Gender Focal Point Persons were designated in all line ministries, provinces and districts. Originally they were intended to be senior staff, with responsibilities that included:

- ensuring that the ministry formulates and implements gender-sensitive sectoral policies
- coordinating gender-mainstreaming activities and ensuring that budgets are engendered.

However, initially they lacked Terms of Reference and guidelines. Also attempts to carry out gender analysis and other activities were hindered by their lack of resources (e.g. vehicles) and disrupted by the PRSP process (SGS, 1999). Many of those designated are relatively junior and their job descriptions have not been revised to incorporate their responsibilities with respect to gender, so that they struggle to influence those at more senior levels and to find the time to address gender issues within their ministries. Gender and development activities at provincial and district levels are coordinated by the Provincial Development Coordination Committees (PDCCs) and District Development Coordination Committees (DDCCs), through the GFPPs identified at provincial and district levels, although their effectiveness is constrained by a lack of gender analytical skills and capabilities at these levels, as well as the absence of appropriate structures for gender mainstreaming (GIDD, 2004, p. 40). In addition, the training provided to GFPPs appears to be insufficiently comprehensive. As a result, the contribution provincial and district GFPPs can make to development planning is limited and, when GFPPs in ministry headquarters are transferred, not only may gender not be part of their remit in their new posts, but also they may have insufficient knowledge to apply gender analysis to the new area in which they are working. Because of the limited effectiveness of GFPPs, gender sub-committees are now being formed and trained in each ministry, province and district.

2.4.11 Although progress with implementing the Gender Policy and Plan of Action has been patchy, the existence of such documents approved at the highest level of government enables those concerned with gender equality to call on them in lobbying for action or legislative change and in ensuring that initiatives are sustained, even when political

and senior bureaucratic support is weak. The GIDD is well positioned in government and the institutional framework for mainstreaming gender seems sound. However, because of the limited political support for gender equality, it is essential for the GIDD to be highly effective. In practice, rapid staff turnover (especially in the leadership) and the appointment of inexperienced staff have weakened it and damaged its credibility as an organisation.

2.5 The policy process and gender issues

- 2.5.1 Since the 1990s, policy priorities and processes have changed as a result of experience and donor influence. The evolution of policy making and implementation will be described in this section, with a particular emphasis on how gender issues have been considered.
- 2.5.2 In 1991, with the move to economic liberalisation, development planning was abandoned and the National Commission for Development Planning abolished. However, the apparent increase in the incidence of poverty, despite early attempts at implementing structural adjustment policies, led to external support for improved data collection and analysis. The treatment of gender in the World Bank's 5 volume Poverty Assessment for Zambia (1994) was analysed by Whitehead and Lockwood (2002). They noted that gender was integrated into the analysis, based on findings from household sample surveys, nutritional, health and education data, assisted by the use of a participatory poverty analysis (PPA). In the agricultural volume, "the analysis centres on a model of the agricultural household, which examines the effect of the gender division of labour on income from agriculture under a number of conditions. Female headship is listed as a cause of poverty in urban areas and female-headed households in general are included as a poverty category" (Whitehead and Lockwood, 2002, p. 228). However, although there is also reference to 'women without support', neither the differences between female-headed households of different types and ages nor intra-household differences were explored, with the result that poor women were only made visible as female household heads. Moreover, "[T]he policy sections fail to match the visibility of gender in the rest of the reports... the implications have been reduced to the need for labour-saving technology for 'female' tasks on smallholdings and a prioritising of girls' education in human resource development (HRD) policy." (Whitehead and Lockwood, 2002, p. 228). Whitehead and Lockwood attributed this, in part, to the loss of insights from the PPA (although they also noted that it was not clear whether and how PPA processes gave voice to women) and the dominance of external policy agendas. Gender was essentially framed as an efficiency issue. Rigidities in the gender division of labour were identified as potential barriers to the expansion of agricultural production (as a result of the model used rather than other evidence), while gender equity within households and the balancing of productive and reproductive economies were not reflected in the growth agenda. Attention to female education was also couched in efficiency arguments, and appeared as the only high profile gendered policy, not least, Whitehead and Lockwood asserted, because it was the only policy on which Bank staff could agree.
- 2.5.3 Following the 1995 World Conference on Social Development, the Zambian government announced its aim of reducing poverty from 70% in 1997 to 50% by 2004. It appointed the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services to coordinate all poverty-related interventions and spearhead the preparation of a

National Poverty Reduction Action Plan. With UNDP support, a National Poverty Reduction Strategic Framework and Action Plan were prepared, following consultations with CSOs and donors. This process was overtaken by the IMF's announcement that ESAF would, dependent on the preparation of a PRSP, be replaced by a Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF), including concessional borrowing and debt relief.

- 2.5.4 Zambia embarked on the preparation of an interim PRSP, with the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development replacing the MCDSS as coordinator and little stakeholder consultation. To enable the country to access HIPC debt relief, an IMF-funded PRGF was approved in 1999, under which Zambia embarked on privatisation of the mines, commercialisation/privatisation of utilities and the financial sector, and fiscal and structural reforms. Decision Point was reached in December 2000, following which Zambia received its first debt relief and embarked on a series of further reforms, including the preparation of a full PRSP. In 2002 development planning was reinstated, the Ministry of Finance and National Development re-titled the Ministry of Finance and National Planning (MOFNP) and a new Planning and Economic Management Department (PEMD) created within it. The final draft of the PRSP (2002-4) was not submitted to Parliament for approval because of the imminence of elections. Instead, it was approved by the Cabinet in May 2002 and subsequently by the IMF and World Bank, and then subsumed within a Transitional National Development Plan (2002-5), which includes those sectors not covered in the PRSP and is based on an interim Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) (Seshamani, 2002).
- 2.5.5 In advance of the consultative process, after considerable debate, 90 CSOs, including women's organisations, formed an umbrella group of NGOs, the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR), in order to promote effective civil society input into the PRSP process. Government initiated the process of PRSP preparation through the formation of eight working groups (macroeconomic, governance, industry, agriculture, tourism, mining, health and education), comprised of representatives from all key stakeholder groups (government, civil society and donors). However, CSPR was dissatisfied with these groups, which they believed focused more on economic growth and governance than poverty reduction, and was also concerned that the three cross-cutting issues identified by government (gender, HIV/AIDS and the environment) would be sidelined. Only later did the government engage specialised institutions to prepare papers on those issues not considered by its eight Working Groups, including the cross-cutting themes of HIV/AIDS, gender and environment, as well as various components of infrastructure. By then, there was too little time to consult on these papers, with the result that the integration of cross-cutting themes into the main chapters was inconsistent and links were not made between the themes. In addition, relatively few CSOs were invited to join the Working Groups established by MOFED and, although CSPR was invited to nominate a representative to participate in the government's provincial poverty consultations, it found that the consultations did not allow for broader, let alone grassroots participation (Possing, 2003).
- 2.5.6 CSPR's concern and initial scepticism led it to mount a 'shadow' PRSP preparation process. First, ten thematic areas were identified, including giving thematic status to the issues identified by the government as cross-cutting (including gender). Civil Society Consultative Groups were set up for each and produced position papers which

were discussed at a national civil society forum. In addition, Provincial Poverty Hearings were held in the four poorest provinces (Northwestern, Western, Luapula and Eastern) (where women participants outnumbered men) and reports were produced as inputs to the PRSP. A shadow report summarising the civil society perspective was submitted to government and a further National Forum arranged to review the first draft of the PRSP (Possing, 2002; Bwalya et al, 2004).

- 2.5.7 The PRSP focused on economic and employment growth (through agricultural development, complemented by tourism, mining, industry and energy), social themes (basic education, health and social safety nets) and cross-cutting issues: HIV/AIDS, gender and the environment. Despite the delayed consultation process, when it occurred, it was generally recognised that the effort had been thorough and extensive. Despite their initial misgivings, some problems with the process and the persistence of mutual suspicion, CSOs were reassured when many points that they had made appeared in the final PRSP - the final PRSP and the CSPR document were in accordance on most vital areas. In addition, government seems to have developed a new appreciation of the value of consultation. By 2002, ministries were being directed to ensure that budget allocations were in line with the PRSP.
- 2.5.8 The gender strategies included in the PRSP are based on those set out in the National Gender Policy and focus on the removal of barriers to women's economic participation (through legal reform), special economic programmes and reducing women's workload through the provision of appropriate technologies. Access to land is regarded as an important aspect of gender equity, justified in terms of family and national food security (GRZ, 2002). With a few exceptions (some disaggregated data for male/female headed households, literacy, school enrolment, HIV/AIDS, nutritional status, and representation of women in decision making and senior positions), the analysis is not gendered. Most policies were stated in extremely general and ambitious terms: means of implementation, targets and resource implications were not specified (partial exceptions being education, reproductive health, and legal impediments to women's access to productive resources). One of the most glaring gaps was the failure of the gender chapter to refer to water and sanitation and of the water chapter to refer to gender in its objectives and policy actions (Seshamani, 2002; Zuckerman and Garrett, 2003). The administrative framework for gender policy formulation, coordination, resource mobilisation and use, implementation and M & E was described but not critically evaluated and the only reference to strengthening its capacity referred to the collection and analysis of gender disaggregated data and gender planning.
- 2.5.9 Thus there were a number of deficiencies in the process of PRSP preparation and its content. The document was criticised for failing to specify the links between the causes of poverty and policies, the limited attention paid to the MDGs and social safety nets, and the lack of attention paid to concerns emanating from local and provincial consultations, especially the needs of peasant farmers. For example, land and tenure were not addressed by the PRSP but emerged as important matters for peasant farmers, especially women (Seshamani, 2002; Possing, 2003). As a result of the inadequate treatment of issues not dealt with by a working group, an insufficient share of planned expenditure was allocated to both the cross-cutting themes (with the partial exception of HIV/AIDS) and infrastructure components, especially water and sanitation. In general, civil society organisations were concerned about whether

resources would be allocated in line with the poverty reduction objectives identified in the PRSP.

- 2.5.10 Arrangements for monitoring were not considered at the time of PRSP preparation, although some possible indicators were suggested. Subsequently CSPR played a significant role in ensuring that a monitoring system was established (Possing, 2003; Bwalya et al, 2004). It has attempted to monitor budgetary allocations and expenditure at the national level, pointing out in 2004 that budgetary allocations to poverty reduction programmes in 2002 and 2003 had been meagre in relation to the requirements specified in the PRSP, and that actual expenditure fell far short of allocations, while non-PRSP agencies (such as the Cabinet Office and State House) received more than their allocations (Matabishi, 2004). In addition, in October 2002, CSPR and the Zambia Social Investment Fund sponsored a qualitative participatory District Poverty Assessment, intended to generate appropriate indicators and provide baseline data. Further exercises in May 2003 and May/June 2004 monitored changes, although it was acknowledged that these could not necessarily be attributed to implementation of PRSP policies.
- 2.5.11 Progress with implementation has been disappointing, with the partial exception of the education and health sectors. The government attributed this to the lack of external financing and its limited room to manoeuvre with respect to domestic funds. In fact, aggregate aid flows were the same in real local currency terms in 2000, 2001 and 2003, and higher in 2002, mainly as a result of longer term agreements to support the education and health sectors rather than new contributions to implement PRSP policies. Government ability to finance PRSP implementation was limited by drought in 2002, public sector pay increases and a bailout payment to the Roan Antelope Mining Corporation of Zambia in 2003. Fiscal policy slippage both absorbed government funds and had an adverse effect on inflows of aid. Higher than planned budget deficits led to failure to reach a new PRGF agreement with the IMF, which led to withholding of budget support from donors, putting pressure on domestic resources and increasing fiscal slippage. This resulted in failure to reach HIPC completion point as intended in December 2003.
- 2.5.12 A review of whether sectoral spending between 2001 and 2003 was broadly in line with PRSP priorities found that it was not, with the partial exception of health and education (which benefited disproportionately from increased salaries and housing allowances because staff costs are such a large proportion of spending in these sectors). Increased spending related to agriculture reflected fertiliser subsidies, which are not a PRSP policy. The review concluded that a major reason for the failure to align allocations with priorities was the absence of appropriate budgetary procedures and mechanisms to enable the government to do so, although it also acknowledged that significant progress had been made with putting in place the necessary institutional building blocks, of which six were identified (Folscher, 2004):
- i. ***Effective participation of non-state domestic stakeholders:*** As noted above, civil society in Zambia decided to participate in the PRSP process in a cooperative spirit. Their contribution was recognised by government and many of their priorities reflected in the PRSP. Thus the consultative process, even with its flaws, seems to have opened up political space for civil society engagement and improved government-civil society relationships. However, the inadequacy of bottom-up

consultations resulted in lack of voter understanding and commitment and government's criticisms of NGO leaders when they have tried to initiate debate on the lack of progress with implementation demonstrate that high level political commitment to working with civil society is by no means certain. In addition, civil society involvement in implementation and monitoring has been episodic rather than institutionalised (Folscher, 2004).

- ii. ***Effective political involvement:*** Concentration of power in the hands of the President, and the sidelining of Parliament, in addition to inadequate links between policy and budgeting, resulted in weak political commitment to PRSP implementation. However, reforms in Parliamentary practices augur well for increased political ownership and improved accountability (Folscher, 2004).
- iii. ***Effective PRSP design:*** originally the relationships between the PRSP and other policy making and resource allocation processes were unclear. Moves to make poverty reduction central to overall national planning in the preparation of the new National Development Plan are intended to improve on this, although it is unclear whether an appropriate balance will be achieved between comprehensiveness and setting priorities.
- iv. ***Linking the PRSP effectively to national planning and budgeting processes and monitoring its implementation:*** Some progress had been made by 2004 in linking the PRSP to national planning and budgeting
 - PRP expenditure (HIPC funds) was allocated in 2002 and 2003 to priorities identified in the PRSP (although this was done separately by the MoFNP rather than through the budget process)
 - PRSP policies have been embedded in sector strategies, where they exist: thus the health sector strategy, which existed prior to the PRSP, was absorbed into it, while the education sector strategy which was developed subsequently reflects PRSP priorities (partly because the already existing basic education investment programme, BESSIP, was absorbed into it). In agriculture, a new strategy was tied to the PRSP. Revival in early 2004 of the PRSP Working Groups is likely to help.
 - A Medium Term Expenditure Framework has been prepared and, in 2004, Activity-Based Budgeting was introduced. This requires budget proposals from ministries to specify how they are linked to PRSP policies and identifies activities specified in the PRSP as budget line items. Some in the MOFNP and the GIDD (and also NGOCC) are pressing for the government's budget to be gendered. In addition, the MTEF and Budget Call Circulars require all ministries to make provision not just for poverty reduction but also for gender equity. However, their commitment to this varies and their ability to achieve it is limited. In practice, those involved lack the understanding and tools to incorporate gender dimensions. Instead, general statements tend to be made to the effect that proposals and expenditure will benefit men and women equally.

However, the management arrangements for implementing and monitoring the PRSP were still considered to be weak in 2004. The PEMD has been designated as the focal point for coordinating implementation, but it is understaffed, burdened with other tasks and not sufficiently highly placed to influence its own or other ministries. Line

ministries still relate primarily to the Budget Department, and many lack policy making, implementation and monitoring capacity of their own. Although development of an adequate monitoring system has been slow, by 2004, a refined indicator framework had been developed, a monitoring and evaluation unit created in the MoFNP (incorporating the Poverty Analysis and Monitoring Unit), a provincial data collection system established (and a district level system piloted in one district), HIPC monitoring was ongoing and a revised institutional framework based on Sector Advisory Groups and the PDCCs and DDCCs was under development. Nevertheless, these initiatives were fragmented, there was no roadmap to develop an integrated national system, existing data (e.g. that produced by individual ministries) is not always well used, and new data collection initiatives are not necessarily the most appropriate or sustainable (Folscher, 2004).

- v. ***The PRSP and decentralisation:*** The decentralisation strategy spells out how decentralisation can be conducive to improved policy formulation and implementation. Especially where donor support has been available, progress has been made in linking the PRSP to regional and district development plans through the offices of the provincial and district planners and the PDCCs and DDCCs. However, few believe that central power will willingly be relinquished, casting some doubt on whether efforts to strengthen provincial and district planning, M & E will be effective.
- vi. ***The role of donors in PRSP implementation and donor harmonisation:*** the PRSP is also intended to be a framework for coordination of donor activities and for matching donor activities with national priorities. All the main donors showed interest in supporting the priority sectors and policies identified in the PRSP – for some this meant continuing their existing support, for others a review of their current priorities. Alignment is also a matter of aligning procedures to alleviate the compliance burden on the government, supporting the development of improved financial management systems, and providing consistent and more flexible financial assistance through general budget support. Progress towards a set of appropriate institutional arrangements was initially limited but has been more encouraging since the launch of a Harmonisation in Practice (HIP) initiative in mid-2003 (see Section 6).

2.5.13 Despite these signs of progress in establishing more integrated and participatory planning, implementation and monitoring institutional arrangements, a review of the PRSP in 2004 noted that it had had little influence on expenditure, and therefore had neither generated net benefits for the economy nor improved the distribution of benefits from renewed growth and public expenditure. This is borne out by findings from the local monitoring process in 2002-4. The findings were based on studies in 15 rural and peri-urban research sites in the poorest five provinces in 2002 and 2003, and in five districts in 2004, using PRA methods with groups that included men, women and young people. Funds received and spent were also identified. Across the board, there were positive findings only in the agriculture, education and health sectors. For example, in three of the five districts in 2003, food security had improved as a result of early provision of agricultural inputs, despite relatively poor rains. However, other districts had not experienced positive changes and other needs of the agricultural sector were not being met (especially marketing, roads, extension services and credit), while women had neither obtained greater access to lucrative agricultural opportunities nor increased control over resources, partly because these issues were

not being addressed and partly because they are associated with deeply entrenched social attitudes (Milimo, 2003; Matabishi, 2004). Despite formal equality between women and men and official commitment to gender equality, therefore, entrenched social and cultural attitudes and practices mean that the rate of “evaporation of gender policies in the patriarchal cooking pot”, to use Sarah Longwe’s words, is extremely high. Occasionally, the women’s movement has secured a victory with respect to a particular piece of legislation or policy. However, despite women’s electoral importance, improvements in gender equality seem to depend on political patronage rather than institutionalised rights and often the political commitment to real social change is lacking not only at the very top (in the Cabinet and Parliament), but throughout the political system, the public sector and society as a whole.

2.5.14 Continued implementation of both the economic liberalisation and political reform agendas, however partial, has secured for the Zambian government continued support from the international community, and continuing inflows of financial assistance (Rakner, 2003). Finally, by the end of 2004, Zambia reached HIPC Completion Point, entitling it to further debt relief and potentially increased flows of financial assistance.

2.5.15 In 2005, a new National Development Plan (NDP) (2006-2011) is under preparation. Efforts will focus on identifying specific actions and intended outcomes and impacts, since much existing analysis and many policies are still considered to be valid. The ToR for the advisory groups that are being established (including one to prepare the gender chapter) require them to identify how the group’s theme can contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction, by

- Identifying a 25 year vision and medium term goals
- Reviewing existing policies and recommending reforms where appropriate
- Reviewing existing activities and recommending necessary changes
- Suggesting specific targets, performance benchmarks and timetables for their achievement, and reviewing M & E arrangements
- Costing programmes and indicating the desirable sequencing and order of priorities
- Outlining the roles to be played by all relevant stakeholders
- Identifying cross-cutting issues, including gender, that will affect progress and need to be dealt with.

It is intended that the process will involve wide consultations at both district and national levels and that CSOs will be fully involved. GIDD, GFPPs throughout government and the women’s movement will be using the National Gender Policy and Plan of Action to identify key issues that need to be incorporated. However, the Plan of Action has such a large number of activities that it will be necessary to select a few key aims relevant to the strategic needs of women and focus the gender chapter in the NDP on the actions needed to achieve them. How to ensure that gender is mainstreamed in all the other chapters seems to be less clear to those concerned.

3. A PROFILE OF NORWEGIAN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION WITH ZAMBIA AND SUPPORT TO GENDER-SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES

3.1 Current aid policy and administration

3.1.1 Norway's current programme of development cooperation with Zambia is governed by a Memorandum of Understanding, negotiated in 2000 (and not time limited), which built on a long-standing partnership (MFA, 2004). It was agreed that Norway's assistance programme would contribute towards

- reinforcing human rights and democratisation
- improving basic education
- strengthening the roads sector
- enhancing environmental management, with the main focus on wildlife management.

It was also agreed that special attention would be given to AIDS and HIV control in all parts of the cooperation programme, as well as other over-riding concerns, including gender equity, sustainable management of natural resources and the environment, private sector development and institutional capacity building. In order to operationalise the principle of recipient responsibility, seven principles were formulated. These include commitments by the Norwegian government to

- base its assistance on Zambia's development plans and on established national administrative standards and procedures, providing that they meet with internationally accepted requirements for accountable and transparent financial management
- support the Zambian government's efforts to improve donor coordination and
- inform the Zambian government of financial assistance it is providing to the non-state sector.

In turn the Zambian government takes responsibility for planning, implementation and monitoring of all agreed activities. The volume of assistance is conditional on progress with political and economic reforms, as well as dependent on Norway's budgetary allocations, although details of specific conditionalities and time frames are not included in the MOU (MFA, 2004).

3.1.2 Norad developed a Strategy for Norwegian Development Cooperation with Zambia (2001-5) based on the MOU. This reiterates the main areas of support identified in the MOU and the same cross-cutting issues, which "will be addressed within all the selected sectors" (p. 14). This is the only reference to women and gender equality in the strategy. Outside the main areas of involvement, support is also given in the agriculture, water supply and energy sectors, as well as to cultural development and debt relief, mostly areas in which Norway had had a long involvement. However, it was noted that the support in these areas "will normally not include major technical or institutional involvement" and suggested that the funds might be channelled through other agencies, which would be responsible for technical follow-up. Progress with implementation of the strategy and political issues are discussed in annual consultation meetings with the Zambian government. One way of judging the adequacy of attention to cross-cutting issues is the regularity with which they are placed on the table in policy dialogue meetings, such as these annual meetings. In the minutes of the annual meeting held on 7 March 2003, there is no reference to W&GE, although HIV/AIDS is mentioned.

- 3.1.3 A mid-term review of the MOU was conducted in 2002. Background papers were produced that assessed Norwegian support to good governance, education, roads, macro-economic and financial management, agriculture, wildlife and pollution/clean technology. Gender was mentioned only in the education paper, with respect to measures to improve equity in access to schooling. W&GE was discussed as part of the portfolio of good governance support. The review recommended that existing support should continue, but that management procedures should be made simpler and more effective through the development of partnerships with other donors.
- 3.1.4 To administer its development cooperation programme, the embassy currently has four diplomats (environment and agriculture; economics, finance and governance; education and HIV/AIDS; civil society and internal quality control) and four locally recruited programme officers, responsible to a Minister-Counsellor and the Ambassador. The programme officers' responsibilities are allocated according to their expertise and the changing workload. At present, they deal with human rights, media and culture; roads and finance; education, HIV/AIDS and gender; and finance. At the time of interview, three of the Programme Officers were Zambian and one Norwegian.
- 3.1.5 The purpose of the recent reorganisation in April 2004 was to strengthen the embassies and give them more autonomy. The volume of funds has increased and the ceiling for local approval of funding has risen. The current staff has been able to cope with the increased volume of funds by reducing their direct involvement in project management by means of partnership arrangements and sub-contracting project management and sub-granting activities. However, it is anticipated that one or two extra staff may be appointed as the size of the development cooperation programme grows. To make Norwegian support more cost-effective and in line with harmonisation objectives, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has instructed all embassies with development cooperation programmes to limit the sectors to two or three, in addition to addressing the cross-cutting issues. In Zambia, as a result, support to several sectors specified in the MOU and 2001 Strategy, including roads, water supply and energy, has been reduced and a number of partnership arrangements of different types have been made in order to simplify management.
- 3.1.6 The information made available on financial allocations comprised a database of agreed programmes/projects for the period since 2001⁵ and a breakdown of the 2004 budget and expenditure and the 2005 budget. Because the database provides total agreed programme/project funding rather than annual expenditure, it only gives a rough indication of the priorities indicated by Norway's financial assistance to Zambia. A more precise picture is given by the figures for 2004/5, which indicate a large increase in funding between the two years (see Table 1). Much the largest allocation is to the education SWAP (2003-7), in conjunction with seven other donors (see Section 5.3). This has been allocated more than double the agreed contribution to budget support (2004-2010), although a variety of activities aimed at improving public expenditure management and harmonisation, and thus necessary for effective budget support, are also being funded, including the Public Expenditure Management and Reporting (PEMFAR) programme, anti-corruption activities, the poverty monitoring framework and support to the Harmonisation in Practice (HIP) secretariat, in four

⁵ Not all completed or ongoing programmes/projects were included on this database.

years adding up to half as much as the intended budget support over six years (see Section 6). In terms of the overall volume of financial assistance, next most significant (and growing in importance) is natural resource and environmental management, mainly comprising support to ZAWA's operations and organisational development and continued support for the South Luangwa Area Management Unit (see Section 5.2). Now smaller in terms of the funding allocated, agricultural support is channelled through other donors. Delegated support through an agreement with the Netherlands is ongoing, while discussions on a similar agreement with Sweden are under way (Section 5.1). In line with the directive to reduce the sectors in which Norway is involved, support to the roads sector is being run down and focused primarily on improving road access to national parks, in line with Norway's and Zambia's tourism development and wildlife management priorities (Section 5.2).

3.1.7 Directly gender targeted activities command a relatively small budget, focused primarily on support for the NGOCC, with some additional funding for two NGOs that provide legal assistance to women (Women and Law in Southern Africa and the Women's Legal Aid Clinic) (Section 3.3). Small amounts of funding are also allocated to activities concerned with human rights (the Permanent Human Rights Commission, Legal Resource Foundation, and the Magistrates Courts complex – see Section 5.6), media development (EHC Journalism, Media Trust Fund) and cultural concerns (the National Museums Board, the National Arts Council, and the National Heritage Conservation Commission). Norway ended a long tradition of support to the water sector in 2004.

Table 1
Norwegian development assistance in Zambia: expenditure 2004 and budget 2005

	Expenditure 2004		Budget 2005	
	NOK '000	%	NOK '000	%
Gender-specific activities	10,230	4.2	10,482	2.8
Education sector	89,681	37.1	120,751	32.7
Roads sector	24,802	10.3	20,800	5.6
Natural resources & environmental management	22,474	9.3	55,260	15.0
Agriculture	30,887	12.8	28,700	7.8
Human rights, justice, democratisation	5,450	2.2	26,225	7.1
Water sector	3,256	1.3	-	-
HIV/AIDS	28,210	11.7	36,653	9.9
HIP & financial management activities	7,486	3.1	22,804	6.2
Budget support	-	-	30,000	8.1
Miscellaneous	18,938	8.0	17,558	4.8
Total	241,414	100.0	369,233	100.0
Proportion of programme administered through Norwegian NGO intermediary organisations	35,685	14.8	29,301	7.9

NB:

- the allocation of particular projects to one of the above categories is often rather arbitrary, since several have elements relevant to more than one.
- Limited information was available on the nature of the projects, and so the figures should be taken as broad indications
- Source: PTA country reports 2004 and 2005.

3.1.8 To identify Norwegian priorities with regard to women and gender equality vis a vis development cooperation partners and guide the administration of development cooperation, particularly following the identification of gender as a cross-cutting issue, Norad prepared a strategy for women and gender equality in development cooperation in 1997 (MFA, 1997). It is a fairly lengthy and not very user-friendly 16-page document, which asserts that equality between women and men is essential to the achievement of sustainable development, and identifies principles and policy statements relating to a number of priority areas. These are rights, the participation of women in decision-making processes, participation in economic development, women's access to education, health care, and management of natural resources and the environment (MFA, 1997). Current work in Zambia addresses all the main priorities: rights, participation in decision-making, economic empowerment, education, HIV/AIDS and management of natural resources.

3.2 Procedures and capacity to undertake gender-related activities

3.2.1 The embassy is required to do an assessment of W&GE as one of seven sustainability criteria when writing an Appropriation Document. Two members of the embassy staff (2nd secretary and programme officer) have specific responsibility for gender, spending approximately 20% and 40% of their time respectively on gender issues. All the programme officers comment on every Appropriation Document and reported that the response to raising a gender concern is generally constructive. If relevant, gender is built into the ToR for appraisal of the project document and subsequent reviews. Furthermore, when a project is approved and entered into the ICT management system PTA, it has to be coded according to listed OECD/DAC statistical categories, such as directly or indirectly gender-targeted. It was felt that the commitment of a senior diplomat is essential to securing the necessary funding for gender-related work, including both gender-targeted projects and activities specifically related to gender within a broader a project/programme. Those holding the gender portfolio have insufficient time to participate in annual meetings relating to sectoral projects in which they are not specifically involved and so do not examine whether project reporting reflects gender objectives and issues.

3.2.2 All the embassy staff interviewed claimed to be familiar with the W&GE strategy, although it has not been important for the work at the embassy, only one member of staff mentioned referring to it in her work and no printed copy appeared to be available in Lusaka, either to embassy staff or development partners. Respondents did not know whether this was because the strategy was under review or the document out of print, and did not appear to feel disadvantaged in their work as a result. Copies of the Handbook in Gender and Empowerment were available in the embassy, but did not appear to be widely disseminated to development partners and only one member of the embassy staff acknowledged using it in her work.

3.2.3 All the staff interviewed considered that they had sufficient general knowledge of gender issues. However, with respect to staff members' understanding of how gender equality can be mainstreamed into sectoral programmes, views differed. Some were confident of their own knowledge. Others felt that, even though they were both obliged and ready to do this, they lacked practical knowledge of good practice and relevant tools. This is a matter for concern, given that some development partners also mentioned their lack of knowledge of tools to support the operationalisation of gender

mainstreaming in both budgeting and sectoral activities. It was, therefore, considered to be vital that there continues to be a gender specialist on the embassy staff, although even this does not guarantee sufficient expertise to advise on all sectoral programmes and development partners' requirements. Information and advice has, in the past, been obtained from specialist staff in Norad, but the availability of such support and expertise since the reorganisation is unclear. Certainly the embassy staff have not received material or information on tools, but neither have they needed to ask for assistance recently.

- 3.2.4 Diplomats newly posted to Zambia receive training, as required, on the Zambian context, the development cooperation system and the management of aid. Over and above this, there is a menu of training opportunities, but the MFA was reported to be less directive than Norad about which training activities are deemed to be relevant. Locally recruited programme officers are generally given an in-office orientation and may be offered the opportunity to attend a training course in Norway on management of the development cooperation programme. None of the staff had attended a specific training course related to gender. Training programmes for disciplinary experts are on offer but may not include a specific component on gender and even if they do, some, for example the economist, seem to regard training in specific technical areas as more useful⁶.

3.3 History of Norwegian aid related to gender

- 3.3.1 Norway's approach in the early 1980s focused on integrating women into development through the Village Agricultural Programme, wells and boreholes, assistance to local NGOs working with and for women and a programme of support for small-scale farmers (including credit). In addition, it (along with the Netherlands) provided substantial support for the WID department in the NCDP. Gradually, a more focused strategy seems to have emerged, concentrating on supporting the emergent women's movement and building capacity to address gender issues in government. The key NGOs that were supported in the 1980s and 1990s included the National Women's Lobby Group, Women for Change, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF) and Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), each of which will be discussed briefly in turn.
- 3.3.2 In 1991 the *National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG)* was formed, to promote the increased participation of women in politics and education and the advancement of women in general. NORAD joined other donors in providing initial funding and Norway has continued to support the organisation since then. In 1994, Byrne noted that it had been successful in raising gender issues as items for inclusion on the political agenda but had suffered constraints in its attempt to maintain a non-party position. In 2002 its goal was articulated as "To promote women's equal representation and participation in decision-making at all levels through advocacy,

⁶ The Dutch development programme seems to have a similar approach to training. Staff receive induction training with a small gender component. Subsequent tailored training is made available on current issues to staff with sectoral responsibilities on an annual basis. In addition, staff members may choose to undertake other training activities, including gender training. Training on budgeting has recently been delivered to their own staff in Lusaka and is open to other donors. The module on social budgeting is yet to come and the Netherlands embassy is sympathetic to offering some TA if the government decides to undertake gender analysis of its budget, as long as what is proposed will produce useful outcomes.

lobbying and capacity building for women in Zambia”. It aims to achieve this by advocacy, lobbying, monitoring the political process and parties, and networking with other women’s organisations. Following a review in 1997, which criticised the organisation’s lack of a clear focus, a request for support for 1999-2001 was presented to a donor coordination meeting hosted by Norway. The embassy agreed a NOK500,000 contribution to the costs of the programme because the activities of the Group were regarded as relevant to the democratisation, human rights and good governance objectives of the development cooperation programme⁷.

- 3.3.3 It is clear from the NWLG’s end of year report to its six cooperating partners (July-Dec. 2000) that it was engaged in very varied activities, with a focus on monitoring the political process and political parties, awareness building on political participation throughout the country, and supporting the establishment of Men’s Networks. Its activities tend to peak around election times, when it can also obtain more funding. The achievements of its activities around the 2001 election were identified as the development of good relations with all the political parties, getting women together to agree on a Women’s Manifesto, increasing the number of women candidates and election monitoring⁸. . In 2002/3, its activities focused on training community facilitators at district level and extending its programme of civic education to more districts, lobbying political parties to ensure women’s participation in their decision-making and to persuade them to adopt women candidates, encouraging women to take up leadership roles in their communities, encouraging women and other gender-sensitive candidates to stand for election at national and local levels, and lobbying for constitutional backing for affirmative action to encourage women’s participation in decision-making⁹.
- 3.3.4 **Women for Change** focuses on empowerment, through attitudinal and behavioural change and advocacy for women’s rights, with respect, for example, to equal representation in decision-making or access to land. Its aim is to contribute to rural poverty reduction, mainly by the formation of groups for income generation activities, providing them with financial services and capacity building¹⁰. The organisation’s animators live in villages for a period to ensure that attitudinal change amongst residents and community leaders is converted into behavioural change. It also takes up issues at national level, for example, the new constitution, electoral participation. Merely achieving a desired level of representation in decision-making is not, however, considered to be sufficient without changes in the attitudes of men as well as women and the ability of elected representatives to use their position well.
- 3.3.5 **WILDAF** is a pan-African network organisation concerned with women’s rights. In Zambia, its programmes include human rights education for member organisations, the judiciary and the police; advocacy for law reform and human rights; and networking to build a strong constituency for women’s and children’s rights. **WLSA** provides legal support to women in the courts and carries out legal skills training through CBOs throughout Zambia to empower women to acquire and retain resources (GIDD, 2005). In September 2004, these two organisations prepared minimum standards on women’s and children’s rights to be incorporated in the new constitution,

⁷ Decision document, 1999.

⁸ ZNWLG End of year activity report 2001.

⁹ Contract between NGOCC and NWLG regarding Norad programme support 2002-3.

¹⁰ Contract between NGOCC and Women for Change regarding Norad programme support 2002-3.

on behalf of NGOCC and the women's movement, and presented them to the Constitutional Review Commission in November, 2004.

- 3.3.6 Norway was the lead donor supporting initial staff and operational costs and capacity building for the Women in Development Department within the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development in 1986. Initially the department was headed by a Principal Economist. From 1992-4 Norwegian funding was suspended because of the government's failure to appoint a Director and Assistant Director (finally appointed in 1994) and poor financial management. With the staff now being paid out of the normal government budget and resumed NORAD support for organisational development, the Department started strategic planning of its activities, although Norad did not always agree with its ways of operating. In 1996, as noted in Section 2.4, the Department was converted into the Gender in Development Division, one of five divisions in the Cabinet Office. This would not have happened without Norad financial and institutional support, which enabled the GIDD to increase its visibility and attract other donor funding (for example, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, the Netherlands embassy, DANIDA, Finland, Ireland and Sweden) (SGS, 1999). However, there has been periodic donor concern about the limited and fluctuating capacity in the GIDD.
- 3.3.7 The institutional arrangements for ensuring that the GRZ deals with gender issues are considered to be sensible, but capacity and influence are lacking. While the role of the Policy Analysis and Coordination Division in Cabinet Office is to scrutinise all policy documents submitted by ministries to the Cabinet to ensure that they are in line with national objectives, GIDD does not have a similar responsibility and so does not always see critical documents (SGS, 1999). It is currently supported by the Zambian government budget and the Dutch. In 2002 a possible 'division of labour' was discussed with the Netherlands embassy staff member responsible for gender-targeted support. It was agreed that the Dutch would fund and manage support to GIDD and that Norway would continue to fund CSOs and manage its own and Dutch funding to these organisations through support to the Non-government Organisations Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) as an intermediary (see Section 3.4). The GIDD and NGOCC were told of the decision in a joint letter from the two embassies on 16th June 2003:

“Harmonisation of procedures has obvious advantages, such as increased efficiency and reduction of transaction costs. It also illustrates that real coordination and cooperation in the field of development cooperation is both important and possible. Although the donors enter into an agreement with different partners, both Norway and the Netherlands remain interested in the activities implemented by both organisations and the programme made in trying to achieve the objectives. Both programmes have gender equity, empowerment, mainstreaming and the improvement of the position of women in Zambia as their main objectives, which is considered of great importance by both donors. The Embassies of Norway and the Netherlands therefore attach great importance to attending bi-annual meetings and discussion forums of both organisations.”

They were also assured that the total volume of funding would not be reduced.

3.3.8 Relevant government departments are invited to annual meetings with selected donors, but GIDD is not currently invited to the annual meeting with the Norwegian embassy, nor is Norway invited to the six monthly meetings GIDD holds with the Dutch. Some of the weaknesses in government capacity to deal with gender issues were discussed in Section 2.4. Respondents felt that donor support is needed, first in policy dialogue, to help those concerned in and outside government to strengthen the remit of the GFPPs, and second by financial support for continued capacity building and ensuring that full-time GFPPs are available. Currently, funding is available for a limited time period for civil servants dealing with mainstreaming HIV/AIDS under the HIV/AIDS support programme, on condition that their posts become part of the establishment in due course. It is suggested that a similar approach is necessary to advance gender mainstreaming. Although donors are reluctant because they think that such initial funding for civil service posts reduces country ownership and civil service reform is supposed to include downsizing, there is both support for such an idea and precedents - Norway funded some posts in the early days of GIDD, and both Norway and the Netherlands have funded some provincial GFPP posts.

3.4 Gender-targeted support: the current situation

3.4.1 Small amounts of support continue to be given directly to WLSA, and to the Women's Legal Aid Clinic (see Section 4.6.5). However, most gender-targeted support is now channelled to and through NGOCC. NGOCC was set up by nine women's NGOs in 1985 after the UN conference for women in Nairobi and has received Norwegian assistance since 1989. In 2003, it stated its function and aim as follows:

“NGOCC is an umbrella organisation coordinating and strengthening member NGOs and CBOs addressing gender and development through capacity building, networking, communication and advocacy. At present its membership is 73 and these members reach up to about 75% of Zambian women”¹¹.

3.4.2 Donors supported preparations for and participation in the global conferences in the mid-1990s (the preparation of country papers, travel and post-Beijing activities) through contributing to a UNDP Trust Fund (with the exception of DFID and Sida, which funded similar activities directly). However, there were difficulties with differing donor requirements for project proposals, agreements and reporting. In addition, delays in normal government auditing resulted in donor insistence that government recipients of grants arrange for their accounts to be privately audited. From 2000 there were discussions amongst donors (including Norway, Finland, the Netherlands and Denmark) about how to deal with gender equality and support the women's movement. The result was an agreement that Norway would continue to support NGOCC and the Netherlands GIDD. However, some donors have shifted from funding women's organisations to gender mainstreaming, with the result that the total funds available for women's organisations, especially those not based in Lusaka, has declined.

3.4.3 Support to the institutional development and running costs of NGOCC continue. In 2001/2, external assistance enabled it to establish provincial offices and increase its

¹¹ NGOCC Proposal for basket funding, Interim measures, April 2003, p.1.

membership from 56 members, mainly in Lusaka Province, to 73, of which 27 are based outside Lusaka Province. Most of its funding in 2003 came from the African Capacity Building Foundation. Norway was the second largest donor (including the Dutch contribution it manages), with additional contributions from Cordaid, OSISA, UNFPA, the Swedish and Danish embassies and other organisations. Periodic round table meetings are held with all the donors involved. This funding enabled it, in 2003/4, to set up a sub-granting programme (see below), open women's information centres in five provinces with trained Provincial Liaison Officers, as well as to mount a continued programme of awareness and capacity building activities for its member organisations and large numbers of participants throughout the country, prepare a training manual, and continue with advocacy and lobbying activities¹².

- 3.4.4 Following reviews of its activities in 2003, NGOCC's strategic plan for 2004-6 committed it to improve its financial sustainability, encourage participation by young women, enhance its members' advocacy and implementation capacities, clarify its role and streamline its operations. Today, it has four programme areas: capacity building and networking; communication and advocacy; sub-granting of funds; and governance and management. Capacity building focuses on gender training, which is still mostly awareness building rather than the use of gender analysis to understand gender relations and guide follow up action. An important component of the networking activities is the Gender Forum, an informal stakeholder meeting. Originally chaired by a donor, currently the chair alternates between GIDD and NGOCC. The meetings of this Forum have been valuable for disseminating information (e.g. widening knowledge about the police Victim Support Unit that can protect women subject to domestic violence), identifying and discussing issues that members can follow up as they engage in dialogue with policy makers (e.g. access to secure land tenure for women), and identifying issues that may be taken up and supported by donors.
- 3.4.5 Prior to the sub-granting initiative, the capacity building and networking and communication and advocacy programmes were the organisation's core activities, although Munachonga and Mackenzie noted that they related to and sometimes overlapped with the M2000 programme which aims to strengthen the women's movement¹³. The M2000 project, funded by the ACBF, has seven task forces and a number of sub-programmes. However, reviews in 2003 and 2004 concluded that it had an unclear management structure, overlapped with other activities, was not widely understood, was making little progress and needed review¹⁴. NGOCC itself was criticised for management shortcomings, including a tendency to have unrealistic objectives and budgets, as well as poor progress reporting and financial management.
- 3.4.6 As a result, NGOCC is trying to refine its strategic planning and programming processes. It hopes that financial contributions might be made to a basket fund, to reduce the transactions costs involved in producing separate documents for individual donors. However, this is not yet possible - donor expectations are not always clear, not all donors are willing to fund all activities and expenditures, and donors require different agreements and use different procedures. So far, only the Netherlands and Norway have achieved such harmonisation (by their agreement on the 'division of labour'). Although the organisation cannot at present sustain itself without external

¹² NGOCC progress report based on outputs 2003-4, Dec. 2004.

¹³ Evaluation report by M. Munachonga and S. Mackenzie, January 2004.

¹⁴ Evaluation report by M. Munachonga and S. Mackenzie, January 2004.

financial assistance, Norway's willingness to assist with the cost of purchasing buildings has not only provided the women's movement with a home and useful facilities but also generated more income for NGOCC from rents than from member contributions (which account for only 2% of its total income).

3.4.7 To simplify aid management, the Norwegian embassy wanted to find an alternative way of managing the support that previously was given to a number of larger individual NGOs selected because of their capacity and strategic roles in the women's movement. In addition, after many years of support to NGOCC, it was deemed to be appropriate to give it more responsibility. After initial reluctance and careful consideration of alternatives, NGOCC accepted a new role as an intermediary. A separate Grant Management Unit has been established and a Grant Management Manual developed, and a Grant Management Committee with members who are not affiliated to NGOCC member organisations has been selected and approved by NGOCC's board and members. The aim of the programme is to

- Build the competence and capacity of NGOCC's member organisations on gender and development, human rights and organisational development
- Promote gender equality through advocacy work and participation in political processes
- Act as a sub-granting institution for member organisations
- Enhance networking among member organisations and with GIDD
- Promote good organisational governance and enhance staff competencies.

The grants are for one year, payable in three instalments (50%, 40% and 10% after receipt of the final report) and not more than 10% may be used for administrative costs. Organisations applying for grants are divided into three categories, eligible for grants of different amounts

- Category 1: larger organisations which implement projects directly or through their branches – eligible for US\$20,001 or more
- Category 2: medium sized organisations which implement projects directly – eligible for Between US\$5,001 and 20,000. Both the above have to have organisational and financial management capacity, experience and a track record, and good governance structures and practices.
- Category 3: small NGOs and CBOs, which have a bank account, capacity to use and account for funds and endorsement by a local body. Such organisations are eligible for grants of US\$5,000 and are required to adhere to stringent financial reporting requirements (if necessary, with training).

In the first round, 15 grants were made, three to larger organisations already in receipt of Norwegian support (SWAZ, Zambia Alliance of Women and the YWCA). The organisations receiving grants undertake work related to HIV/AIDS, economic empowerment, paralegal matters, gender violence and disabled people empowerment¹⁵

3.4.8 Individual informants and participants in the focus group discussions (FGDs) recognised that the new arrangements have both advantages and disadvantages. First,

¹⁵ Source: NGOCC Progress report Jan-June 2004 (20th August, 2004).

one of the intentions was to strengthen the women's movement by giving the key coordinating body an enhanced role. The consultations that occurred during the design of the sub-granting arrangements and the care taken to make decision-making independent of NGOCC were regarded positively, and the new function for NGOCC was seen as strengthening it (e.g. by improving its knowledge of all the activities in which its members are engaged) and raising the morale of its members. However, concerns were also voiced that when it becomes clear that, unless additional contributions are made to the basket fund, the amounts available will permanently fall short of the demand from member organisations, rivalry between member organisations might occur, NGOCC will be vulnerable to accusations of favouritism and its reputation will suffer. In addition, some thought it unlikely that, however carefully designed the procedures, the funds can be managed with no malpractice over the longer term. Even hints of malpractice, let alone actual examples, it was feared, could also damage member confidence in the NGOCC. Further, some concern is expressed that the importance to members of the sub-granting function will lead to the Sub-Granting Unit becoming more important and powerful than the NGOCC itself.

- 3.4.9 Second, one of the intentions was to make grant funds available for a wider range of smaller and rural CSOs. Previously only larger NGOs had the capacity and confidence to apply directly to embassies for funding (e.g. YWCA, National Women's lobby, Women for Change, Zambia Alliance for Women, Society for Women and AIDS, Women in Law in Southern Africa). While important to the emergence of a strong women's movement, it was recognised that many smaller organisations were struggling and that the NGOs supported were disproportionately concentrated in Lusaka. Informants and FGD participants all agreed with the principle and recognised that the long term strength of the women's movement and its ability to achieve gender equality in the country depends on strengthening small and rural CSOs. They acknowledged that the sub-granting programme was beginning to spread available funding more widely and that Grant Management Unit (GMU) support with preparing proposals, reporting and monitoring was beginning to strengthen the capacity of smaller organisations, although there is a long way to go. However, the funds available at present are less than were previously directly allocated to the NGO recipients. While some NGOs were still receiving funds under previous agreements, for others the new funding regime was causing problems. As emerged from the FGD with small organisations, these are also problems for those receiving funding for the first time.
- 3.4.10 First, the ceilings for individual sub-grants are lower than for previous programmes, and are arbitrarily set (according to the size and type of organisation). As a result, some NGOs that previously received grants have had to cut back their activities, and many find that because specific projects (e.g. a community school) cost more than the maximum grant available to them, they are unable to complete the planned project.
- 3.4.11 Second, the grants are only made for one year at a time, and in instalments. Significant delays are incurred because donors make contributions to the basket fund in instalments during the year, the funds available are insufficient to fund all the approved applications, and because there is a delay between accounting for one instalment and payment of the next. In addition, the need to make more frequent applications (for grants and instalments) has significant opportunity costs for NGOs, disrupting their programmes and diverting staff time from implementation. Although

NGOs recognise that they need to give attention to putting their funding on a sustainable basis, the lack of alternative sources of funding and need for considerable capacity and time to develop self-sufficiency (for example through acquiring property), make them despondent about their ability to do so.

- 3.4.12 Third, larger NGOs that are themselves intermediaries have an obligation to share the funds they receive evenly among the many CBOs they support. The smaller annual grants and release of the funds in instalments means that the funds are spread thinly, leading potentially to inefficiency and ineffectiveness.
- 3.4.13 Fourth, previous grants were generally made available initially for one-year programmes, but then, if an NGO performed satisfactorily, for three-year programmes. Partly because of staffing constraints, the embassy monitored these grants with a light touch, permitting recipients considerable flexibility and enabling learning processes, as NGOs were able to treat the funds as fungible. Deliberately (partly because of the expectation that smaller NGOs will have greater support needs and more limited accounting capacity), the NGOCC Sub-granting Unit is adopting a more hands-on and rigid approach to monitoring. This reduces the flexibility available to the larger NGOs and is somewhat resented by them.
- 3.4.14 Fifth, unlike earlier grants to individual NGOs, administrative costs may not exceed 10% of the total grant applied for. However, all except the most established organisations lack alternative funding sources for core costs and the absence of funding for core staff and administrative functions limits their capacity to handle grants for particular activities. For example, during the FGD with smaller organisations participants noted the problems that arise from relying on volunteers and stated a need for funds to make some payments to volunteers as well as for overheads such as transport and communications costs. Rather than increase the 10% ceiling on administrative costs and reduce the number of recipients, a number of donors are discussing alternative ways of compensating for the reduction in core funding for the larger NGOs.
- 3.4.15 The sub-granting unit and programme has been operating for a relatively short time. As might be expected, some problems with the design and implementation of the sub-granting process have emerged. It is possible that some of the teething problems can be dealt with as experience grows, procedures are streamlined and the capacity of small and less experienced recipients developed (e.g. assisting small organisations with proposal preparation and monitoring outcomes and impacts). It would be normal for such a programme to be reviewed after a year or two of operation, and it is suggested that, as part of such a review, the views of grant recipients should be sought and adjustments made to the design of the programme as appropriate.

3.5 Conclusion

- 3.5.1 Social attitudes, power relationships and economic structures are slow to change. Gender inequality is still deeply entrenched in Zambia. Work to increase gender awareness amongst citizens, politicians and officials continues to be needed, practical attempts to improve the well-being of poor people (especially women) still need support, and the capacity of many CSOs (especially women's organisations and especially in rural areas) remains limited. There is, therefore, still a need for gender-

specific support from development cooperation partners. Our informants were unanimous that women's organisations in Zambia today should pursue a mixture of WID and GAD activities, and consider it essential that support for both continues to be provided. Given the disadvantaged economic, social and political position of women, women-specific activities and affirmative action continue to be vital. However, it was agreed that these need to be situated within a GAD framework that locates women-targeted activities within a wider gender analysis and contains measures that empower women to negotiate greater equality.

- 3.5.2 Overall, NGOCC seems to have developed a strong and high-profile position as the focal point of the women's movement in Zambia. It fulfils important roles coordinating and supporting its members, and has won the confidence of its members and the respect of the wider community. It will need ongoing financial and managerial support, to strengthen its management practices and avoid the potential pitfalls of its new role as a grant-making intermediary.
- 3.5.3 The new grant-making programme appears to have made a good start. However, it needs to iron out teething problems and reconsider some design features before it is likely that other donors will contribute to the basket funds. For example, the 10% ceiling on use of funds for administrative costs is problematic, as noted above, as are the rigid size categories for grants. The suitability of some procedures for small organisations can also be questioned and alternatives may need to be considered, such as permitting verbal presentations of applications, ways of accounting for the use of funds other than paper records, and ways of acknowledging that organisations should be accountable not just to the funder but also to their clients. At present, and unlike many micro-credit programmes, there does not seem to be any potential for graduation, enabling organisations to build up a track record of good use of funds, followed by the possibility of applying for a subsequent and larger grant. In particular, the system of small annual grants, while it does spread the available funds more widely, prevents the larger NGOs (such as Women for Change or SWAZ) developing their potential as intermediaries in their own right.
- 3.5.4 For the embassy, care should be taken that the ending of direct relationships with individual CSOs does not reduce the up-to-date and in-depth knowledge of embassy staff, thereby hindering their engagement in policy dialogue. Respondents both inside and outside government were keen that those development cooperation partners who share their gender concerns and priorities (including Norway) continue to exert influence on government at the political level.

4. GENDER IN SELECTED SECTORS AND PROJECTS

4.1.1 The agricultural sector

4.1.1 As briefly discussed in Section 2.2, Zambian agriculture has a multi-faceted character. It comprises approximately:

- 350,000 small-scale farmers, of whom 60-80% are women, cultivating approximately 1-2 ha of land (almost two thirds of the arable land under cultivation) using low inputs, limited technology and family labour. These farmers retain a large proportion of their production for household subsistence
- approximately 750 individually or corporately owned large-scale commercial farms, each cultivating 40 ha or more for commercial production, with extensive mechanisation and relying on permanent and casual staff
- an intermediate group of about 50,000 'emergent' farmers each cultivating 5-20 ha with draught power and greater use of purchased inputs than smallholders.

4.1.2 Despite policy rhetoric, only 4-8% of government expenditure went to agriculture in the 1980s (excluding subsidies). Widespread adoption of hybrid maize increased smallholder production of maize for sale, but also required more labour inputs and shifted decision-making from women in farm households towards men. Agricultural employment opportunities increased as a result, although agricultural labour is very badly paid, especially for women, who are sometimes forced to work for others at the cost of their own production needs. Although there were some increases in producer prices, many poor and middle-income farmers were unable to benefit, because of inefficient marketing and input distribution by parastatals (Byrne, 1994).

4.1.3 Problems encountered with rapid implementation of agricultural liberalisation not only undermined confidence in the economic reforms of the early 1990s in general, but also dislocated production in agriculture in particular, exacerbated by droughts in the early 1990s. The Agriculture Sector Investment Programme failed to deliver, despite considerable donor funding, at least in part because little of the funding reached farmers (Seshamani, 2002). Although large-scale farmers had expected to benefit from liberalisation, the pace and order of policy change, inconsistent implementation, drought, and competition from Zimbabwe and South Africa, undermined production and their support for the reforms. Small-scale farmers, who government had expected to benefit, complained of the dislocating effects of liberalisation (Rakner, 2003). Those in remote areas were unable to obtain fertiliser, while increased transport costs made it uneconomic to grow maize for the market, leading to a shift towards more profitable crops such as beans and groundnuts (with potential implications for the gendered patterns of labour contribution), and to some small farmers being bought out by larger producers (Byrne, 1994). The continued subsidies by which government attempted to deal with the problems, some analysts argued, merely delayed necessary restructuring (Rakner, 2003). Generally, the extent to which small-scale farmers were able to respond was limited by their dependence on rainfed agriculture, and their limited access to inputs and markets. The gendered effects of structural adjustment policies, and the range of possible responses to them, are mediated by gendered patterns of land tenure and ownership, gendered divisions of labour, and gendered access to credit, technology and alternative income generating activities.

- 4.1.4 Ordinarily, as noted in Section 2.3, Zambian women do not own land in their own right. Married women generally work on family plots which, in areas of customary tenure, have been allocated to male heads of household. If they wish to have an independent field, they must obtain use rights by virtue of a relationship with a man – usually their husband, but occasionally a relation – and the land is often of inferior quality. Widows and divorcees typically have no further claim on land obtained through a husband and must rely on claims to land under the control of their own relatives. Unmarried women are particularly disadvantaged in that they have no claims to land and can only be given use of land by relatives. Women are obliged to work first on family plots, the income from which is controlled by their husbands, and which are generally larger than their own independent plots. They are estimated to perform 50-75% of agricultural labour and virtually all of the daily housework. Men do contribute labour to agriculture as well as other livelihood activities, but there is controversy over whether they perform less ‘work’ in total than women. Poor farm households in general and women in particular face difficulties obtaining access to credit, and agricultural extension services in the past have neglected the needs of women producers, whose access to information is further hindered by their low educational levels. Female-headed households, which have always constituted a relatively high proportion of rural households (about a third at the beginning of the 1990s) and are increasing in number due to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, often face severe labour problems (Byrne, 1994). Constraints on the ability of those households without male support to mobilise labour mean that they grow a narrower range of crops, achieve lower yields and are less integrated into cash crop production. In addition, they tend to be dependent on men for draught power for ploughing (Byrne, 1994).
- 4.1.5 Whitehead and Lockwood (2002) criticised the extensive analysis of farm households in the rural part of the World Bank’s (1994) Poverty Assessment for failing to examine rural livelihoods, agrarian socio-economic processes, and rural social relations, including gender relations. Although labour shortages in farm households, especially those headed by women, and women’s access to land are raised as issues, the roots of both of these issues in social relations, especially gender relations, are not explored, in part explaining simplistic policy prescriptions, for example labour-saving technology.
- 4.1.6 The PRSP (GRZ, 2002) gives the highest priority to agriculture, in order to achieve both growth and equity objectives. It prioritises the creation of conditions conducive to the long-term innovative improvement of the productivity of agricultural resources, particularly smallholder farmers’ labour and land, the development of credit markets and the improvement of marketing infrastructure. The limited extent to which small-scale producers have been able to respond to market opportunities, however, has led to a current policy and resource focus on large-scale and emergent farmers, for example, by opening up new blocks of land for lease by medium-scale farmers. A further reason for concentrating on large-scale agriculture is the perceived large area of unexploited land resources, large scale agriculture. Emphasis was also shifted towards export production, by both large and small-scale producers (the latter under outgrower schemes). As many of the areas that are considered ecologically suitable for export crop production are currently under customary tenure, the intention is to establish new farming blocks (with large and small holdings) with 99-year leasehold. It is thought that this process can protect local land rights holders and prevent the seizure of large areas of land for speculation.

- 4.1.7 Current government policy is to mainstream gender in all agricultural development programmes (GIDD, 2004). For example, The Programme Against Malnutrition's objective is to improve agricultural productivity and household food security amongst targeted vulnerable but viable farmers, especially women. Funds are used for crop diversification and the procurement and distribution of crop inputs. The Fertiliser Support Programme provides subsidised inputs to small farmers, including women. In addition, a target of reserving 30% of new land allocations for women has been specified, in line with the National Gender Policy and the draft Land Tenure Policy (2002). Only 6% of Zambia's land is state land, some of which is under-utilised. In addition, since 1985, it has been possible for leases to be issued on land previously under customary tenure, with the consent of the chief. The latter provision was intended to provide security to encourage agricultural investment, but has increased the insecurity of some holders of family or common property customary rights, who fear that chiefs will alienate their land without their consent. In addition, it has opened the door to speculation and corruption, while some chiefs resist it because the law does not clearly establish their rights to the land being returned to the group on expiry of the lease (Adams, 2003). Moreover, limited government capacity has resulted in a large backlog of lease applications, further fuelling graft and corruption. Women suffer not only from these problems but also because of their disadvantaged position with respect to controlling their labour inputs and the proceeds from production on family land and disinheritance on divorce or widowhood. However, it remains unclear how the 30% target will be interpreted or how it is intended to implement it (Adams, 2003). It represents an extremely simplistic approach to improving women's access to and security on land and is probably not implementable.
- 4.1.8 In the past, government played a role not just in agricultural policy and sectoral support but also in research and development, input supply, marketing and direct production. The result was inefficient agriculture, in which little effective support reached farmers, especially small-scale and subsistence farmers and women. Over the last fifteen years, this structure has been dismantled, although the capacity of farmers, other private sector actors and NGOs to undertake many of the necessary functions is still underdeveloped.
- 4.1.9 Norway has supported the agriculture sector for many years. Today, Norwegian support focuses not on the Ministry of Agriculture but on other economic actors, associations and projects. It is regarded as being part of private sector development, based on recommendations emerging from a study commissioned by Norad in 2002. The report adopted the general view that the best way to support women's economic participation is to improve the overall policy framework and institutions, including access to credit, except where there is severe discrimination against women. Gender is dealt with under the heading of "constraints" and the analysis is superficial.

“Gender is not seen as a major constraint to doing business in Zambia, although the Team was not able to assess the issue in detail. Thirty per cent of land allocations under the leasehold system is reserved for female applicants. This gives women entrepreneurs a certain minimum access to land which can be put up for collateral. However, access to collateral is of relatively less importance in Zambia today, as credit is restricted by many other factors – both for men and women. The growth in the informal economy has increased

the economic participation of women in Zambia. A dedicated institution – Zambia Federation of Associations of Women in Business (ZFAWIB) provides advocacy for businesswomen.” (Norad study on private sector development, 2002, p. 23).

4.1.10 In recent years, the level of Norwegian support to the agricultural sector has steadily declined and it only continues at present because of the ‘silent partnership’ with the Netherlands that has operated since the beginning of 2004. A similar arrangement is under discussion with Sweden. The purpose of the silent partnership is

- To allow Netherlands support for a larger agricultural programme in Zambia, using supplementary funding from Norad
- To allow Norad to assist the agricultural sector in Zambia, with a minimum of management resources
- To improve donor coordination and to harmonise working procedures, geared to reduce transaction costs and give more efficient development support to the agricultural sector in Zambia.

Programmes eligible for support are those targeting commercial/private sector agricultural development and associated education and training, research and technology development, the selection of which is to be agreed during annual meetings between the two embassies. The Arrangement Document and the Appropriation Document for delegated agricultural support (28/1/04) do not refer to the Dutch or Norwegian aid policies, other criteria for selection or cross-cutting issues such as gender, but these are spelt out in other documents.

4.1.11 In particular, the strategic goal of the Dutch policy statement on private sector development is to develop an enhanced enabling environment for private sector driven growth, especially in the agricultural sector between 2004 and 2008. The Netherlands aims to contribute to making the sector more efficient, competitive and sustainable by developing/improving production chains, training, policy dialogue, support for public-private partnerships (especially the Zambia Business Forum and the Agriculture Consultative Forum) and promoting female entrepreneurship in agriculture. Although reference is made to the PRSP, the emphasis is on economic growth, not poverty reduction, and little explicit attention is given to the needs of poor farmers. The partnership was agreed because the two embassies are of like mind in terms of the support needed to develop the agriculture sector and the relevance of gender issues. Thus in “Agricultural Development in Zambia”, a paper on Zambian-Dutch bilateral cooperation from a long term perspective (October 2003), the central importance of women in agriculture is noted, with the result that “with the majority of farmers being females [including the majority employed in the export sector], women’s economic empowerment and gender mainstreaming issues form part of the design and implementation of programmes”, although gender is not mentioned in the section on poverty.

4.1.12 Under the silent partnership arrangement, a Dutch staff member takes responsibility for project management. The Norwegian diplomat responsible attends one formal meeting a year (although he does have informal interim discussions with the Netherlands embassy) and no longer has any direct contact with the projects. Requests for new funding have, since 2003, been handled by the Netherlands embassy using

Dutch procedures and report formats (which are not dissimilar to Norwegian ones), although copies of the proposals, appraisal memorandums, work programmes and annual progress reports are made available to the Norwegian embassy. Five organisations were supported by Norway prior to the partnership and continue to be supported by Norwegian funding managed by the Netherlands.

4.1.13 **Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust (GART):** Previously a government research station, in the mid-1990s GART was reconstituted as a trust, with GRZ and private sector representatives on its Board. It has incorporated the Conservation Farming Unit of the Zambia National Farmers Union, which was previously supported by Norway. Between 2003 and 2006 GART aims to

- Become a centre of excellence for innovative and market-oriented agricultural research and development
- Develop competitive mechanised production systems, based on conservation technologies.

The background section in the 2003 appraisal memorandum noted that “Small-scale farmers, numbering about 800,000 households, dominate Zambian agriculture. They contribute about 60% of total agricultural output. The proportion of female-headed households is considerable and is estimated to be around 25%. The low productivity of the sector is attributed to labour constraints, inappropriate production technologies, degraded soils, limited investment, poor input supply and inadequate crop marketing. An appropriate farming solution is considered to be conservation farming technology, which evens out seasonal labour demand, increases yields, combats soil degradation and “takes cognizance of gender issues”. Although this approach to land preparation is potentially suitable for small farmers, GART’s focus is on the development and promotion of technology suitable for commercial farmers, using either oxen (emergent farmers) or tractors (large farmers). It has developed the technology and also carries out trials with farmers growing a variety of crops. In addition, GART is developing crop-livestock integration for dairy farmers (including, for example, methods of silage making for smallholder dairy producers, commenting that “the small bales are in more than one way smallholder farmer friendly, especially serving women farmers too” (presumably because they are lighter and easier to carry)¹⁶. It carries out studies of potential new farm products, ways to improve the marketability of farm products and ways of linking producers to markets. It also manages the Agricultural Innovation Fund (AGRIFU), which aims to stimulate innovative research and development and promotion in the areas of conservation farming, organic farming, cassava, post-harvest technologies and smallholder dairying. Finally, it undertakes extensive knowledge transfer activities, including field days, farmer-to-farmer exchange visits, training, radio programmes and publications. Obligations specified in the Contribution Agreement (9th October 2003) included “The projects to be funded should be gender relevant and should at least utilise 70% of the available funds of the AGRIFU for the benefit of viable small-scale farmers (male and female)”.

4.1.14 The appraisal memorandum stresses that GART’s proposal commits the organisation to making no distinction between male and female farmers, promoting gender equity in resource allocation and access to agricultural services, mainstreaming gender,

¹⁶ Inception report April 2004.

giving special consideration to working with women farmers, and providing gender training to its staff. Because GART had already developed a gender policy, which these statements reflect, only limited inputs from the gender specialist in the Dutch embassy were sought during appraisal of the current project¹⁷. The activity reports provided for the annual meeting between the two embassies in 2004 were scanned to identify how gender issues appear to be dealt with in practice. The reports on on-farm trials of “economically viable production systems” sometimes break down the participating farmers into men and women, and the attendance of farmers at on-station and on-farm field days is given for men and women¹⁸. The criteria for AGRIFU grants include gender balance and impact, with gender and small-scale farmer involvement to be addressed by earmarking a percentage of the funds, and the Dutch gender specialist sits on its board. In the first half of 2004, ten project proposals had been received and appraised, but GART commented that “All the project proposals were rather weak on strategies for incorporating HIV/AIDS and gender in the core programme activities. As a result management decided to hold a pre-implementation workshop for all the project implementers on HIV/AIDs and gender”¹⁹. This was run for AGRIFU Round 1 project promoters in August 2004 by KARA Counselling and covered gender and sexuality; HIV/AIDS trends and development; and the impact on individuals, households and agricultural production. The presentations used were reproduced in the GART yearbook, although the discussion was not summarised nor did the article include an evaluation of the outcomes, with the exception of a comment that mostly junior staff attended²⁰. GART has a senior member of staff responsible for HIV/AIDS and gender issues. However, during 2004, its other staff had only received training on HIV/AIDS. Although the budget provided for a gender consultant, such a consultant had not been recruited.

4.1.15 GART’s understanding of and commitment to gender issues appears superficial. Its research and other activities appear to treat farms as businesses and farmers (male and female) as individuals. For example, in its 2004 yearbook articles on farm management consistently refer to “farmers” (with no differentiation) and blame low productivity on “poor farm management” or problems with producer behaviour²¹. The household and family circumstances of ‘farmers’ do not appear to be considered (except in references to labour shortages), and so the possible influence of social relations between farmers and their families and communities, or of farm household livelihood strategies, on their interest in innovations and their ability to adopt improved methods is not explored. The embassies appear to support GART’s rather narrowly technical approach to agricultural research. There is a possibility, therefore, that opportunities to mainstream gender into agricultural technology and farm production systems development are being missed.

4.1.16 **Zambia National Farmers Union:** Between 2000 and 2004 Norway funded various farmer associations, but this was phased out and support is to be concentrated on the

¹⁷ One of the local consultants had been employed to do gender training for GART in 2002. The intention was a 5-day course, GART stated a preference for 1 day, and a compromise was reached. The course delivered lasted 3 days, and a gender policy and manual were subsequently developed out of the workshop.

¹⁸ R & D of Innovative Commercial Farming Systems Project 15/1/04; GART Progress report no. 2 1st Jan – 30th June 2004

¹⁹ GART Progress report no. 2 1st Jan – 30th June 2004.

²⁰ GART Year Book 2004 www.gartzambia.org

²¹ GART Year Book 2004 www.gartzambia.org

ZNFU between 2004 and 2008. The NFU was founded in the early 1900s as an organisation for large expatriate commercial producers. Today it is a membership organisation of 500 large and 29,000 small farmers and 16 agribusiness firms. It “supports development of agriculture by organising farmers into associations to create an effective voice on farmers’ concerns. It lobbies on behalf of its members to government or other competent authorities ... and provides services”²². The overall objective of the programme is to

- Strengthen the organisation’s ability to respond to farmers’ needs and to promote and protect their
- Strengthen the functioning of the District Farmer Associations
- Promote international and regional links.

The first objective is to be achieved by restructuring its headquarters organisation into three divisions, one to support District Farmer Associations; one to undertake research, business development and lobbying; and one to provide its members with business advice. It also has a communication unit.

The Dutch/Norwegian support to the organisation is regarded as part of the overall aim of promoting private sector development through agricultural business development and public/private partnership. The contextual analysis contained in the Appraisal Memorandum notes that agriculture provides the main source of income and employment for rural women, who constitute 65% of the total rural population, that the draft agriculture policy refers to the promotion of gender equity in resource allocation and access to agricultural services, and that most small farmers see agriculture as a way of life rather than a business. It commits the ZNFU to mainstream cross-cutting issues, including gender and HIV/AIDS, and notes that, despite women’s importance to agriculture, their representation in leadership structures, especially farmer organisations at national and district level, is “decimal”. It proposes to mainstream gender in all its capacity building activities, especially at district level (through technical assistance provided by SNV workers) and to link up with appropriate NGOs. However, the only activities mentioned are mobile training workshops on gender roles and responsibilities and HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns. The Dutch assessment of the proposal considers its effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability; the institutional context; arrangements for monitoring, reporting and review; and organisational capacity. None mention gender and none of the indicators related to farmers in the logframe are gender disaggregated, although among the risks identified are “Cultural barriers hindering effective participation of targeted small scale and women farmers are tackled” (sic, presumably meaning not tackled).

- 4.1.17 The *Agricultural Consultative Forum (ACF)* has been supported by Norway, the Netherlands and the World Bank since 1998. It was established following an evaluation of the then Agricultural Sector Investment Project which showed that there had been insufficient stakeholder consultation. Its goal is “to contribute to sustainable and continuous growth in the agricultural sector through development of continuous consultation, networking and information sharing among private and public sector players”. Its members include seven government agencies, including GIDD, the chair of the Parliamentary committee on lands and agriculture, 13 agribusiness associations, three representatives of the NGO sector, and farmer representatives (including the

²² ZNFU Appraisal Memorandum, 2004.

ZNFU). Limited progress in establishing itself as a separate organisation and broadening its membership, the failure of support from additional donors to materialise and delays in the release of Dutch funds limited progress in 2003²³. By mid-2004, more progress is reported. For example, work had started on developing an improved M & E system²⁴.

4.1.18 The proposal received from the ACF in April 2003 contained no reference to how gender was to be considered in the activities proposed between 2003 and 2007 (production of policy notes, stakeholder consultations, policy advisory services, networking and information sharing, monitoring of the agricultural component of the PRSP) or in the M & E of outcomes, although the SWOT mentions lack of gender balance in the Forum's membership as a weakness. The Appraisal Memorandum in July 2003, however, notes that one of the three representatives of the NGO sector is nominated by the NGOCC, to achieve gender representation (at that time the Association of Women in Agriculture). Under the contract, funds were available for GIDD to recruit a consultant to provide gender training to the Forum's members. The 2004 report showed that it had not been done and the Dutch requested that it be done during 2005. There is little sign that women and men are equally represented in the ACF, that gender has been mainstreamed in its operations or that its analyses of agricultural policy are likely to be gendered.

4.1.19 The *Livestock Development Trust* was created in 2001 out of various livestock research stations taken over from government, and its initial task was to rationalise these units. Its aim is to spearhead sustainable development in the livestock industry, promote environmentally friendly practices, and provide services and training. It targets large and small-scale farmers (with an emphasis on the latter), women and youth. The objectives of the programme from 2004-2008 are to transform the LDT into a centre of excellence for the development and promotion of sustainable, innovative and market orientated livestock production systems, covering 80% of its operating costs by the sale of stock by 2008 and providing long training courses in dairying and beef production and short courses for smallholders in goat and pig keeping. The Norwegian response to the proposal notes that HIV/AIDS is not dealt with adequately in the Programme document or Appraisal Report. The Dutch Contribution Agreement in June 2004 therefore required that the inception report, which was due to be submitted by October 2004, should give special attention to gender and HIV/AIDS. The LDT is, for example, required to ensure that 30% of the participants on its dairying course are women and to report the gender of trainees on its programmes. Overall, 40% of the trainees are reported to be women, although the target is not achieved on the dairying course. This is attributed to the difficulty of attracting women to a two-year course at a research station.

4.1.20 *NZTT* (Natural Resources Development College/Zambia Export Growers Association Training Trust) was formed by the horticulture and floriculture sector in 1998 as a training institute for the industry and has been supported by the Netherlands since 1999. It provides sandwich and short courses for the staff of ZEGA's 20-30 members on a site at the NRDC. It has also developed and monitors compliance with a code of conduct for export growers which addresses environmental issues and working

²³ ACF 4 month report Sept-Dec. 2003.

²⁴ ACF report Jan-June, 2004.

conditions, including housing, medical and gender concerns. It has constructed greenhouses (with EDF funds) to generate an income. Thirty per cent of the workforce of ZEGA's members are women, and so attaining a high level of female participation in the training courses is a priority. There is quite extensive discussion of the involvement of women in the industry and training courses in the Appraisal Memorandum prepared by the Netherlands embassy:

“In terms of gender the Trust has endeavoured to recruit and train females as the industry has considerable opportunities for female supervisors and manages, especially in the harvesting, grading and packing work. The overseas buyers of produce are also pushing for more females in positions of responsibility. To date the Trust receives very few applications for the Diploma course from females and those that apply have lower grades than the males. Despite the fact the Female candidates are selected more favourably at the initial stage, most fail to make the trade at the merit-based interview and entrance test stages. However of the few who do manage to go through and complete the course, they were some of the brightest students and all have gone to hold positions of responsibility in the industry.... It should be noted that for certain short courses the uptake by females is higher e.g. in Food Safety, reflecting the gender balance in these areas of work. In the course on Safe Use of Chemicals females are not allowed as they are prohibited from handling agricultural chemicals by various industry and supermarket Codes of Practice. 1 in 6 of participants in the supervision course are female. To increase the number of females being trained, it is planned to target certain secondary schools in Lusaka as part of an outreach and promotional programme for a career in the horticultural industry. In addition, it may be appropriate to recruit female employees from the industry as they have already shown their capabilities and commitment to horticulture.”²⁵

In the reports produced by NZTT itself that are available on the relevant Norwegian embassy file, there are occasional references to recruiting women to the staff or to training courses. However, gender issues are not systematically considered.

4.2 Tourism, natural resources and the environment

4.2.1 Norway has provided support to the management of the South Luangwa National Park for 30 years. A National Environmental Action Plan was prepared in 1994 and a decision to establish the Zambia Wildlife Authority (with a degree of management autonomy) in 1998. However, controversy over who would be responsible for managing natural resources and national parks and what approach should be adopted delayed its operationalisation and it is only now starting to operate effectively. In addition to its continued support in South Luangwa, Norway is now supporting the institutional development of ZAWA, which is responsible for managing protected areas (national parks and game management areas²⁶) and also the management of Kafue National Park through basket funding with the World Bank and Denmark (managed by the latter). Gradually, the state monopoly of protected area management has been reduced, with private sector operators running lodges and a trust managing

²⁵ Appraisal Memorandum for NZTT 15 August 2003.

²⁶ Game Management Areas, where hunting safaris are permitted, are usually adjacent to national parks.

one smaller national park. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the focus in protected area management has shifted from wildlife conservation to tourism, in line with the government's economic growth strategy. In line with these objectives, the bulk of Norway's financial support is devoted to the rehabilitation and maintenance of access roads.

- 4.2.2 Following serious problems with poaching in the 1970s and 1980s, initiatives to involve local communities in wildlife management were developed. Community Resource Boards were established in game management areas, to coordinate elected Village Action Groups and enable villagers to benefit from tourism, although the flow of benefits was disrupted between 2001 and 2003 when President Chiluba stopped safari hunting. The Community Environmental Management Programme (CEMP, 1998-2003) is said to have ensured that women were well represented in decision-making positions on all community-based structures (GIDD, 2004, p. 37-8). Norway's support to CRBs is currently channelled through ZAWA and consideration is being given to how to improve this support and further develop their capacity.
- 4.2.3 A similar cross-cutting issue to the environment, gender is said to be taken on board in Norway's dialogue with ZAWA. For example, the embassy has promoted the advancement of girls in the management structure and as scouts and has asked for reporting on this. In response, ZAWA has trained a number of women as scouts and has found that the women employed are more stable employees than some of the male scouts. Following an appraisal in 2004, the revised proposal for the proposed new phase of support, which focuses primarily on developing more satisfactory institutional arrangements, has just been received. Its analysis of the impact of community environmental management programmes in Game Management Areas on communities was reported to be very general, with no consideration given to distributional impacts of any kind, including gender. At the national level, GIDD comes to the conclusion that the lack of a national environmental policy has contributed to an uncoordinated approach to integrating gender into environment and natural resource-related programmes, exacerbated by decision makers' lack of appreciation of its importance and inadequate budgetary allocations. (GIDD, 2004, p. 37-8).
- 4.2.4 In line with the general direction of Norwegian aid, possible arrangements for developing a sub-granting facility to support Zambian environmental NGOs are under discussion.
- 4.2.5 The environment more generally is regarded in Norwegian development cooperation as a cross-cutting issue that should be taken into account in sectors such as agriculture, infrastructure development and education. When most assistance was channelled through projects, it was reported that it was relatively easy to use Norway's strategy relating to environmental issues in development cooperation as a guide to project appraisal. Sometimes today there is still an opportunity to incorporate a specific environmental component within a sectoral programme or project. However, on the whole, the view was expressed that strategies relating to cross-cutting issues that do not themselves command a share of funding are not influential. As a result, environmental issues tend to be sidelined, because embassy staff working on sectoral policies have other priorities and insufficient time to consider all the cross-cutting issues properly. This is particularly the case when a number of donors are involved,

since all the available time and energy is taken up with agreeing workable harmonisation arrangements, and it is more difficult to use the policy statement of a single donor to influence the use of basket funds.

4.3 The education sector

- 4.3.1 GRZ is committed to the MDG that specifies that all children will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015 and to parity in educational enrolment of girls and boys. At the beginning of the 1990s, 88% of children of school age were enrolled in primary school, and of those, 27% went on to enrol in secondary school. Girls constituted 49% of Grade 1 enrolments throughout the 1980s, while the proportion staying on to Grade 7 rose slightly. However, only 38% of pupils enrolling in Grade 8 in 1980 were girls, improving only slightly over the decade (to 41% in 1989) and their secondary school drop out rates exceeded those of boys. At the tertiary level there was only one female student for every four male students, and they were concentrated in a narrow range of 'traditional' subjects. As a result, literacy levels have remained lower for women than men – while 27% of the total population aged 15+ were illiterate at the beginning of the 1990s 35% of women could neither read nor write.
- 4.3.2 In 1980, spending on education as a proportion of GNP was 4.5%. By 1990, this had dropped to 2.5%, one of the lowest levels of educational expenditure in the world and only slightly above the 2% of GNP needed if universal primary enrolment alone is to be achieved. Primary education bore the brunt of reduced government expenditure (through under-investment in schools, reduced real pay and lack of resources for non-salary expenditures), with severe effects on the schools infrastructure (number of classrooms, sanitation etc), teaching quality and teacher morale. In the mid-1980s cost recovery measures were reduced, with further adverse effects on enrolment. The result was that the primary net enrolment ratio fell by 12% between 1990 and 2002 and the proportion of Grade 1 pupils reaching Grade 5 remained stagnant (at 85%), while literacy rates dropped, especially in rural areas, and the gender gap was not narrowed. Female literacy rates for 15-24 year olds declined from 71% in 1990 to 66% in 2002. Although literacy rates for young men were higher, they also declined, from 79% to 75% over the same period. Declines occurred in both urban and rural areas, from 89% to 86% in the former and from 65% to 59% in the latter. The average proportion of eligible girls in high school in 1996-9 was lower than in the late 1980s (below 40%) and static, with the result that the proportion of girls in tertiary education remains very low, despite the reservation of 25% of available bursaries for them (GIDD, 2004, p. 11-12). Reasons for the under-representation of girls in secondary schooling include the need for them to do domestic chores, increased household poverty, withdrawal from school for marriage, and expulsion on pregnancy. In addition, girls' performance is consistently lower than that of boys at all levels.
- 4.3.3 Because of the shortfall in school places by the 1980s, communities started to establish a parallel primary school system of Basic Schools. In 1983 there were only 3 such schools. By 1992 there were 379, mainly in rural areas. Norway assists the Ministry of Education and the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches to support these and community schools in selected districts through Redd Barna and Norwegian Church Aid (see below).

- 4.3.4 In the 1990s, Norway provided support to PAGE (Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education), which was administered by UNICEF. However, dissatisfaction with UNICEF's administrative and reporting procedures prevented renewal of the contract. Today PAGE has been incorporated into the basic education investment programme (BESSIP), which was started in 1999 as a basket fund involving the Norway, the Netherlands, DFID and Ireland (as well as other donors contributing earmarked components, such as Denmark, Finland and USAID). Recognition of the poor quality of existing information led to the initiation (with US support) of the Education Monitoring Information System (EMIS), with the result that data, including gender disaggregated data, has started to improve. 2003 was a transition year, and from 2004 BESSIP has been converted into an education sector SWAP. Thus external funding accounts for 40% of the total education budget, 60% of which is for basic education. Of GRZ's share of education spending, 70% is spent on salaries. The SWAP is related to the Ministry of Education Strategic Plan and contains 12 sub-programmes, including one cross-cutting sub-programme on Equity and Gender (special educational needs, gender and HIV/AIDS), which includes activities to sensitise traditional leaders, communities and parents on the importance of education, particularly for girls, and targeted grants and bursaries for poor households. In addition, the timetable and dates of terms have been adjusted to fit in with seasonal labour demand, particularly in agriculture. According to the MOU signed in February 2003, donors adhere to a code of conduct, for example, by consolidating their comments on Ministry documents and their responses to progress reports etc.
- 4.3.5 The Ministry of Education considers that its strategic plan was prepared in a consultative way. However, at the district level, familiarity with the plan is limited, relationships with the centre difficult and delays in disbursements common. Institutional restructuring started in 1992 has had limited results and the ministry headquarters is failing to inform departments, decentralised offices and schools what funds are available and to channel them to where they should be used. In addition, there have been many staff transfers, including of key senior staff. As a result, implementation of the strategic plan is lagging. Relationships between donors and with technical staff of the Ministry are good, but currently donors have major concerns about the unsatisfactory rate of progress.
- 4.3.6 The SWAP model puts the government in the driving seat. Although policy dialogue occurs, and on many aspects, donors and the government see eye-to-eye, donors are less able to promote particular issues, partly because this would contradict the principle of recipient responsibility and partly because it would strain the already limited capacity of the agency concerned. "Instrumentalist arguments for girls' education have ... paid off (the mantra of improved productivity, declining fertility, better child health, better mothering)" (Subrahmanian, 2004, p. 81) and both the Ministry and donors (including those contributing to the basket fund and those outside it such as UNICEF) give high importance to girls' education. The new ministry workplan incorporates a target of achieving gender equity in education by 2007, in addition to the relevant MDGs. Within the ministry there is a Policy Committee, which should deal with cross-cutting policy issues, and a Gender Sub-Committee, which is supposed to deal with implementation. In addition, a Planning Officer is the GFPP and a USAID consultant is currently looking at mainstreaming. However, there are fewer women in senior positions in the Ministry than in the past, the GFPP person has insufficient time and is too dependent on the attitude of her superior, while

Ministry did not send a representative to the initial meeting held by the USAID consultant to identify the gender mainstreaming issues that need to be considered. In addition, the absorption of PAGE into the SWAP has reduced the prominence of advocacy activities in favour of girls' education, even though girls' needs are supposed to be receiving more emphasis in the general budget (for example, bursaries, re-entry rights for schoolgirls who become pregnant, and plans to build or improve girls' boarding facilities). As a result, while some issues are being at least partially addressed, some are still neglected (e.g. encouraging more women to train as teachers). There is some doubt, therefore, whether the acceptance of gender parity in school enrolment demonstrates commitment to a wider process of social change. Even if it does, the limited progress illustrates the limitations of adjusting bureaucratic practice if there is not a wider political constituency holding the bureaucracy to account (Subrahmanian, 2004).

- 4.3.7 Norway has both provided direct support for gender-specific activities in the past and makes the issue central to its dialogue with the government. In the past, the Norwegian gender strategy was useful in assessing and justifying particular projects. Today, however, it is considered more useful to refer to Zambian gender policy and government strategy documents than to the policies of external donors.
- 4.3.8 As with other sectors, Norway historically gave direct support to a number of NGOs working in the education area. It was considered useful to continue this support, to complement the Ministry of Education and as a way of maintaining some direct contact with schools. However, management of support to NGOs with education programmes (currently four projects) has now been sub-contracted to Norwegian Church Aid (Kirkens Nødhjelp). Initially negotiated by Norad in Oslo, in October 2004, following the restructuring of aid administration, responsibility was returned to the embassy and NCA opened a Zambia country office to manage the programme. Support is also channelled through Redd Barna (Save the Children Norway), which works with school, district and provincial education boards. So far, the funds have been used mainly for school building, and also for building the capacity of the boards. One problem is that SCF only works with selected boards, so the capacity building does not benefit the national education system. Funding for the Forum for African Women Educationalists of Zambia (FAWEZA) to support pilot projects and advocacy work has now ended.
- 4.3.9 The 2003 PRSP monitoring exercise found that the abolition of school fees and increased donor investment and coordination had resulted in increased enrolment: gross enrolment rate in basic education had increased to 91.7% by 2003, net enrolment rate in basic education to 76.2%, drop-outs had fallen to 2.42%, completion rates to Grade 7 had increased to 73%, and gross and net enrolment rates in secondary schools had increased to 10.6% and 13.6% respectively (Folscher, 2004, p. 12)²⁷. Nevertheless, parents were still concerned about the need to pay Grade VII examination fees. In addition to the general weaknesses of the sector and deterrents to attending school, girls' enrolment continued to be affected by the lack of women teachers in rural schools, early pregnancy and marriage, poor sanitation in schools and "community attitudes which weigh heavily against the girl child" (Milimo, 2003, p. 11). In 2002 the women's movement won a victory with the introduction of re-entry

²⁷ Folscher does not give gender-disaggregated data, although it is known to be available.

rights for girls who had been forced to leave due to pregnancy: in that year 724 re-admissions were registered against 1,153 pregnancies recorded the previous year (63%) and the number of re-admissions increased to 926 in 2003 (GIDD, 2004, p. 13). However, the constraints experienced by the sector, exacerbated by the effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, continue to limit progress.

4.4 Health sector – HIV/AIDS

- 4.4.1 Economic crisis since the mid-1970s resulted in major cutbacks in investment in health facilities in Zambia, shortages of drugs and equipment, falling salaries and, from the late 1980s, the introduction of user charges for some services. As noted in Section 2, earlier improvements in most health indicators were reversed. The National Health Strategy (2001-5), implemented through an action plan focusing on delivery of a Basic Health Care Package, recognises the need for equitable access to health care by all, including vulnerable groups such as women and children. It addresses this by mainstreaming gender as a cross-cutting issue and also focusing on reducing maternal mortality. However, a recent assessment concluded that there is a danger that, without earmarked funding, gender policies will evaporate. In addition, the data collected in the Health Management Information System is not gender-disaggregated (GIDD, 2004, p. 15).
- 4.4.2 By the mid-1980s, Zambia was the fourth worst affected country in the world by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In early 1988 a five-year anti-AIDS plan was launched with WHO and donor support. However, efforts to control the spread of the epidemic are hampered by the poor state of health care services, popular prejudice and fear. AIDS is still regarded as a ‘shame disease’ because of its association with extra-marital sex. By mid-1993, 36% of expectant mothers attending ante-natal clinics at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka were HIV positive and the overall prevalence amongst adults (15-49) was estimated to be 16% (18% for women, 13% for men) (GIDD, 2004, p. 17). This may be an under-estimate – some estimate that 20% of the population 15-49 is infected, although the epidemic appears to have plateaued. Prevalence is much higher in urban than rural areas. Women are affected by the epidemic in their multiple roles in society and the family, as health care providers, educators, and income providers. They are particularly vulnerable to infection because of their lack of decision-making power and autonomy within personal relationships and their lesser access to health care, social services and education. Women with AIDS also face difficult decisions about child bearing because of the risks to themselves and the risks of passing on the virus to new or unborn children (39% of children born to infected mothers were HIV positive in 2001, Folscher, 2004, p. 13). However, the pressure to have children may well be irresistible. More positively, the 2003 Zambia Sexual Behaviour Survey documented a trend towards increasing median age of sexual debut, indicating that more adolescents are choosing abstinence, and also documents a trend towards being faithful as well as an increase in reported condom use above expectations (USAID, 2004).
- 4.4.3 The current policy and programme framework at the national level is set out in the National HIV and AIDS Policy (2005) and the National HIV/AIDS/STIs/TB Intervention Plan (2002-5). In these documents, among other things, government restates its commitment to mainstreaming gender in national development planning

and programmes and to strengthening the enforcement of legislation dealing with sexual harassment, abuse and gender-based violence (GIDD, 2005).

4.4.4 Norway does not support the health sector in general. However, jointly with the Netherlands, it was instrumental in providing funds to strengthen the National Aids Council Secretariat (NAC-S) in 2003. NAC-S is also supported by other donors, including DFID, Ireland and Sweden, which also contribute to the health SWAP. Although the early constraints on NAC's funding and staff have eased with the increased resources available through the Global Fund on AIDS, its capacity is still limited. Some attribute its ineffectiveness to it being a donor imposition. Zambia National Aids Network (ZANAN), an NGO coordinating body, is another organisation supported by the Global Fund. Norway directly supported some NGO HIV/AIDS programmes in the past and today is assisting ZANAN to implement a sub-granting facility to channel its and Dutch funds to the same NGOs. In addition, HIV/AIDS education has been integrated into the education SWAP. However, education and awareness is still considered to be lacking and discussions of gender in the context of HIV/AIDS are considered to be very basic – often women are identified as the source of the problem, and policies do not necessarily address their needs in the most appropriate way. For example, education and reproductive health programmes fail to reach adolescents and men and the home based care programmes that are trying to compensate for the lack of capacity in in-patient facilities may lead to the overburdening of women's workloads (GIDD, 2004a, 2004b).

4.5 Roads

4.5.1 In the late 1990s, the road sector was important in Norway's development assistance to Zambia, but today most of the activities have been discontinued or completed, or will shortly be so. The sectoral activities that have recently or are currently being funded include:

- ***Institutional development and technical assistance*** (2002/3): expatriate technical assistance staff were funded to work with counterparts in the relevant departments, in addition to some institutional development support and overseas training.
- ***Road rehabilitation***: implementation of projects funded in 2003/4 under the Emergency Drought Recovery Programme led by the World Bank has been delayed but is now nearly complete. The infrastructure rehabilitation has had both short-term relief and long-term development objectives. The aim of the programme from the outset was to generate paid work for women, using labour intensive methods. However, local resistance from both men and women to such employment has resulted in the numbers of men recruited exceeding those of women. In future, as noted above, Norway will only support road rehabilitation in national parks, linked to their interest in supporting natural resource management and tourism.
- ***Training***: ongoing support for an ILO-run labour-based construction training programme in the Construction School in Lusaka.
- ***Axle Load Control project*** (2004/8): the original proposal for an axle load control project from the Roads Department did not include any consideration of cross-

cutting issues, as required by Norway's guidelines. In negotiations, it was agreed that the cross-cutting issue of HIV/AIDS should be considered (not gender) and two relevant components were inserted into the project.

- 4.5.2 Because of its importance in developing agriculture, industry and tourism, the roads sector is a high priority for the government. The donors are pressing for organisational reform and a sector wide programme. EU funding has been made conditional on organisational reform occurring, but this is proving extremely difficult. The World Bank is leading on development of a SWAP (Road SIP – Support Investment Programme – II), which will probably not be conditional on organisational restructuring. Rural roads are regarded as central to rural livelihoods, reducing poverty, supporting agriculture, rural industrialisation and encouraging diversification and growth. In addition, labour-based road construction and maintenance methods have considerable potential to generate employment and incomes. Given these factors, and after so many years of supporting the roads sector, the view was expressed that the scaling down or phasing out of Norway's support may be inappropriate.

4.6 Human rights

- 4.6.1 Given the priority of human rights issues in Norway's development cooperation and its MoU with Zambia, support is given both to the government and civil society organisations. Human rights related work with government takes two forms: assistance to the justice sector and work directly related to the protection of human rights. With respect to the former, Norwegian support is currently focused on funding the building of new *Magistrates Courts* complex in Lusaka. This arose out of concerns for the human rights of prisoners given the long delays before those accused are brought to trial. Because this problem was attributed to the shortage of courtrooms, the embassy is contributing to the construction of a new Magistrates Court block, with a view to reducing trial delays and congestion in prisons. The block will incorporate a juvenile court and the design is sensitive to the needs of women and disabled people. There is an understanding that the embassy will want to see evidence of reductions in trial delays before considering further support.
- 4.6.2 Norway also supports the *Permanent Human Rights Commission*, an independent body with responsibility for examining human rights abuses. The Commission researches human rights issues in general, investigates individual cases of human rights abuse and educates citizens on their human rights. Norway's initial support was for capacity building. In addition, it is now supporting the establishment of four offices outside Lusaka in order to further the third of the above functions. Although Commissioners are appointed by the President, there does not seem to be any overt political interference in the work of the commission.
- 4.6.3 Most references in government and PHRC documents are to 'human rights' in general. The objectives of the National Plan of Action for Human Rights (1999-2009) include the achievement of gender balanced participation in decision-making, the elimination of negative aspects of customary and statutory laws and practices and the elimination of discrimination against girl children. The agreement for a partnership project between the PHRC and a group of donors from 2001-3 identified a variety of activities and outputs; noted the PHRC's capacity limitations, given its ambitious aims; and noted that the Commission was conscious of its lack of data on gender violence and

the problems of women prisoners with babies; but otherwise barely mentioned gender in its logframe, budget or activities and did not appear to be developing partnerships with women's NGOs. The objectives of the PHRC's 2000-4 plan did not mention gender specifically and nor did the 2005 ToR for a consultant to help them review the strategic plan and decide a way forward.²⁸ However, in 2000 the Commission joined with GIDD to run a gender sensitisation workshop for political parties, which came up with a number of recommendations to improve women's representation in decision-making. While women's rights issues are discussed by the Commission, there is no quota for cases involving women in the PHRC's caseload and the embassy staff were not aware of any gender strategy, although it is possible that this is receiving attention as part of the current strategic planning exercise.

- 4.6.4 Since 1996 Norway has supported the *Legal Resource Foundation*, which provides legal aid in cases related to freedom of expression, poor prison conditions, wrongful dismissal etc, some of which are high profile and may influence government. It also funds community advice centres, provides paralegal services to avoid litigation, publishes a widely read newspaper, provides internships for law students and has an outreach programme providing information to refugees and prisoners on their rights. The embassy staff were not aware of how the Foundation deals with gender issues, although some cases involving women are referred to the last of the organisations Norway supports.
- 4.6.5 This is the *Legal Aid Clinic for Women*, which Norway and other donors have supported since 1994. It is a wing of the Law Association of Zambia and provides free legal services for poor women. Norway's support covers administrative costs (including offices in Ndola and Livingstone), enabling its volunteers to provide services that are beyond the capacity of the overstretched government legal aid department. The main caseload is concerned with inheritance issues and violence against women, including defilement of children. The clinic also runs human rights education programmes for women and children throughout the country and in schools, carries out research, is preparing a casebook for dissemination to magistrates to increase their awareness of the gender dimensions of legal issues and trains paralegal mediators.
- 4.6.6 Recently, Norway has reduced the number of organisations in the human rights field that it directly supports and currently it is considering arrangements for sub-contracting its assistance to reduce the transactions costs of supporting four human rights organisations. Discussions on this with the Norwegian Bar Association are ongoing. In addition, where several donors are supporting a single organisation (such as the Legal Aid Clinic for Women), discussions about harmonisation (e.g. requiring one proposal, synchronising contract dates and reporting periods, joint meetings) are taking place.

²⁸ PHRC Partnership project between the PHRC and the donor community, No. PHRC/DC/2000: 2001-3; Terms of reference for a consultant to help the PHRC with its strategic plan 2005-9 (February 2005).

5 COLLABORATION AND DIALOGUE WITH PARTNERS

5.1 The relationship between the Zambian government and the international donor community

- 5.1.1 Since 1991, Rakner (2003) argues, the international donors have had more leverage in terms of economic policy reform than continued political reform. The negotiations between the MMD government and its external partners indicate that all the major economic reforms implemented in the 1990s resulted from external pressure. However, the large number of conditions and conflicting views within the donor group enabled the Zambian government to trade off one against another. As a result the effects of the bilaterally imposed sanctions between 1996 and 1998 were limited and in the late 1990s, the credibility of donor conditionality waned.
- 5.1.2 Chaired by the World Bank, a Consultative Group was established in the mid-1980s in order to improve coordination among donors and cooperation with the government with respect to macro-economic and structural policy reforms. By the early 1990s, a consensus on economic policy reform had been reached. In 1993 donor concern that the momentum of democratic change had been lost led to issues relating to accountability, transparency and respect for human rights being added to the agenda. Initially, corruption and high-level involvement in drug trafficking were raised. Immediate government action led to a renewal of partnership in 1994, and all the donors indicated that aid withheld, frozen or suspended would be released. However, by 1995, further concerns were raised with respect to the constitutional amendment process and voter registration, and dissatisfaction with the government response led to the majority of the bilateral donors withholding balance of payments support, freezing discussion on new aid or cutting ongoing project aid. This time, lack of multilateral backing for the bilateral action reduced its effectiveness and by 1997 aid flows had been resumed despite lack of government commitment to governance reforms (Rakner, 2003).
- 5.1.3 However, a failed coup attempt in October 1997 and international concern at the punitive measures taken by the government, lack of progress on governance issues and mine privatisation resulted in suspension of dialogue, even though the IMF's assessment of economic policy reform was positive. Balance of payments support recommenced in 1999, but human rights concerns and corruption remained high on the donor agenda. In May 1999 the government presented proposals for governance reform to the donor Consultative Group, with positive outcomes in terms of aid flows. With the sale of the mines in March 2000, donor attention shifted almost entirely to governance issues, including ownership of and participation in the formulation of poverty reduction strategies. Civil society organisations were involved in consultations during the preparation of the Interim PRSP in 2000 and donors pledged additional aid pending accelerated progress in poverty reduction, continued economic reforms and a wide range of governance issues, including several relating to the 2001 elections. Although the donors did not play a vocal role in pre-election debates about Chiluba's desire to amend the constitution to enable him to serve a third term, when he yielded to civil society pressure, they explicitly welcomed his decision to step down. Despite the government's failure to fulfil many of its own intentions to improve governance, donor support continued throughout the election period. Thus divisions within the donor community, difficulties in assessing government progress and compliance with

conditions, and concern over increased poverty in such a highly indebted and poor country meant that threats to completely withhold financial assistance could not be sustained and on-off aid flows continued throughout the 1990s (Rakner, 2003).

- 5.1.4 As noted earlier, the structural adjustment policies of the 1990s concentrated on macroeconomic stabilisation and reform. Not only did they not prioritise poverty reduction, but they were also seen to lack ownership by Zambians. To win wide societal support, it was eventually recognised that the core of the development agenda must shift to poverty reduction and that wider stakeholder consultation was needed during policy preparation. In the late 1990s, it became clear that conditionality, especially on governance reforms, was not very effective. The emphasis in the international aid regime shifted to debt relief and poverty reduction, emphasising civic participation and national ownership of reform programmes (Seshamani, 2002; Rakner, 2003).
- 5.1.5 It was acknowledged that most of the proposals included in the PRSP would depend on donor funding for implementation. Donor approval of the PRSP preparation process, the promise by the newly elected New Deal Government to fight corruption, and the removal of user charges for primary education boosted donor enthusiasm and led to an unprecedented level of pledges of financial support in 2002. Discussions about shifting to programme and budget support were also getting under way amongst many donors, as well as discussions about mechanisms to improve coordination between donors.
- 5.1.6 Until 1994, donors shared their experiences with respect to gender issues and avoided duplication through a WID platform. Today, donor coordination occurs through informal bilateral and multilateral discussions, sometimes formalised into agreements (for example, the division of labour and ‘silent partnerships’). Donors do not participate in the Gender Consultative Forum that advises GIDD, but do participate in the Gender Forum, which has widened out from the donor WID platform to include wider groups of stakeholders and is chaired alternately by GIDD and NGOCC. It meets bi-monthly, is regularly attended by the Scandinavian donors, the Dutch and GTZ and occasionally DFID, and is useful for information sharing and networking. There is some scepticism amongst donors about the extent of genuine commitment to gender equality at senior political and bureaucratic levels in Zambia, progress with implementation of the gender policy and the current and future vitality of the women’s movement. All these concerns are shared by actors within the state and non-state sectors. UNFPA and UNDP also have a long track record of working on gender issues and are consulted by the embassy.

5.2 Harmonisation and alignment

- 5.2.1 Agreement on the principles of harmonisation were reached at a donor meeting in Rome in 2003. Starting with ownership of policies and reforms by partner countries, it is intended that working relationships progress towards alignment between donor inputs and partner agendas, and the use of partners’ systems, and then towards harmonisation of arrangements and procedures and improved sharing of information between donors (OECD, 2005). Discussion of ways to enhance aid effectiveness and efficiency by improving donor coordination and harmonisation of procedures in Zambia was started by a group of like-minded donors in 2002. The new practices

included 6-monthly MOFNP PRSP meetings; quarterly donor meetings focusing on the PRSP, HIPC and public expenditure management (PEM); donor coordination meetings chaired by the UN Resident Coordinator prior to the quarterly meetings; and thematic or sector working groups chaired by the relevant Permanent Secretary to coordinate donor and government activities within a sector. By mid-2003 it was clear that these arrangements were not yet working well and a *Harmonisation in Practice* (HIP) initiative was proposed, based on 5 principles:

- that the leadership and guidance for donor coordination needs to come from GRZ
- commitment to civil service reform
- commitment to the PRSP as a basis for strategic planning and poverty monitoring
- commitment to sector wide approaches and possibly
- direct budget support linked to the PRSP.

In addition, the HIP donors agreed to develop common procedures and requirements. A HIP secretariat was established within the Economic and Technical Cooperation Department of the MOFNP in July 2003, with a mandate to draft an aid policy for Zambia and later a memorandum of understanding between a set of signatory donors and GRZ regarding donor harmonisation. In April 2004, the first MoU was signed with about three quarters of the donor community, setting out principles, processes and procedures for donor coordination and harmonisation. A variety of approaches to donor harmonisation have emerged: a common mission calendar, increased numbers of delegated arrangements (divisions of labour, silent partnerships) and increased coordination of support to NGOs²⁹. However, a fully developed national coordination structure within government had not yet emerged by mid-2004 and donors continued to take most of the initiatives (OECD, 2005). Although the intention of harmonisation is to reduce transactions costs for both recipient governments and development partners, in the short term the process is extremely labour and time intensive for those involved.

- 5.2.2 Much external support to the MOFNP is multi-donor, incorporating the agencies with economic expertise (Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, DFID, the World Bank, and sometimes others, including the IMF). The US and Japan do not join in with multi-donor initiatives. There are informal donor groups on economic management and governance, during whose periodic discussions a particular donor will volunteer to take the lead on a particular activity.
- 5.2.3 In 2003, GRZ presented a strategy for budget support and public financial management reform. Three focus areas were agreed: public financial management (PFM), pay reform and decentralisation, and joint GRZ-donor technical working groups were established. Under the subsequent MoUs, the areas of reform associated with budget support and harmonisation were further elaborated. The core group of donors (Norway, DFID, the EC and the World Bank) meets with the government weekly, and the wider group of donors meets every couple of months. Norway provides support for the HIP Secretariat and other components.

²⁹ In mid-2004 17% of donors claimed to be party to an agreement to perform tasks on behalf of other donors, with a further 33% giving a qualified yes answer.

- 5.2.4 **Improving public financial management:** the Public Expenditure Management and Financial Accountability (PEMFA) programme has 12 components, most of which involve the MOFNP³⁰. They include, for example, improving budgetary procedures and practices, improving accountability and reducing corruption. At present, government accounts do not capture all resources (especially donor contributions) or expenditure, there is no link between the PRSP/NDP and the budget, the reporting system is not working well and there is insufficient comprehensible information for Parliament to exercise its oversight and decision-making functions. Improvements in these areas are the first priority for the programme, in particular improving budget procedures and linking the budget to the PRSP/NDP. While there is some gender disaggregated data and it is used if available, the economist based in the embassy considers that gender budgeting is unattainable in a system where the basics are not working, and that its introduction should be postponed, even though there is some support within the Zambian government (GIDD, PEMD) and other bilateral donors (e.g. the Dutch) for introducing some gendered analysis in the budget process³¹. In addition to the basket funding, Norway provides some bilateral support, for example, to a one-year pilot programme in public financial management at the National Institute of Public Administration and to the Auditor General (in which the Netherlands is a silent partner).
- 5.2.5 **Budget support:** the EC has been providing budget support since 2003. Other external partners have postponed their decisions on participating in it pending progress with implementing the public sector reform programme. An appraisal in 2004 concluded that the benefits, in terms of strengthening Cabinet's capacity to make decisions about priorities and improving the potential for dialogue, outweigh the risks. Thus a draft MoU and Performance Assessment Framework were presented to government and agreed in April 2005 by DFID, the EC, the World Bank and the Netherlands. Sweden has just received approval to contribute and Norway is hoping for approval shortly³², while Finland hopes to obtain it in 2006. DFID has made its first disbursement and it is hoped to disburse 25% of the pledged total by 2007. The signatories have committed themselves to harmonisation and reached agreement on common procedures. Each member of the PRBS Group will establish bilateral agreements with the GRZ that are compatible with the provisions of the MoU as far as possible³³.

³⁰ Other organisations with one component each include Parliament, the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Auditor General, the Ministry of Justice and the Tender Board.

³¹ The gender budgets approach has evolved rapidly in recent years. It is based on the propositions that economic institutions bear and transmit gender bias, that the macro economy must be defined to include household maintenance activities (work activities whose supply is by and large inelastic) and that gender relations affect the division of labour, and the distribution of productive inputs, employment, income and wealth. In so doing gender relations affect macroeconomic processes and thus gender budgeting needs to consider inputs, process and outputs within the public revenue and expenditure framework. It must consider gender in the appraisal of government spending and taxation, the gendered impact of public expenditure policies and the gender awareness of budgetary strategy. Tools include public expenditure incidence analysis, gender disaggregated beneficiary assessment, analysis of the impact of public spending on time use and assessment of the articulation of gender concerns i.e. they are concerned with both budgetary processes and the distributional impacts of resource generation, allocation and expenditure (IDD, 2005).

³² A Joint appraisal memorandum for possible budget support from Norway, Sweden, Netherlands and DFID to GRZ (using the Sida format) summarises the PRSP, recognising that it identifies gender as an issue but noting that gender has not been fully integrated into the policy proposals. However, the content of appraisal of the budget support arrangements does not mention gender, even where the Performance Assessment Framework is discussed.

³³ MoU Poverty Reduction Budget Support, 1st April 2005.

Actual budget support is to be based on progress with implementation of the NDP, measured through agreed performance indicators specified in a Performance Assessment Framework (see below).

- 5.2.6 ***Performance Assessment Framework***: this is a multi-annual matrix of priority milestones, targets and indicators based on the NDP, public expenditure management and accountability reforms under the PEMFA programme, other components of public service reform, macro-economic stabilisation policy and debt sustainability, updated annually³⁴. The team working on it includes representatives from all relevant sectors in government, coordinated by the Planning and Policy Dept in MOFNP. In addition, there is a joint working group with the donors. It is being developed gradually, based on the principles that there should be a limited number of indicators, data should be available for those included, all the indicators should reflect PRSP/NDP policies, indicators should include both results (social outcomes) and progress (progress with public sector reforms). The interim framework (2004/5) includes 3 macro-economic indicators, 8 public financial management indicators, 9 core structural reform milestones (public service pay, private sector development, public expenditure management and financial accountability PEMFA), 3 health indicators and 4 education indicators. Only the education indicators (net primary enrolment and completion rates) are disaggregated by gender, while one of the three health indicators refers to women's health (% of deliveries supervised by trained personnel). Although it is acknowledged that gender needs to be reflected in the PAF, ways of doing this have not yet been found. For example, the EC agreement included a target of 30% representation of women in senior positions, but this was omitted from the new MOU because the government regards it as unattainable in the short term.
- 5.2.7 GRZ has drafted an outline for the new NDP and a roadmap to prepare it by the end of 2005. The wider donor group (chaired by the World Bank) is preparing an issues paper in response, and donors will participate in sector advisory groups. Gender tends to be raised as an issue in donor gatherings by staff with specific gender responsibilities. There is a separate advisory group for gender, but it is not yet clear how gender equality will be dealt with. One of the issues donors expect to raise with GRZ is the question of how it intends to deal with cross-cutting issues, including gender.
- 5.2.8 Overall, and despite many problems, there has been considerable progress with the harmonisation and alignment agenda. Problems include capacity gaps in both GRZ and amongst donors with respect to coordination, limited planning and budgeting capacity in line ministries, a formalistic approach that deters open discussion of difficult issues, and duplication or a lack of fit between donor coordination mechanisms and PRSP implementation mechanisms (Folscher, 2004). Although budget support is considered by some to be a risky strategy, in practice, the main source of risk is political rather than fiduciary and in Zambia many donors have been willing to participate in the basket funding and to provide support to the accompanying reforms. Although the ultimate intention is to reduce transactions costs, as operating procedures are worked out and put in place and agreements negotiated, the inputs needed at present from donors and GRZ alike are substantial, potentially

³⁴ MOU Poverty Reduction Budget Support, 1st April 2005.

diverting attention from other priority issues. In particular, because the intention is to fund priorities defined by the Zambian government, the scope and channels for direct influence in promoting particular issues, such as gender, have probably decreased.

5.3 Bilateral partners: the Netherlands

- 5.3.1 To date, Norway has its most developed partnership with the Netherlands, which has concentrated its assistance in three sectors (education, health and economic development) and three cross-cutting concerns (gender, environment and good governance). Each of these has a budget, although the budget for the cross-cutting concerns is smaller than for the main sectors. One 1st secretary is responsible for targeted activities related to gender and the environment, as well as ensuring that account is taken of these concerns in sectoral activities by checking the relevant mandatory paragraph in the project proposal and participating in the project appraisal committee.
- 5.3.2 In 2002, a possible ‘division of labour’ was discussed by the embassy staff members responsible for gender-targeted support. As noted above, it was agreed that the Dutch would fund and manage support to GIDD and that Norway, instead of continuing its support to individual NGOs, would manage support to civil society through support to NGOCC and funding for an NGOCC sub-granting programme. The Netherlands also contributes to the latter. The division of labour is seen as having both strengths and potential weaknesses. The new arrangements, which are not necessarily permanent, have simplified aid administration. However, there are some concerns about the future. For example, GIDD tends to liaise with its current donor and Norway has not been included in recent dialogues, which also disadvantages GIDD. Some of the strengths and weaknesses of the basket funding for NGOCC have been discussed above.
- 5.3.3 The current Dutch aid policy, adopted in 2002, has no explicit gender content, apparently because it was assumed that gender had already been integrated into Dutch development thinking and support. In addition, there was some scepticism about what had been achieved and a shift of attention to other issues e.g. donor harmonisation. Subsequently, the funds for gender-targeted activities have been reduced and, even if the sub-granting programme is successful, there is no certainty that the Dutch could contribute additional funds to the basket. There is a feeling that interest in gender is waning within the Netherlands development cooperation programme.

6 THE RELEVANCE OF THE W&GE IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION STRATEGY AND ITS FUTURE

- 6.1 There is little evidence that the W&GE in development cooperation strategy document is used by embassy staff to inform their own analysis and actions or their dialogue with partners. Most feel that gender has become so much part of the way of thinking in Norway, both domestically and within the aid programme, that it is automatically considered by all staff as part of their work. If it is not, the requirement that it is considered as a cross-cutting issue in project/programme design ensures that it is not forgotten. Reviews of project documents by the staff members with specific responsibility for gender equality also, it is thought, ensure that gender is mainstreamed. However, constraints on the time of those staff members prevent their subsequent involvement in implementation, monitoring and review of projects for which they are not responsible.
- 6.2 Some of the respondents from the Zambian government suggested that, while Norway may need a gender strategy to justify providing support for gender issues, its strategy is of no benefit to Zambia, which now refers to its own gender policy and action plan. Several informants within the embassy expressed the view that the strategy was useful in the past to assess and justify gender specific projects and gender components in sectoral projects but that it is less useful today, for two main reasons. First, the circumstances in each recipient country are different, and also most countries have their own gender policies and have integrated gender concerns to a greater or lesser extent in all their policy statements and programmes. Today, it is felt that it makes more sense during dialogue and programme design to refer to the country's own policies and practices.
- 6.3 Second, with donor harmonisation and alignment, it is widely felt to be inappropriate for each donor to have a separate strategy. If there is to be a new strategy, informants thought that it should be prepared jointly with other donors, possibly at the country level, and that it should be a leaner document. Even better would be donor engagement in policy dialogue to ensure that gender is integrated into national policies and plans. Because there is something of a backlash against 'women' and 'gender' as issues (both in Norway because gender equality is already thought to be mainstreamed and in Zambia because of misunderstandings and/or male resistance), it was also suggested that a revised strategy might start from a rights-based approach to development, identifying how rights can be identified and achieved for both men and women and addressing unequal power relations.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF MEETINGS AND INTERVIEWS

By Berit Aasen (team leader) in Oslo

- Halvard Lesteberg (former ambassador)
- Gunnar Boe (counsellor)
- Mari Lillejordet Karlsen (Embassy desk officer for civil society and gender 2002-4)

By Carole Rakodi (external consultant), Sr Auxilia Ponga (former PS, GIDD and consultant) and Edwidge K.M. Mutale (gender consultant) in Lusaka

Norwegian Embassy

- Terje Vigtel, Ambassador
- Lise Lindbæk, 2nd secretary, Economist
- Per K. Johansen, Programme Officer (roads)
- Rodney Lobo, 2nd secretary, gender and civil society
- Dorothy Hamuwele, Programme Officer, civil society (gender and HIV/AIDS)
- Moosho Imakando, Programme Officer, civil society (human rights and culture)
- Jan-Erik Studsrød, 1st secretary, agriculture and natural resources
- Kristin Spilling Johannsen, 2nd secretary, education and HIV/AIDS

Royal Netherlands Embassy

- Ineke van de Pol, 1st secretary gender/environment
- Bink van Walsem, 1st secretary agriculture and private sector development
- Mariët Schuurman, 1st secretary. (economist)

Agnes Musunga and Pamela Bwalya, Planning and Economic Management Department, MOFNP

Engwase Mwale, Executive Director, and Lucy Muyoyeta, Chair of Board, NGOCC

Margaret Machila, Norwegian Church Aid (Programme Officer, Norwegian Embassy 2001-2)

Prof. Nkandu Luo, Chair, Society for Women and Aids in Zambia (SWAZ) and Tasintha Given Lubinda, MP and consultant to NGOCC

Dr Lawrence Musonda, Acting PS; Monde M. Gwaba, Specialist; and Nobert Bukoka, Documentalist, GIDD

Focus group discussions

1. Large women's NGOs

- Lubinda Tafira, Zambia Alliance of Women (ZAW)
- Phides Nguluwe and Grace Tambatamba, Girl Guides Association of Zambia
- Christine Munalula, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF)
- Gertrude K. Mukanda, Women Entrepreneurship Development Association of Zambia (WEDAZ)

2. Small women's CSOs

- Idah Johnston, Waterfalls Rural-Urban Development Organisation (WARUDO)
- Alice Ngulube, Flame (programmes for women's welfare and IGAs and community schools)
- Iris Phiri, Alangizi National Association of Zambia (ANAZ) (traditional counsellors)

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF DOCUMENTS CONSULTED

Adams, M. (2003) **Land Tenure Policy and Practice in Zambia: Issues Relating to the Development of the Agricultural Sector**, Oxford, Mokoro, consultancy report for DFID.

Bwalya, E., Rakner, L., Svasand, L., Tostensen, A. and Tsoka, M. (2004) **Poverty Reduction Strategy Processes in Malawi and Zambia**, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute R 2004:8.

Byrne, B. (1994) **Gender Profile of Zambia**, Brighton: BRIDGE (development – gender), Institute of Development Studies (commissioned by Department of Foreign Affairs, Ireland)

Folscher, A. (2004) **The Design, Process and Achievements of Zambia’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper**, Oxford: Mokoro for DFID Zambia.

GIDD (Gender in Development Division) (2004a) **Zambia’s Progress Report on the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action**, Lusaka: Government of the Republic of Zambia, Cabinet Office.

GIDD (Gender in Development Division) (2004b) **Zambia’s Report on the Implementation of Resolution 58/185 of the United Nations General Assembly**, Lusaka: Government of the Republic of Zambia, Cabinet Office.

GIDD (Gender in Development Division) (2004c) **Strategic Plan of Action for the National Gender Policy (2004-2008)**, Lusaka: Government of the Republic of Zambia, Cabinet Office.

GRZ (Government of the Republic of Zambia) (2000) **National Gender Policy**, Cabinet Office.

GRZ (Government of the Republic of Zambia) (2002) **Zambia PRSP**, MOFED.

Hansungule, M. (2003) **Poverty in the Midst of the Market: the Zambian Scenario**, Montevideo: The Third World Institute – Social Watch
<http://www.socialwatch.org/en/informesNacionalies/210.htm> (accessed 12/05/05)

Hansungule, M. (2004) **Obstacles to Human Security in Zambia**, Montevideo: The Third World Institute – Social Watch <http://www.socialwatch.org/en/informesNacionalies/420.htm> (accessed 12/05/05)

IDD (International Development Department) (2005) **Joint Evaluation of General Budget Support, Inception Report**, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, School of Public Policy, first draft of report to DFID, January.

Matabishi, M. (2004) “PRP implementation and performance, impact on national development, constraints, challenges and way forward”, Paper presented to the Zambia Annual Poverty Review Conference, Lusaka 10-12 August, for CSPR.

Milimo, J.T. (2003) **PRSP Poverty Monitoring No. 1: Summary Report**, Lusaka: Civil Society for Poverty Reduction.

MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (2004) **Norway-Zambia Development Cooperation MOU**, Oslo: Government of Norway
(www.norway.org/zm/misc/print.aspx?article={c8272282-b7cc-413c-b3c2-f345})

MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (1997) **A Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation**, Oslo: Government of Norway.

OECD (2005) **DAC Survey on Harmonisation and Alignment: Progress in Implementing Harmonisation and Alignment in 14 Partner Countries**, Paris: OECD (draft).

Passing, S. (2003) **Between Grassroots and Governments: Civil Society Experiences with the PRSPs**, Copenhagen: North South Coalition PRSP Programme, Department for Development Research, Danish Institute for International Studies.

Rakner, L. (2003) **Political and Economic Liberalisation in Zambia 1991-2001**, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Seshamani, V. (2002) "The PRSP Process in Zambia", Paper to the Second Meeting of the African Learning Group on the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, Economic Commission for Africa, Brussels 18-21 November.

Subrahmanian, R. (2004) "Making sense of gender in shifting institutional contexts: Some reflections on gender mainstreaming", **IDS Bulletin** 35(4): 89-94.

SGS (1999) **GIDD: Evaluation Report 1998** (revised and abbreviated by E. Skjonsbert), Norway: Women in Development Consulting.

USAID/Zambia (2004) **Annual Report FY 2004**.

Whitehead, A. and Lockwood, A. (2002) "Gendering poverty: a review of six World Bank African Poverty Assessments", in Booth, A. and Mosley, P. (ed) **What Have They Achieved? What Have We Learned?** Basingstoke: Palgrave, p. 223-52.

Zuckerman, E. and Garrett, A. (2003) **Do Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) Address Gender? A Gender Audit of 2002 PRSPs**, A Gender Action Publication
(<http://www.genderaction.org>)