

Sida Funded Initiatives Targeted at Gender Equality in Georgia

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ABWA	Association of Business Women of Abkhazia
AVNG	Anti-Violence Network of Georgia
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
ET	Evaluation Team
GAD	Gender and Development
GCGE	Government Commission on Gender Equality
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IT	Information Technology
LFA	Logical Framework Analysis
NAP	National Action Plan for gender equality
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RBM	Results Based Management
SCF	Save the Children Fund
SJIDP	Samtskhe-Javakheti Integrated Development Programme (UNDP)
ToR	Terms of Reference
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
VAW	Violence Against Women
WID	Women in Development
WPNC	“Women for Peace” Network/Coalition
WRC	Women’s Regional Centre, Samtskhe Javakheti
WV/GEF	World Vision/Georgian Enterprise Fund
WVI	World Vision International

Executive Summary

The purpose of the evaluation, carried out between August and November 2007, was to assess the results of support to enhancing gender equality and gender equality in peace processes in Georgia, in order to provide Sida with guidance on its future strategy. Section 1 of the report outlines the purpose and methodology.

The evaluated projects are:

- Gender and politics implement UNDP
- Women for Conflict Prevention & Peace Building, Southern Caucasus, UNIFEM
- Kvinna till Kvinna's strengthening of respect for women's rights, S. Caucasus
- Women's Regional Centre in Samtskhe Javakheti, Georgia, UNDP
- Human rights training to Internally Displaced Persons, NRC

Section 3 of the report assesses each project on the basis of its own expected *results* regarding gender equality and peace, as well as *sustainability* and *relevance*. Although most projects made significant progress in reaching their objectives, some suffered from highly unfavourable conditions and/or poor planning and gender analysis which limited their achievements.

Section 2 of the report outlines the context of the evaluation and develops the conceptual framework according to criteria agreed on with Sida. The key questions guiding the discussion of impact are summarized as follows:

- *Agency*: how do programs contribute to the agency, or empowerment of women? This will be addressed at the individual, organisational and network (civil society arena) levels.
- *Preconditions*: How do the projects help to establish relevant preconditions for promoting women's agency? How do project achievements contribute to improved conditions for achieving women's equality in the long terms?
- *Gender analysis*: How effective have projects been in gender analysis to identify the most appropriate strategies for achieving gender equality in a conflict ridden and changing context?
- *Gender and conflict/Conflict resilience*: What role have conflict and peace building played in promoting or hindering the development of gender equality?

Section 4 assess the overall *impact* of the projects to the extent possible given the serious methodological limitations, and the very short time frame of the projects. This is followed by Recommendations (section 5) divided into what Sida *should* do, and what additional measures Sida *could* do to enhance project impact.

The core contribution of project interventions has been towards empowering women, at the individual, organisational and networks levels. Individual empowerment is particularly critical where women have been further disempowered through displacement and various forms of conflict. In this context, face to face meetings across conflict lines have been successful both for individual empowerment and the development of networks, although maintenance of communication and coordination depends on extensive use of the internet where conflicts limit both travel and telephones.

Project support has focused largely on organizational development and the linking of these through networks. Besides supporting women's agency, this strategy reflects Sida's Civil Society policy, helping

women to participate in democracy building. Significant achievements have been made towards addressing women's empowerment through access to knowledge (international conventions, women's rights) shared analysis and capacity for extensive collective action through networks, increased resistance to gender based violence, and increased (albeit limited) to effect legislation in their own interests.

Women's empowerment can be facilitated through strengthening pre-conditions that promote a enabling environment, which several projects, particularly the interventions of the UNDP and UNIFEM addressed through national legislation and government mechanisms. Achievements included the establishment of a Parliamentary Gender Equality Advisory Council, a National Action Plan for gender equality (NAP) and domestic violence legislation. However, these accomplishments were less than hoped for, and efforts in this area were hampered by a negative context that included a low priority for gender issues, neo liberal economic strategies that tend to work against women's interests, the overwhelming predominance of men among decision makers, and the conflict, which places social issues on the backburner.

Projects also attempted to create an enabling environment through greater participation of women in decision making, since women make up only 9% of parliament and 11% of local governments. Strategies include work with political parties to encourage gender commitments, which has achieved only declarations so far; a forum for women councillors that provides good support but has limited coverage (10–12% of women councillors) and campaigns to convince people to vote for women. These strategies have yet to produce results, and do not take into account major external obstacles such as electoral reforms that reduce the number of representatives at all levels, resistance to establishing quotas, and financial barriers of various kinds for women.

All of the projects address attitudes and culture to create a more enabling environment for women's equality. Public awareness events, photo exhibits, media campaigns etc were very difficult for the ET to assess, given their general targeting and the lack of indicators or baseline data for measurement. Holistic training programmes (following the KAP model – knowledge, action, practice) were generally much more effective in changing attitudes than those addressing just information transfer.

Sida policy expects all projects to be based on a gender analysis. This was not articulated systematically in any of the projects, although some incorporated a gender perspective more clearly than others. Given the context, gender analysis must incorporate conflict analysis; the two elements cannot be separated conceptually and practically. The analysis and case studies in UNIFEM's training manual, for example, are grounded in women's experience during the wars and their capacity for gender analysis.

Where gender analysis is weak, partners confuse gender equality (the goal) and gender equity – targeted strategies for achieving equality. In addition, they may confuse symptoms of inequality (women's condition) with the causes (women's position). Many projects address the urgent needs such as health, income and protection of poor and IDP women, but projects with a gender analysis use these as an entry point to draw women into reflection and action on underlying causes. As such, they are more likely to be empowering and to lead to more significant results.

Targeting can also include strategies to address men's attitudes and gender identity. Only the NRC does this through its peer to peer programme, although many of the projects involve men. Extensive training carried out by the UNDP Gender and Politics programme for example, includes male decision makers, journalists, and businessmen; many local partners have programmes for the whole community. The lack of a strategy to address culturally embedded concepts of masculinity misses an essential opportunity and continues to place the burden of change on women.

Cumulatively, project initiatives involving women in all aspects of their lives, represent a distinctive integration of gender analysis, a grasp of gendered power relations and actualization of women's agency in the face of conflict. All of these elements relate to the aspirations of SCR 1325 to draw on

women's expertise. The networks all functioned to disseminate knowledge and methodologies around conflict resilience, although virtual communication may risk over-simplification of the challenges involved.

Widening the circle of gendered conflict resilience remains a challenge, although there are initiatives underway. As women's organisations acquire more expertise and confidence, it will become increasingly important to step beyond their 'safe circles' to reach out increasingly to men, neighbours, other organizations etc.

Although the ToR did not encompass the gender implications of possible future political settlement between Georgia and Abkhazia, evidence shows that even where women have made essential contributions to maintaining the social fabric of war-affected societies, their voices are 'disappeared' once a settlement is actually set in train. Given this reality, there are some arenas that should be addressed:

- Georgian women's de jure equality in property inheritance is often undermined by customary law, which may adversely affect returning women IDPs
- Tackling government policies in a post conflict society such as compulsory conscription, and the state defense budget (currently out of bounds for women to discuss)
- Women's experiences of armed conflict have given them a measure of empowerment e.g. as household heads: normalization might mean a return to patriarchal expectations.

Recommendations: Sida Should

- Continue to support gender equality work because it contributes effectively, although in the long term, to the promotion of human rights, peace building and democratic government.
- Prioritize work with women's CSO's and their intercession in policy development and lobbying. This is effective in Georgia, and promotes Sida's objectives for democratic development.
- Support legislation and national machinery although as a lesser priority, dependent on demonstrations of government commitment, and complementing the efforts and priorities of women's organizational efforts.
- Support partners in developing an effective RBM capacity in order to better monitor medium and long term results, as well as identify risks and opportunities.
- Ensure that projects it supports carry out specific gender analyses, which should be the basis on which to build the results chain of the RBM, and count on skilled gender experts.
- Support partners who have demonstrated their capacity to combine conflict sensitivity with gender analysis, or where this capacity is lacking, Sida should consider how to provide support from skilled experts.
- Ensure that projects it supports define and develop learning/capacity development objectives rather than activity focused (training) ones, which do not provide useful indicators of results, especially in the area of behaviour change.
- Support partners in targeting men, particularly in their attitudes and behaviours as men (masculinity) because changes in men's attitude are critical to changing the cultural obstacles to equality.

Recommendations: Sida Could

- Take leadership among donors in establishing a mechanism for coordinating gender efforts to ensure most effective use of resources, avoid duplication and promote the development of a cohesive, high profile approach to gender among donors.

- Take initiative, based on its leadership and the accumulated experience to organize a tripartate (government, donors, CSO) forum for discussing gender issues, sharing research done by partners, identifying research needs etc.
- In conjunction with the improved RBM process, above, work with partners to develop a shared set of indicators that could form the basis for future impact assessment, strengthen gender analysis, and contribute to a more coherent agenda for women's equality.
- Include other partners of Sida participate in the discussions on gender. Some of projects could provide 'good practice' learning for other Sida supported projects.
- Promote national awareness of the level and impact of violence against women statistical research – such as household surveys – to better measure VAW and possibly calculate economic and social costs. This would provide a more accurate base for government policy/services, and raise public awareness in a new way.
- Use its international legitimacy to facilitate a set of encounters between current partners, other stakeholders to dialogue about 'post-conflict Georgia'. (It would be vital to avoid exposing any of the participants to public criticism.)

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the Evaluation

The purpose of the evaluation is to assess the results of support to enhancing gender equality and gender equality in peace processes in Georgia, in order to provide Sida with guidance for its future strategy. Sida's interest is in assessing the overall results of a series of five project initiatives in the promotion of gender equality, rather than a detailed evaluation of each.

Sweden began its development work in the Caucasus in a limited fashion in 1998, with the first strategy for development cooperation adopted in 2003 and a significant increase in support to Georgia following the Rose Revolution. Since 2003, projects targeted at increasing gender equality have constituted a significant share of the cooperation in the area of good governance and human rights in all three countries.¹ The projects have focused on increasing women's political participation in general, mobilising the women's movement, creating or strengthening the institutional mechanisms (national machinery) for gender equality and increasing women's participation in processes of conflict management and peace building in particular and at networking across conflicts. While recognizing that gender addresses structures and stereotypes of both women and men, these projects have aimed fundamentally at empowering women.

The evaluated projects are:

- Gender and politics by UNDP includes Georgia and Armenia and aims at capacity building and skills development activities of women in decision-making positions as well as facilitating a dialogue on gender issues. (2003-ongoing)
- Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in the Southern Caucasus was implemented by UNIFEM and includes the three countries in the South Caucasus; Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The overall objective was to enable the development of a transformative peace agenda for the South Caucasus, which ensures the protection of women's human rights. The project activities focus on ensuring that the women organisations and other representatives of women have the skills and opportunities to advocate for women's rights. (2003–2006)
- Kvinna till Kvinna's activities in the South Caucasus aims to contribute to the strengthening of women's position and the respect for women's rights in a society affected by several conflicts. (2002- ongoing)
- Women's Regional Centre in Samtskhe Javakheti, Georgia, UNDP. The project comprises the establishment of and support to a women's Regional centre in the Samtskhe-Javakheti region. The project is part of a larger UNDP project aimed at developing the region and reducing risks of conflict between the large Armenian minority and Georgians in the region. (2003–2006)
- Human rights training to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) including gender and trafficking by the Norwegian Refugee Council.

Key areas addressed in the evaluation are:

1. *results* of the listed Sida funded projects as stated in the project documents in terms of gender equality and peace processes

¹ The development cooperation with Georgia is gender mainstreamed to some extent, but this evaluation concerns only projects specifically targeted at gender equality. In addition, the S. Caucasus programme includes Armenia and Azerbaijan, but the ToR limited the ET to Georgia.

2. *impact* of the projects, as much as possible, in terms of gender equality and peace processes
3. *sustainability* of the projects in terms of gender equality and peace processes
4. *relevance* and appropriateness of the projects
5. *recommendations* to Sida on what areas and methods could be fruitful in Sida's continued work to forward gender equality and gender aspects of peace processes.

1.2 Outline of the Report

The report is divided into 6 sections, including this introduction and the Annexes.

The *Background* (section 2) includes both the conceptual framework and a brief description of the national context. The framework addresses relevant Sida policy as well as gender and peacebuilding concepts relevant to project activities objectives.

Project Results (section 3) addresses the results of each of the five projects according to their own expected results, incorporating both descriptions and findings. This section is fairly heterogeneous given that there is no "gender programme" in Sida that would provide a common set of results, and all reports are in different formats.

Evaluative conclusions and Lessons Learned (Section 4) addresses impact issues in relation to the theoretical context (2.1) and the specific questions incorporated in the inception report (see annex 6.2), as well as issues of sustainability and relevance. Lessons learned are included here as they follow logically from the evaluative conclusions. These identify good practices Sida should keep in mind in programme planning.

Recommendations (Section 5) makes specific recommendations for future Sida programming. As the Terms of Reference (ToR) require, this does *not* include recommendations regarding which projects should receive funding. This section is divided into two sections: what Sida *should* do (core recommendations) and what Sida *could* do (additional alternatives to enhance Sida's interventions)

The *Annexes* (Section 6) provides background information to the evaluation, the (methodology, persons met, resources etc) and includes additional information of interest but not appropriate for the body of the report.

1.3 Methodology

The evaluation took place in two phases. Phase I was undertaken in August/September 2007 to identify the type of evaluation that could most approximate an impact assessment under the circumstances. An Inception Report was prepared and agreed to by Sida as a guide to Phase II.

The actual evaluation, Phase II took place from September through November 2007, including a 22-day mission in October in Georgia to gather data. The team visited eight cities/towns across the country and interviewed Sida's four partners, a large sampling of their local partners, beneficiaries, stakeholders in government and civil society, key informants, and other donors. A complete list can be found in Annex 6.1. The team provided a debriefing with the local Sida office with its provisional conclusions.

The methodology employed was customized to meet Sida objectives for the evaluation. Besides aspects of a regular project evaluation, the Evaluation Team (ET) incorporated the development of conceptual elements to identify common underlying assumptions among the five projects and to assess the combined contribution of these efforts towards achieving gender equality in Georgia. The conceptual discussion and the complete methodological framework that served as base are available in a separate docu-

ment (Inception Report, September 2007) but the specific relevant sections (Gender equality, and gender and peace issues, Methodology) are reproduced here in Annexes 6.2 and 6.3 respectively.

In addition, Sida asked the ET to prioritize results at the grass roots level, not because government partners are not as important, but because Sida feels it has more access to central levels of consultation on a regular basis than it does to beneficiaries and local partners throughout the country.

The team members were Dr. Ruth Jacobson, specialist in gender and conflict, Nino Saakashvili, evaluation specialist and local expert, and Gabriela Byron (team leader), evaluation and gender equality specialist.

1.4 Limitations

While three weeks is an ambitious framework for assessing the results of five different projects throughout the country, there were only a few minor unanticipated limitations. The main limitation was the delay in finding a local consultant who was not involved in any of the projects, and therefore under no conflict of interest. Minor logistical difficulties were encountered such as a delay in receiving permission to visit Abkhazia that resulted in changes in schedules at the last minute. Also, in spite of repeated efforts, we were not able to meet with some of the key contacts in both government and the donor community and/or to identify gender focal persons within these organisations. In addition, some of the projects had very poor documentation, others had ended and key people were no longer available. Finally, interviewing IDP women about their personal histories was obviously constrained by ethical concerns, especially in the area of the types of violence they had experienced/witnessed.

2. Background

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Sida's original intention of this evaluation was to go beyond an assessment of outcome results to begin to assess potential impact of a set of project interventions on gender equality. This was not realistic for two reasons: first, the interventions were of a long-term nature, but were too recent in implementation to show impact. Secondly, there were no impact indicators to work with: individual projects are not part of an overall Sida gender programme that would have articulated them, and none of the projects address results beyond the outcome level (i.e. end-of-project results attributable to direct actions of the project). This is a weakness in the results based management (RBM) approach of Sida partners: a comprehensive and effective RBM framework would include an effective results chain at all levels.²

For this reason, the ToR refer to the concept of a "programme theory" as an alternative approach. It involves the re-construction of the underlying theory, and the assessment of its constituent parts and their mutual connections. This reconstruction would be most effectively done as an internal participatory process, project by project, since those involved will best know what they had in mind. A serious attempt to do this with one project, let alone five, is unrealistic in the overall scope of this evaluation.

² According to Programme theory: *Projects may fail either because of problems related to their implementation (e.g., lack of money, steering problems, etc) or because the logic on which they were built was wrong in some way (e.g. inadequate focus, unrealistic assumptions, etc.)*
An effective results chain would provide evaluators – and more importantly, project managers – with a framework for identifying where failures occur. This is a very common project weakness, especially given that the process of identifying serious impact indicators is difficult and time consuming, and is most appropriate to the programme level of intervention.

Given these serious limitations, the ET nevertheless opted to retrieve some elements of this process by identifying Sida's underlying assumptions based on its policies and strategies, combined with some key concepts of gender theory to arrive at an understanding of what 'gender equality' means across the range of the selected projects.

2.1.1 Policy framework

The evaluation team approached this challenge by first assessing issues relevant to gender equality in the key policy and planning documents relating to work in Georgia. These include: *Strategy for development cooperation with Southern Caucasus, January 2006–December 2009*; *Promoting Gender Equality in Development Cooperation* (2005); *'Sida's Support to Civil Society'*, (2007); *Promoting Peace and Security through Development Cooperation*, (2005).³ Together, these documents allowed us to construct a vision of gender equality specific to the Georgian context that reflects both Sida policy and established gender equality concepts.

Strategy for development cooperation with Southern Caucasus, January 2006–December 2009

This Strategy proposes to double support to Georgia, based particularly on the European Neighbourhood policy externally, and the opportunities posed by the Rose Revolution internally. The programme has two principal goals: enhanced democracy & greater respect for human rights, and sustainable economic development, primarily in agriculture. The ET assessed projects related to the first of these, which inter alia, proposes to ensure greater citizen access and influence in political processes; support the government in mainstreaming gender equality in public institutions, enable people to demand compliance with human rights; create free media, heighten public awareness of human rights and the need for gender equality between women and men, girls and boys, and support the development of local democracy.

Promoting Gender Equality in Development Cooperation

This policy framework contains five premises:

- (1) Gender equality strengthens anti-poverty strategies
- (2) Gender equality is crucial to reach sustainable democratic development
- (3) Unequal power structures and their causes must be addressed in working towards gender equality
- (4) Gender equality is about relations between men and women, boys and girls which differ from culture to culture
- (5) Equal economic opportunity is fundamental for the achievement of sustainable economic and democratic development.⁴

While recognizing that systemic gender inequality is one of the main causes of poverty and a major obstacle to development, Sida's gender policy is firmly based on a Rights approach, re-affirming all key international agreements (such as the International Declaration of Human Rights, CEDAW, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and others).

Sida's policy includes three strategies for mainstreaming gender in all its work:

- Actively applying and integrating the gender perspective (which necessarily includes a gender analysis for all interventions)
- Targeting specific groups or issues (which can include men)
- Conducting a gender-aware dialogue with partners

³ We recognize there are earlier versions of the strategy and policies in some cases, but given the forward looking approach of this evaluation, have chosen generally to work with the more recent versions.

⁴ *Promoting Gender Equality in Development Cooperation* (2005) pp 6–7

The projects assessed do not appear to have been based on a prior gender analysis, either by Sida or by the project partners. Significantly, Sida's policy on monitoring of interventions to promote gender equality states: "It is not sufficient to consider how the conditions of women have improved as a result from an intervention. There is also a need to know if the relationships between women and men have changed."⁵ (emphasis added)

Sida's support to civil society

A strong, varied and active civil society is a critical component of a healthy democracy. Sida's policy of supporting the potential of civil society to build democratic societies and promote peace and security is also highly relevant to the Georgian context. Sida envisions support to civil society in three direct and one indirect manners:

- Selective support to competent organisations as implementing agencies;
- Support to organisations with the aim of strengthening their capacity as democratic actors in civil society;
- Support to organisations and networks to strengthen the role of civil society as an *arena* for citizens' engagement, and to promote transparency, cooperation and networking among organisations
- Support for the development of an enabling social environment.

While not directed specifically at women's civil society organisations, support to them is clearly complementary to the gender policy in order to strengthen the incorporation of women's experience and perspective in national development as well as to address gender specific issues.

Promoting Peace and Security through Development Co-operation

Sida is committed to the concept of 'human security.' This emphasises the rights and needs of people rather than the territorial security of the state. Its framework is grounded in an overarching view of 'violent conflict', understood by Sida as "incompatibilities or differences between groups of people that result in organised violence."⁶ The outcomes of these incompatibilities cover a wide range including "violent confrontations and manifestations in society, such as violent riots and massive crackdowns on protestors, to wars, genocide and massacres."⁷ However, our ToR required a focus only on the armed conflicts occurring in Georgia over the post Soviet period around the secession of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Within this framework, Sida's policy manifests an underlying transformative project. Instead of the historical emphasis on states' military capacity, it aims to support "actors and systems within society that can deal with the incompatibilities and differences in a peaceful way." The aim is "to enable poor people to improve their lives in an environment of peace, democracy, good governance, gender equality, human rights ..."⁸

The inclusion of gender equality here complements that contained in the other two policy documents. The policy also focuses on an essential area for the evaluation, that of conflict sensitivity: "Sida shall strive to ensure that development co-operation has no negative impact and thus does not escalate tensions between the parties to a conflict."⁹ This requirement is often referred to as 'Do No Harm'; it obviously applies to all of Sida's partners involved in peace building.

⁵ *ibid*, p. 11

⁶ Sida, *Promoting Peace and Security through Development Co-operation*, (2005) p.4

⁷ Sida, *op cit*, p. 5

⁸ Sida, *op cit*, p.5

⁹ Sida, *op cit*, p. 7

Summary

Taken together, these policies form a fundamental and holistic vision of social transformation which provides a reference point against which to assess evaluative activities. They also provided some points of departure for formulating our analytical priorities, such as:

- assessing the contribution of women's struggles and agency in support of democratic development in Georgia e.g. through their support for the principles of the Rose Revolution and the implementation of international instruments on women's rights
- acknowledging the centrality of unequal power structures in the lived reality of Georgian women and girls (see section 2.2 on gender regimes) and the need to address their causes. This concept very frequently demands an analysis of male behaviour in terms of the construction of masculinity
- incorporating the contextual elements of gender, which allows for the varied impact of the armed conflict on different sections of the population, especially those that have been internally displaced (IDPs) or directly affected in some other way e.g. the military establishment
- assessing equality as a human right, affecting women in many different ways regardless of their economic status. While poverty is exacerbated by gender inequality, all women are subject to effects of gender inequality such as gender based violence and political exclusion addressing the ways in which women's participation in civil society as well as politics promotes both democracy and gender equality

2.1.2 Gender Equality Concepts

To complement Sida policy, the ET introduced additional conceptual elements:

'Women's empowerment' was referred to but not defined in Sida policy. The concept is linked to but separate from gender equality. The ET and Sida agreed on the use of the definition of empowerment developed by Naila Kabeer¹⁰ and summarized as:

a process by which those who have been denied power gain power, in particular the ability to make strategic life choices. For women, these could be the capacity to choose a marriage partner, a livelihood, or whether or not to have children.

According to Kabeer, three interrelated dimensions are needed for empowerment to occur

- (1) *pre-conditions* in terms of access to and control of material resources
- (2) *agency* – the ability to use these resources to bring about new opportunities) and
- (3) *achievements* – the attainment of new social outcomes. 'Agency' in particular is a subjective term and not always reflected in an instrumentalist approach addressing measurable outcomes. Impact on empowerment perceived by outsiders might not necessarily be those most valued by women themselves.

Programme implications of this approach include:

Supporting preconditions that facilitate empowerment: It is important to keep in mind that the *goal* is equality. The strategy may be to provide unequal or privileged access to resources for women in order to improve their capacity to reach equality – e.g. affirmative action, quotas, projects directed exclusively at women, etc. These are generally known as gender equity strategies. The state can play a major role in developing these preconditions, although other social actors (the Church, CSO, donors) can play an important role.

Developing effective equity strategies requires thorough gender analysis; otherwise projects to redress women's inequality may simply address women's practical needs such as employment, access to health

¹⁰ First introduced: 1999 "Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment" in *Development and Change* 30:435-464

care, without changing the underlying structures that cause women's unequal access. These risk becoming women's projects, isolated from the general development efforts.

Agency, or empowerment, necessarily includes a strong voice for women and their organisations in determining the issues that affect their lives. In the end, relevance of interventions must be based on their assessment.

The critical achievements are changes in power relations – or conditions for them. These may take place at different levels, including the household, social or political organisations, state legislation/policy. They may include access to economic, social and political resources, government programmes, greater economic decision making, greater security from VAW, etc.

Sida's premise of unequal power structures is developed in more detail in order to encompass the range of embedded obstacles and constraints facing projects which aimed to alter the gender status quo. These can take extreme forms, such as violence against women (VAW); in other cases, they can be insidious e.g. through trivialisation of 'women's issues' by male politicians.

2.1.3 Evaluative framework: key concepts

Based on the above, the ET developed the following working assumptions about gender equality on which to base the evaluative questions on gender impact of the projects:

- Gender equality is about changing power relationships between women and men, not about improving women's material conditions (although this may be a component) Opportunities for intervention must be assessed not only on how they affect women's immediate needs, but how they may ultimately affect power relations. The specific case of peacebuilding provides *opportunities* for addressing power relations as well as women's immediate needs. At the same time, conflict situations provide the *risk* of worsening power relations which must be avoided.
- In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to have a finely tuned analysis of the gender specific context of the project. This is particularly critical in the ever-changing context of a conflict situation. Analyzing the centrality of unequal power structures experienced by Georgian women and girls is critical to most effectively targeting their causes. This includes an analysis of male behaviour, even where project interventions are principally directed at women.
- Strategies for gender equality should address unequal power relations between men and women through processes of empowerment, as well as equity strategies designed to address the roots of inequality rather than its symptoms. The latter risk becoming isolated and irrelevant "women's projects".
- Agency – as self actualization of women towards their interests – must be individual, but can also characterize organisations (actors) that promote self realization and networks (arenas)
- The State has the responsibility for establishing preconditions for gender equality (equity strategies) but civil society and particularly women themselves have a key role. Women's civil society organisations and networks contribute simultaneously to promoting strategic gender interests of women, as well as greater democratization and conflict resilience.¹¹
- Achievements of new social outcomes can be progressive, and to some extent cyclical: eg; achievement of initial outcomes can in turn create preconditions for greater equality. For example, has training of men created better conditions for achieving gender equality? Have legislative gains, or the involvement of women in politics improved conditions for empowering women generally?

¹¹ A definition of conflict resilience is found in Annex 6.2

- Interventions based on the human security framework outlined above can promote gender equality. One of the most significant demonstrations of this has been UN Security Council Resolution 1325 which affirms the agency of women in relation to conflict and peace. This in turn requires attention to how the projects have approached the challenges of implementation. Have they managed to combine 'Do No Harm' with 'Doing Some Good'?

The ET therefore has constructed a simplified conceptual framework for the analysis which will include:

Agency: how do programmes contribute to the agency, or empowerment of women? This will be addressed at the individual, organisational and network (civil society arena) levels.

Preconditions: How do the projects help to establish relevant preconditions for promoting women's agency? How do project achievements contribute to improved conditions for achieving women's equality in the long terms?

Gender analysis: How effective have projects been in gender analysis to identify the most appropriate strategies for achieving gender equality in a conflict ridden and changing context?

Gender and conflict: What role have conflict and peace building played in promoting or hindering the development of gender equality?

2.2 Context

The entire South Caucasus region (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) has faced challenges to peace, security and socio-economic development since independence in 1991. A complex and difficult Soviet legacy and substantial economic decline in the 1990s have been compounded by significant armed conflicts within the region. Life in Georgia is substantially shaped by these three elements: the Soviet legacy, economic collapse and capitalist reconstruction, and the ongoing conflict. By the early 1990s, Georgia had been transformed from a popular holiday destination of the Soviet Union into a country that had experienced not just intense internal unrest involving the use of arms but also wars in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. These wars are commonly categorised as arising from ethnic identities grounded in history, language, culture, religion etc. However, there are also issues around control of economic resources such as gas and oil pipelines and the opportunities provided by conflict for conducting illegal forms of trade.

South Ossetia (which borders the Russian province of North Ossetia) sought full independence in 1990. In 1991–1992, this conflict over its status culminated in an intense episode of fighting between opposed forces and two-way displacement of both Georgians and Ossetians affecting around 60,000 people. In June 1992, the Sochi Agreement brought about a cease-fire, leading to deployment of joint Russian, Georgian and Ossetian peacekeeping forces. Abkhazia in north-west Georgia also sought secession from Georgia in the early 1990s. Tensions rose throughout 1992 leading to war, with forces loyal to Tbilisi occupying the Abkhazian capital of Sukhumi. In the process of reclaiming the territory, approx 250,000 of the population of Georgian ethnicity fled to safety, abandoning their property and possessions. Overall, up to 10,000 lives were lost in this war. In May 1994 the Moscow Ceasefire Agreement, again saw deployment of Russian troops in a peacekeeping capacity.¹²

All of the populations involved in these wars have experienced some form of loss or trauma. The material and the psycho-social include death of family members, loss of homes and livelihoods, experiencing incursions of war into their everyday lives and the ongoing economic impact. Not surprisingly, therefore, the situation is marked by mutually contradictory 'histories of blame'.

¹² The information in the above paragraph is a summary from the International Crisis Group conflict briefing: http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?action=conflict_search&l=1&t=1&c_country=42, accessed 5 January 2008.

The post Rose Revolution government has inherited this legacy of armed conflict along with the economic and political implications of loss of territorial integrity. Since there is a ceasefire in both cases, with peacekeeping forces in place, the conflicts are commonly described as ‘frozen’. However, the protagonists continue to deploy their respective forces in ways that result in regular encounters involving death, wounding or capture of military personnel (see Box section 3.3, for an example).

There are no official government-level initiatives or time lines for any form of political settlement¹³. Attempts by civil society to contribute to a public debate on the conflict operate under severe constraints. For example, key Georgian informants saw discussion of compulsory conscription and military expenditure as being ‘out of bounds’ until national territorial integrity had been achieved. Successive Georgian governments have regarded the IDP populations as political pawns and the Saakashvili government only produced a specific policy for a ‘safe and dignified return’ of the IDPs in 2007.

The conflict often overshadows other pressing issues in Georgia. The country suffered a severe economic crisis following independence and a drastic restructuring of the economy in a neo-liberal market model characterized by massive privatization. Women generally lost in this process as “women’s fields” (textiles, food industry, chemical production and the social spheres) were most affected, and women did not benefit from privatization because state companies went mainly to people entrenched in government hierarchy – predominantly men.¹⁴ In addition, women found themselves resuming more work (or costs) in their reproductive roles as services such as daycare were privatized. At the same time they became increasingly responsible for family survival.

Georgia subscribes to various international agreements and conventions including CEDAW, SRC 1325, and the Beijing Platform, all of which require changes to national level policy and legislation. Therefore, over the years, Georgia has adopted gender action plans, but has neither implemented nor assigned resources to them.¹⁵ This leads to the frequent suspicion that Georgia approves international agreements more to meet donor expectations and aspirations to join the EU rather than to meet the needs of its own citizens. A contributing factor is that women have little power in decision making they comprise only 9% of representatives at the national, and 11% at the local government level.

Gendered features of all aspects of Georgian life can be analyzed in terms of the concept of ‘gender regimes’ – that is, the institutionalized practices and forms of social norms, rules, regulations, and principles which inscribe the roles that men and women can play in any given society, and which become so embedded in everyday life that they become seen as ‘natural’. At the same time, gender regimes are never static or immune to change: Georgia contains three overlapping types of regime – patriarchal; Soviet; post Soviet transition to market economy and formal liberal democracy. (see Box below)

¹³ This statement applies to the situation prior to the political unrest in November 2007 and the subsequent elections of January 2008.

¹⁴ Jashi, Charita *Gender Analysis of Socioeconomic Development: the Case of Georgia. 2005*, published as part of the UNDP/Sida Gender and Politics Project, pp.80, 90. The study provides an analysis of the various ways that women were more negatively affected by economic restructuring.

¹⁵ At the time of the mission in October, the Government was just approving the latest watered down plan, which is reported to have a budget although the ET could not confirm what the budget is.

Gender Regimes

Patriarchal refers to historical patterns of male dominance where women are not considered competent to participate in the public sphere. Another very common characteristic of this kind of regime is that the sexual conduct of girls and women is 'policed' by family, community and sometimes even legal norms e.g. the different consequences of adultery for men and women. These norms remain strong, despite the other major socio-economic changes in Georgian life. A wide range of informants stressed that unmarried women had to avoid any suspicion of loss of virginity. Girls are still expected to marry young and move into the household of their husband's family. This custom continues to affect women's autonomy and reduce their options. Historically, the patriarchal regime in Georgia was also linked to a widespread practice of 'bride kidnapping'; this is now less frequent, but by no means rare.

The **Soviet** regime brought an ideological transformation that formally awarded women full political and economic status. This resulted in high levels of literacy, education and participation in the work force, providing a façade of gender equality. The emergence of a subsection of professional women did not substantially change gender relationships within the private sphere. To some extent, these relationships could be maintained because the state took on widespread responsibility in supporting women's reproductive role, particularly in day care and kindergarten, and health care.

In the **Post-Soviet** transition women have faced more significant socio-economic pressures with the decline in state services in health and childcare, and the rise of unemployment and poverty among women. There may have been increased domestic violence as the economy has deteriorated. Women remain generally better educated than men, but this is not reflected in their employment and pay structures. Georgian women now regard the Soviet period with mixed views. While still rejecting the Soviet political model, they regret the loss of security in employment, housing, pensions etc.

While women are well represented in civil society, this sector as known today emerged only following independence. There was a rapid growth of NGOs responding to both needs of the population and opportunities presented by the presence of foreign donors. NGOs are almost exclusively funded by external donors, thus suffering from lack of sustainability and often moving in accordance with a donor-driven agenda.

The NGO sector considered the previous government to be compromised by corruption, and contributed much of the groundwork for civil society mobilization behind the Rose Revolution. Since 2003 many NGO activists themselves have gone into government. There is some disillusion that the current government is not open to consultation with NGOs, except with a very narrow group that shares its viewpoint.

This has weakened women's NGOs, although some of their attitudes and approaches may have entered government policy-making. Despite this, there is still confidence that their continuing activism around gender issues impacts on government so as to produce positive results. There are an estimated 150 women's organisations in a number of spheres and organized in a range of activities and in two national networks.

While the evaluation focused on the NGO sector, it was clear that other civil society actors have undergone significant change. The Church for example has emerged as an important social actor, while unions struggle under the new agenda of privatisation.

Gender and War-Affected Communities.

The gendered impact of armed conflict is now internationally recognized in the field of security/conflict, noticeably through the passing in October 2000 of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. The text of 1325¹⁶ encapsulates several issues that are pertinent to the Georgian context. First, it

¹⁶ The full text is available from: <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/res1325.pdf>

presents the necessity of a gender analysis when looking at the impact of armed conflict e.g. the ways in which women civilians rather than militaries are becoming 'primary targets' for violence, including sexual violence. At the same time, it stresses that a gendered analysis will encompass women's capacity as agents not just victims. Since women have an important role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, it is vital to have women's "equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security." There is an urgent need to "increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution." 1325 further places obligations on member states¹⁷ and all UN bodies to increase the participation of women in decision-making and peace processes, to ensure the human rights of women and girls, and to institute gender perspectives and training in peacekeeping.

SCR 1325 is a watershed political framework that makes gender perspectives and women relevant to negotiating peace agreements, planning humanitarian and peacekeeping operations, and rebuilding war-torn communities. It makes the pursuit of gender equality relevant to every single Security Council action, ranging from elections to disarmament efforts. The resolution is a broad blueprint, calling for change in how the international community deals with peace and security issues.

The resolution is ground breaking because of the depth of change in the approach to international peace and security that is necessary for its implementation. By adopting the Resolution, the Security Council created a framework of accountability at the highest level of peace and security decision-making in the international community.

*Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women:
Report of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, 2005*

A fully gendered analysis of the impact of war would require attention to differences between male and female experiences. However, practical constraints mean that the focus has been on women. These impacts can be summarized as:

- **Loss of material security:** This impact cannot be generalized across all IDP women. Some segments of female Georgian IDPs with professional status (doctors, teachers, businesswomen) had enjoyed a measure of pre-conflict economic security. A larger proportion had lived within rural households where their security was anyway dependent on male partners/kin. However, all IDP women have shared some form of material loss.
- **Traumas of terror and flight:** Women recounted leaving their houses with 'dinner cooking on the stove' and there were miscarriages during the extreme conditions of the flight. These experiences also span all sections of the population.
- **The ET found from accounts of women's organisations that sexual violence was carried out against Georgian women but that this remains a 'taboo' subject within the patriarchal context.**
- **Abkhazian women suffered the incursion of Georgian forces and the economic effects of collapse in tourism to the Black Sea resorts. They face economic sanctions, limitations on travel and the perception of living in a 'siege state'.**
- **Georgian government manipulation/disregard for IDP welfare has meant that women have had to bring up families in over-crowded 'collective centres' with inadequate sanitation and frequent outbreaks of conflict. According to the UNHCR, conditions for IDPs from Ossetia have been even worse. Only a small minority of IDPs have managed to re-locate themselves within the surrounding communities or to return.**

¹⁷ Including of course the government of Sweden

- Changes in relationships with male partners: Many IDP women have taken on ‘survival strategies’, including activities that were normally reserved for male partners e.g. negotiating with government authorities. In one form, they have experienced this as positive, but it has also led to deteriorating relationships with husbands/partners who regard this as another instance of their loss of status as ‘proper men’.
- Women from all the affected territories are concerned for their sons who must usually undergo compulsory conscription. It is possible, however, that this aspect is dependent on class position.
- The continuing conflict allows for the maintenance of a strongly nationalistic/national security viewpoint dominating policies in all three conflict-affected areas. Thus any women’s organisation promoting cross-border dialogue runs the risk of accusations of disloyalty to ‘national unity’ or a dishonourable acceptance of the status of the secessionist regimes.
- As a result, women peacebuilding activism operates under considerable constraints. It has to avoid explicit forms of conflict analysis that could be seized upon by one or more protagonists. The ET was informed that in the past, some Georgian women’s organisations have taken a more explicitly nationalistic position. However, there is no evidence of any women’s group in any of the affected territories actually advocating the use of armed force to regain territory

3. Project Results

This section covers key areas 1, 3 and 4, results, sustainability and relevance, respectively, of the evaluation terms of reference. A brief assessment of results was carried out for each of the five in relation to the stated objectives of each, rather than to the overall framework. However, given the limitations in time, the ET has concentrated on the areas that coincide with the questions regarding gender equality and gender and peace raised in the conceptual framework (section 2.1).

Also given the limitations of time, attention to each project varied according to priorities of Sida outlined in the methodology. For example, an interest in results at the grass roots level resulted in more attention to beneficiaries and organisations at the local level than to extensive meetings with government and central authorities. A variety of sources of information were used, including evaluations carried out for the UNIFEM and the WRC projects. The ET attempted to confirm, but not duplicate these evaluations. In the case of UNIFEM, which was recent, the ET did not find significant variations, while the WRC interim evaluation was out of date and the situation had changed substantially.

Sustainability (area 3) is addressed at the project level in each case. Since most projects are fairly new and have long term objectives, sustainability cannot yet be demonstrated. However, the ET looked for indicators that would demonstrate likely sustainability. This included outputs that were likely to continue to generate results, such as national legislation and programmes, permanent state mechanisms. Organisational sustainability includes capacity to generate funds or diversify funding sources, leadership development, analytic, planning and monitoring capacity. Replication beyond outside of project funding is also an important indicator of sustainability of results: this would include for example, successful training of trainers, the development of concrete programmes based on legislation, replication of pilot projects by other actors, adoption of manuals or curriculum by state entities or organisations beyond the original partnership.

Relevance (area 4) is addressed in relation to Sida policy as well as to national policy commitments of the Georgian government, which are based on generally accepted international agreements and conven-

tions. In addition, the ET endeavours to assess relevance at the level of local partners and beneficiaries: Are the projects perceived by stakeholders as meeting their needs and addressing their priorities? In some cases, the goals may be relevant, but the strategies adopted result in the projects missing the mark and appearing irrelevant. The ET will try to distinguish between objectives and performance when possible. Key stakeholders for determining relevance will be local partners (mainly women's NGOs), and or groups of beneficiaries – such as teachers and students (NRC, UNDP), journalists (UNDP, UNIFEM), local councilors (UNDP).

3.1 UNDP: Gender and Politics

Time frame: 36 months, agreement signed June 2004, extended to the end of December 2008

Budget: Sida USD 1,488,142, (originally 941,070)
Government contribution USD 250, 000

Target group: Parliament of Georgia, central and local governments, political parties, general public

The stated *development objective* of the Project is: “to support the development of gender policies in Georgia and Armenia, build the capacity of women in decision-making positions in order to facilitate their active participation in political processes, and facilitate a dialogue on gender issues within political structures. In addition, the Programme supports regional cooperation, information sharing and strategy development on gender issues.” Given the geographic focus of the ET, we have assessed only the project components in Georgia.

The project is based on UNDP antecedents dating back to 1997 addressing issues of legislature and policy on gender equality as well as public awareness. The current three year project was extended by one year and \$500,000 to take it to the end of 2008 and well into the next administration due to be elected early in 2008. The project proposes the following results:

Expected outcomes results (end of project)¹⁸

1. Permanent structures established within government for gender equality and the advancement of women
2. Gender responsive national legislation and specific gender policy
3. National Action Plan on gender equality and the advancement of women established
4. Capacity and competence on gender equality in state structures
5. Gender sensitive electoral process.
6. Improved gender equality and increased representation within political parties
7. Increased public awareness of gender issues
8. Regional cooperation among NGOs and Governments in the South Caucasus.

Results:

Outputs 1–3: Support to national machinery and legislation.

A major achievement reasonably attributed to the project is the formation of a *Gender Equality Advisory Council*, incorporating government, Parliamentary and civil society participation, and headed by the Chair of Parliament. The project also supported the Government Commission on Gender Equality (GCGE), consisting of nine government members, four NGOs and one representative from the Gender Equality Advisory established by State Ministry for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration in 2005

¹⁸ These are listed as “outputs” in the project documents. However, they are considered here as outcomes, given that many are the result of a series of prior project outputs.

with a one year mandate to propose a national gender policy and strategy. The GCGE has fulfilled its mandate and been disbanded, and the Advisory Council is not guaranteed as a permanent structure.

The Advisory Council played a role in developing and promoting both the National Gender Concept and the National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAP) adopted by Parliament and the government. To the disappointment of many women's organisations, government adopted a drastically reduced version of the NAP in September of 2007, with only three (surviving) objectives: to create an inter-ministerial commission to share information and knowledge about the implementation of the plan, to ensure legislative equality, and to increase public awareness about gender equality. On the positive side, critics feel this at least represents a commitment from government, backed by both a budget and a powerful Minister (State Minister for Reforms Coordination). The inter-ministerial committee could also become the sustainable national mechanism sought for gender mainstreaming. It is too soon to assess any further results, or what will survive after the national elections held in early January 2008.

The contribution to gender responsive legislation is more difficult to ascertain, in part because of the multiple actors and circumstances involved, and in part because the project does not present a clear vision of how a gender responsive legislation would look¹⁹. Most important is the law on domestic violence, which is seen as an achievement even though all reference to women were removed, generally downplaying domestic violence as a gender issue. Even at that, women's organisations were discouraged by the derision of the law by male Parliamentarians. In other areas, the new labour legislation is generally seen as a step backwards in both maternity and paternity leave.

According to the UNDP, Council recommendations in these areas were presented to the government but not acted on. This may be because of the overwhelming neo-liberal approach of the government, which generally produces additional setbacks for women and for which the UNDP is of course not responsible. According to NGO members who would prefer a stronger advocacy role for the Council, it has tended to propose reduced or "more realistic" proposals in order to have a greater chance of acceptance. This strategy appears to have limited results. The UNDP also reports one of the lessons learned is the difficulty in proposing legislative changes, having to be active at every stage of legislative development or amendment. For example, three different labour codes were proposed, and the Council commented on each of them. Even so, the worst was selected for approval.²⁰

In such an environment, the project may need to re-assess its assumptions and risk assessment in order to develop more effective strategies to reach its objectives. In this sense, the project would benefit from a more thorough gender analysis and vision, and more clearly defined and measurable objectives. These would allow the project to more effectively change its strategy without losing sight of its objectives. For example, regarding this component shared by UNIFEM, the UNIFEM Internal Learning Mission in June 2006 concluded: "*Where government structures resist institutionalization of mechanisms to promote gender equality, UNIFEM's most effective action can simply be to build civil society's demand for these institutional reforms*"²¹ The UNDP may be in a position to use other tools to raise the awareness of gender issues. For example, given the particular case of domestic violence legislation, tools such as a household survey approach to identifying the extent of violence could be an effective strategy.

Outputs 4–6: Capacity and competence on gender equality in state structures (output 4) Gender sensitive electoral processes (output 5) Improved gender equality and representation in political parties (output 6)

¹⁹ In addition, there was limited time for extensive interviews with individuals involved. The Council's web site is also lacking in content: relevant sites are still "under construction"

²⁰ *Project Report for the evaluation team of Sida Gender projects*, Prepared by Gender and Politics Program in the South Caucasus Period for reporting: September 2004–September 2007 p10

²¹ Cited in: UNIFEM, Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace-Building in the Southern Caucasus, Phase II, Final Report, p. 35

A major focus of this component has been training a wide range of participants in gender issues in general, and in the past year on gender responsive budgeting. The project emphasized political parties and local councillors among political targets, and journalists, teachers and students in the general population. Apart from some work done on budget monitoring from a gender perspective with representatives from various ministries (April 2007) and a seminar on gender budgeting initiatives with “budgeting and financial institutions” June 2006, state actors do not appear to have been the key targets of the extensive training initiatives.²² In this sense, training has not contributed significantly to capacity and competence in state structures. The project also carried out research/publication which included a gendered analysis of the national budget, a gender analysis at a municipal level (Poti) a comprehensive *Gender Analysis of Socio-economic Development in Georgia*, and a statistical booklet *Men and Women in Georgia*.

The project approached training as an activity rather than learning as an objective, making it difficult to assess results. The ET did not observe any training activities, but interviews and the review of training agendas suggests a top down, information delivery approach.²³ The ET heard from various sources that this tended to be the model in the Soviet period, and only a few organisations such as the NRC have broken out of it. This model works reasonably well when participants already interested and receptive but lack information and tools. It is less effective when training has to challenge attitudes and behaviour, especially those very close to people’s gender identities.

Interviews with journalists and women councillors involved in training showed a strong interest in gender issues and a commitment to promoting gender equality, as well as specific outputs such as a monthly newspaper supplement called “Woman and Man” and various media programmes. However, participants may have been self selected for their interest and there is no baseline information from which to measure changes in attitude or behaviour. In addition, gender analysis is weak and more closely resembles ‘women in development’ i.e. concentrating on addressing women’s advancement and material conditions (practical needs).

Sixty-five persons from the major political parties participated in gender training and their parties are reportedly committed to gender equality.²⁴ To date, this commitment may be either too new to have impact, or more formal than real, as parties are still seen to be among the main obstacles to women’s participation. They tend to put women at the bottom of the lists, and are seen as unwilling to financially support their campaigns. Should parties really put gender equality into practice, it would have a significant impact on women’s participation. However, given the competition for a reduced number of seats in the reformed legislation, the commitment to increasing women’s representation will face a severe test. In general, the project places much emphasis for increasing women’s participation on the greater motivation and capacity of women themselves, rather than addressing exterior barriers.

The project offered training to all 189 women councillors in the country and established a forum for training and discussing issues of interest. Approximately 80 have taken advantage of training and 20–22 regularly participate in the forum. Councillors interviewed are enthusiastic about the forum and feel they have received valuable support and training from the project, although their capacity to analyse gender issues at the municipal level was not particularly strong. Reasons suggested for relatively low participation in the forum is that councillors are not paid, so women representatives tend to work full

²² *Project Report for the evaluation team of Sida Gender projects*, Prepared by Gender and Politics Program in the South Caucasus Period for reporting: September 2004–September 2007 pp 3–4

²³ Training consisted mainly of presentations and panels, with some discussion. Training “package” for parties included one component on gender, along with components on leadership along with political management, economic planning, and ICT for Development. It is not clear from the agenda whether these four additional components were fully gendered. There is no overall training manual to guide the training programme. The ET requested copies of training materials, and assessed the three agendas provided.

²⁴ There would be many influences on parties, including their own women members, making it difficult to attribute solely to the project.

time and take care of home and family, leaving little time for further training. While this is a national issue to be resolved, the project does not incorporate effective methods for addressing this obstacle in the interim.²⁵ Among possible solutions to this problem might be to increase Forum activities in the regions ensuring convenient timing, provision of childcare, etc that might facilitate the participation of women councillors and/or women interested in participating in politics and women's organisations interested in political issues

Output 7 Increased public awareness

The project organized Gender Weeks in 2006 and 2007 around international women's day. Activities included awards for best gender balance organisations at the decision making level in the public and private sectors along with art and photo exhibitions, lectures, media programmes etc. Additional activities included a media campaign to better understand concept of gender equality, encourage votes for women candidates, and activities to engage students in gender issues. For a number of reasons, including time constraints and the lack of baseline information, the ET was not able to assess these activities. Other public awareness activities took place in the Imereti regional resource centre.

Imereti regional gender resource centre was an unanticipated project component, established in early 2006 in close cooperation with the government of the Imereti region and the Chair of Parliament (and the Gender Advisory Council). The resource centre brings many of the training and public awareness activities carried out in the project to Kutaisi and the surrounding region. Through the resource centre, the project has provided training to all 295 (15 women) local councillors, as well as journalists, students and teachers and provides space and access to computers to the community. These training activities suffer from the same problems listed above. The project component "Women's economic empowerment" provided business training and loan subsidies to local small businesses. As a gender project, this last element was not well conceived as it benefited men and women equally in spite of documented evidence that women have less access to credit than men.²⁶ Nor did it take account of women's specific business needs or stereotypes that limit their actions in this arena. In addition the loan support (40% for new business, 17% for existing business) was a one time grant, and therefore non-sustainable.

Other development issues:

Sustainability: Sustainability will most likely depend on the Government establishing the inter-ministerial gender committee and seriously addressing its commitment to gender equality throughout legislation. This is still new territory for Georgia, since none of the previous "plans" were implemented. In addition, elections will be held early in 2008 and there is no guarantee that the new government will honour this commitment. Among the commitments in the NAP is support the promotion of public awareness on gender issues, which may provide continuity to these project elements.

Sustainability will also depend to some extent on the ownership civil society organisations take in the process. Government commitment to gender equality is unlikely without sustained pressure from the women's movement.

²⁵ Decentralization is a work in process in Georgia, with a chicken and egg element to it: the state will provide resources to the municipalities when they are well organized, but municipalities need resources in order to organize effectively. The entire issue of women's participation – which is still only around 9% nationally and 11% locally – will be further complicated by electoral reforms that will reduce the number of representatives from 250 to 150, and the number of municipal governments from over 1000 to 64 plus for large city governments. This will greatly increase competition for posts and reduce opportunities for women.

²⁶ The project's own study revealed that women had difficulty in acquiring start up credit, that they tended to concentrate in small, traditionally female businesses, and complained of insufficient market volume, competition, and the lack of opportunity to acquire new professional skills needed to survive new economic conditions. *Gender Analysis of Socioeconomic Development in Georgia*, p. 92. This analysis did not appear to be taken into account in the Women's economic empowerment project.

In the case of the Imereti resource centre, the current governor is committed to maintain support, although he was quite clear that the Centre's activities would not be sustainable without donor funding.²⁷ An additional weakness of the centre is that its role within the overall project is not clear, and – as with the project as a whole – it is not based on a clear analysis and understanding of gender and resulting strategic plan.

Relevance: The project is in line with government commitment to gender equality based on widely recognized international conventions and agreements. Women's organisations support the aims of the project and the work of the Gender Advisory Council, although they are frustrated with its relatively passive role and the opportunities lost to use this mechanism more effectively as an advocacy tool. Apart from the Gender Advisory Council, links between the project and the women's movement are relatively weak: while difficult to pinpoint, the ET observed that partners tended to identify with UNIFEM around political and lobbying issues rather than the UNDP and with the disappearance of UNIFEM, remaining links with the project may not be sustainable. In addition, the project is weak in relating fairly good socio-economic research/gender budgeting to its activities such as "women's economic empowerment". In short, while the project objectives are very relevant, the implementation strategy tends to reduce its impact.

Coordination: The project coordinated closely with UNIFEM and the UNFPA, sharing parts of project implementation with the former of these.

3.2 UNIFEM: Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in the Southern Caucasus

Time Frame: January 2004–December 2006

Budget: \$2,106,198²⁸ (including South Caucasus regional components)

Targets: Local women's NGOs, Central and local governments.

The project was built on Phase I from 2001–2004²⁹ which focused primarily on mobilizing civil society (particularly women) on the issue of peace building through training and network building. Phase II proposed to "upscale and upstream"³⁰ the programme, moving towards sustainability through national legislation policy such as linking activities to CEDAW and the SCR 1325. In this phase of the project, UNIFEM worked closely with the UNDP in its Gender and Development Programme, directly with the government in the Government Commission on Gender Equality (GCGE), and with the networks of women's organisation initialized in phase I. It continued to support women's networking through expanding the Women for Peace Network, funding for specific projects involving at least two members of the network, and development of the Gender and Peace Education manual.

UNIFEM defined its approach as securing "*a space for women's increased participation and leadership policy development – including for IDPs and rural women – ensuring that their voices are heard. To this end, UNIFEM utilised an approach which also increased partnerships between gender equality institutions and advocates in government, including Parliament, and WPNCs (Women for Peace Network/Coalition).*" The project recognized that the context for peace was deteriorating, or at least less promising than during phase I, and therefore there was a need for the project and civil society partners to adopt "*a flexible strategy by focusing on national-level gender equality issues, and when opportunities presented themselves for advancing the 'peace dialogue'*"³¹

²⁷ The governor explained that there is no budget for regional projects: only national and municipal. The governor's office can maintain the equipment/space (renovated rooms in the governor's office) and some personnel support.

²⁸ Sida provided \$1,213,250. The rest was supplied by the Government of Finland, and UNIFEM core funding.

²⁹ Phase I was not funded by Sida

³⁰ Lingen, Annet. Evaluation, "*Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace-building in the Southern Caucasus, Phase II (May 2004–December 2006)*". This extensive evaluation formed an important input to this evaluation.

³¹ Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace-Building in the Southern Caucasus, Phase II, Final Report to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) p.10

An extensive evaluation of the regional project, including Armenia and Azerbaijan, was finalized in September of 2007. The ET does not diverge significantly from the findings of this evaluation. The summary below will address issues most relevant to the conceptual framework, or where we feel additional emphasis would be useful.

Expected outcome results

1. Sustainable national gender equality mechanisms in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia are actively monitoring and supporting government commitments to women's human rights, conflict resolution and peace building.
2. Women's organisations, including those representing IDPs and refugees, effectively advocate for peace and for the inclusion of women and women's human rights into peace building and decision making processes at the national and regional level
3. Societal awareness and understanding about women's role in the development of a culture of peace is increased in the sub-region.

Results:

Result 1, Sustainable national gender equality mechanism actively monitoring and supporting government commitments to women's human rights, conflict resolution and peace building

The project worked with the executive branch of government through the GCGE and with the Parliamentary Gender Equality Commission alongside of UNDP and UNFPA contributing substantially to the results already noted in the Gender and Politics section (3.1). UNIFEM was widely recognized as providing much of the technical capacity in drafting national legislation and policy, although as noted, only a small part of the original part of the NAP was adopted.

UNIFEM also played a key role in consistently ensuring the participation of women's organisations in the development of national policy in general, and specifically in the Gender Advisory Council and the GCGE. In fact, UNIFEM's strategy is specifically to link civil society organisations with national legislative processes in order to scale up the efforts established with Civil Society Organisation (CSO) partners in Phase I. Both government and CSOs recognize the dynamic role played by NGOs. Although some representatives on the government and parliamentary side may be sensitive and knowledgeable about gender issue, they are not selected for this. For example, the chair who is also the Chair of Parliament, commands much respect, but is unable to participate much.³² In this context, civil society expertise and specialization is an important contribution. However, the recent evaluation of the project notes that "*the established partnerships between the women's coalitions and the government will need more time to mature.*"³³

UNIFEM is particularly credited with drawing national attention to SCR 1325 and ensuring its incorporation into national legislation.

Result 2, Women's organisations advocate for peace and the inclusion of women and women's human rights into peace building and decision making processes

The establishment of a national level network³⁴ of women for peace in each country, along with a regional network linking them was seen as a key result of the project. In Georgia, the project was credited with helping women's organisations make contacts across the country and the region, and develop new leadership capacity and partnerships. The network has its roots in the experience in Phase I

³² Although held up as a role model for women, she is not known as a strong advocate for gender equality.

³³ Lingen, p.30

³⁴ National networks built on networking initiatives begun in Phase I

of bringing women together across conflict lines, and in the initiative of a group of eight women's NGOs who established a Women's Peace Council. It grew rapidly to reach approximately 100 members including both organisations and a small number of individuals. The network continues with an executive committee comprised mainly of the original Women's Peace Council, and with representation from across the country. However, without UNIFEM funding or technical support, it is substantially less active and has been described – both positively and negatively – as a “virtual network”.

Growth of the network was seen as an indicator of success in the Project Evaluation. However, some members felt that rapid growth came at the cost of cohesion resulting from shared vision, commitment and goals. Among the members interviewed, there were varying opinions on the role and usefulness of the network, reflecting a range of expectations attached to it. For some, the “virtual” network does not meet expectations, while for others it is viewed as a positive achievement allowing women's organisations to share information, to coordinate activities and public actions across the country, to mobilize support in the form of letters or petitions in lobbying government, and to basically show strength in numbers. These divergences in the membership have implications for sustainability (see below).

The role of UNIFEM in bringing together partners across lines of conflict and mistrust in Phase I was extremely important. Without having established personal trust and empathy, concrete projects and the continuation of network would not have been possible. Other project partners (i.e. Kvinna till Kvinna) were able to build successfully on initial face to face meetings.

The recent evaluation credits the project for ensuring that the WPNC influenced the peace-building process *“through the people to people work in Abkhazia and the meetings with the staff of the State Ministry on Conflict Resolution which provided amongst others, opportunities for the network to influence the emerging national IDP”*. It also credits the project, largely through the development and effective use of a training manual on CEDAW and SCR 1325, in helping the network's organisations understand and effectively use the legally binding international conventions in their advocacy efforts, both in promoting gender equality (CEDAW), and gender in conflict (SCR1325)³⁵ While the time frame is short, and many other factors intervene, it is clear that what has been achieved would not have happened without the project interventions. Many of the local partners demonstrated an excellent capacity to analyse both gender equality and gender interests within the peacebuilding process, as well as the links between them. In addition, many demonstrated strategic and flexible thinking in terms of lobbying, advocacy, and generally raising important issues with the public.³⁶ These capacities allow them to respond to opportunities provided by the ever-changing context.

One of the projects most outstanding achievements was the development of the high quality Training Manual on CEDAW and SCR 1325, developed with the help of experts, but with broad consultation and testing throughout the region. The manual was known and widely used by many of the organisations the ET met, and appears to have had significant impact. In fact, UNIFEM is credited with making SCR 1325 a household word for the approximately 85 organisations of the network and their members throughout Georgia. The manual has served both to increase organisational capacity to influence policy (Results 1 & 2) as well as to inform and educate the public about issues of gender equality in general, and in the context of conflict and peacebuilding (Result 3).

Before UNIFEM, women used to talk about clothes when they got together – now they talk about 1325!

NGO member of the network

³⁵ Lingen, p. 32

³⁶ Many organisations interviewed were partners of both KtK and UNIFEM and positive results are attributable to the efforts of both.

Other development issues:

Sustainability: The relative decline of the role of the network following UNIFEM's departure suggest a number of possible weaknesses in the project. According to the project evaluation, the time frame for establishing a sustainable network was too short, and there was no exit strategy in the project – although some efforts were made to ensure sustainability.³⁷ The project strategy was to fund project activities, but not to provide support to institutional development of members, or to the more structural aspects of the network.³⁸ UNIFEM involvement in Georgia ended quite precipitously which did not allow for continued accompaniment envisioned.³⁹ The project was generally relevant to the partners, although there is inevitably some loss of interest when there is no continued funding or support.

Relevance: The project was highly relevant to the national context in being based on CEDAW and SRC 1325, both of which the Government of Georgia subscribes to. Slow progress in these areas is not an issue of relevance. UNIFEM was in an excellent and perhaps unique position to support and promote the role of women's organisations in policy-making through working directly with them to increase their capacity, while also using their relationship with government bodies to encourage mechanisms for consultation with civil society.

Partners involved for a long time with UNIFEM activities recognized the important and unique role it played in Georgia as a respected international advocate for women's rights. There are few sources of support for gender equality capable of providing the focus and technical expertise that was provided by UNIFEM. There is considerable regret among women's NGOs that UNIFEM no longer has a national presence.⁴⁰ Many members of the UNIFEM network also belong to the broad coalition of Women's NGOs established with support from the OSCE,⁴¹ as well as a number of other more specific networks.

Coordination: in objective, UNIFEM worked closely with the UNDP and the UNFPA's gender and politics projects and coordinated with other organisations such as the OSCE on the establishment of the GCGE.

3.3 Kvinna till Kvinna [KtK] S. Caucasus Programme

Time frame: Original time frame 2003–2005: Sida support prolonged to end 2010⁴²

Budget: July 2003–Dec 2005: SEK 15,231.000, Jan–Dec 2006: 9.085.000,
Jan 2007–Dec 2009:30,000.00

S. Caucasus Programme's Target group: Twenty three women's organisations across S. Caucasus working to promote gender equality within countries affected by warfare or conflict. In response to Sida's requirements, the ET only evaluated the 15 KTK partners within Georgia.

KTK has a mandate that explicitly focuses on women, war and conflict. In its broader operations, it incorporates humanitarian action and long-term developmental activities. It sees itself as striving to empower women to become actors of change in their own society, in the belief that this is crucial for ensuring democratic societies and sustainable peace.

³⁷ Lingen, op cit pp. 18–19

³⁸ The network has no Secretariat; the executive committee still includes an organisation which no longer exists; there is no clarity and some dissension regarding who speaks for the network; and there is evidence that scarce project funding could become at least a minor source of friction between members.

³⁹ The national office depended on the regional office for its programming and funding strategies. The national office was terminated for reasons outside the project.

⁴⁰ Some partners still access UNIFEM support through projects with the regional office, for example, a project on prevention of violence against women, implemented by a group of five women's NGOs.

⁴¹ Established in 2000

⁴² The ET covered the activities carried out during the period 2003–2006

Operating mode: KTK selects its partners from women's organisations, organisations with women's branches and institutions working on gender and equality issues. Their operational approach starts with a protracted period of investigation and dialogue with prospective partners. Essential criteria for entering into partnerships: the women's group must demonstrate that it is grounded in participative/ local action around gender and equality; it must demonstrate a capacity or potential to be a learning organisation; it must be committed to co-operating with other women's groups without any regard to ethnicity or religion. Once a partnership is agreed, KTK partners can count on receiving core funding for a period of up to three years, provided they continue to fulfill these criteria.

It has a resource-intensive methodology of regular visits, non-directive support etc. from its in-country staff and also financial support for partners to attend regional meetings, international forums etc.

When evaluating these projects, the ET was cognisant that there had been close collaboration with UNIFEM and that there were still ongoing linkages. This sometimes complicated attribution of impact. In addition, there was substantial number of KTK partners and range of activities within the limited time scale.

*Partners in Georgia and Abkhazia categorised by principal areas of activity*⁴³

Information/resources/networking for gender equality within political sphere Violence against Women (VAW)

Support to IDP/war affected women and their families, including young women with longterm objective of gender equality and peacebuilding

Peacebuilding/conflict resilience through people to people encounters, networking etc

Reducing Women's economic vulnerability and supporting their integration into economic/business projects

*Project Objectives*⁴⁴

1. Better levels of knowledge among women about their fundamental human rights as a result of training, seminars, dissemination etc
2. Reduction in levels of violence against women: provision of shelter and support would enable women to analyze problem as one of abuse of their rights not a 'private family problem/disgrace'; this initial stage to be followed through in political campaigning/changes in societal attitudes
3. Improvement in women's physical/psychological well being: to be achieved through availability of counseling, support groups etc: women's NGOs to campaign for better state provision of health services
4. Higher levels of involvement/representation of women in "the peace process" (peace discussion, return of refugees, reconciliation)
5. Higher levels of women's participation in democracy building as a result of information/support for women

⁴³ KtK partners interviewed by ET: *Georgia proper* Women's Information Centre (WIC), Women's Political Resource Centre (WPRC), Anti Violence Network of Georgia (AVNG); Union of Wives of Invalids and Lost-Warriors; IDP Women "Consent"; Imedi IDP Women for Peace: Gaenati; Fund Sukhumi; Democrat Women of Samtskhe-Javakheti (DSWJ); Women's Hope *Abkhazia*: Avangard; Union of Business Women of Abkhazia (UBWA); Center for Social and Psychological Assistance for Women; Peace Without Violence; Association of Women of Abkhazia (AWA)

⁴⁴ Some of these are listed as 'results' in KTK's reporting; however, during discussions with the ET, the KTK project staff acknowledged that this terminology was misleading. Sida has identified help for KTK to 'translate' their strengths into project applications.

Results

Objective 1 Better level of knowledge about fundamental human rights.

This was common in some form to all KTK partners, but was obviously difficult to assess in the absence of baseline data. However, ET interviews with KTK partners plus triangulation provided strong evidence of overall positive impact attributable to the development intervention. These range from nation-wide dissemination of information via regularly-updated websites covering Georgian, South Caucasus and international gender issues (WIC and WPRC) to small-scale but innovative activities around gender focused on teenage girls and boys in the regions e.g. (Women's Hope meetings, Akhaltsikhe). The training carried out by KTK partners has enabled beneficiaries to analyse practices such as bride kidnapping through a human rights framework which also incorporates a specific gender analysis. When questioned, partners outlined the ways in which pressure is brought to bear on the kidnapped girl to consent to marriage from her own family and often from local religious leaders under the guise of 'preserving tradition'. At the same time, other aspects of Georgian traditional practices were seen as having continuing value. The spaces that KTK partners have created for this kind of discussion are significant in relation to the evaluative framework in that they address the unequal power relations between men and women and contribute towards the self actualisation of women towards their interests. The mutually reinforcing relationship between individual and collective learning about human rights constitutes an important part of the process of empowerment, as defined in Section 2.

Objective 2 Improvements in relation to VAW

KTK partners contributed to creating and sustaining essential momentum to enable passing of the law on domestic violence. Although severely flawed, this legislation still represents an important step towards gender equality through bringing VAW into the public sphere. The Anti-Violence Network of Georgia (AVNG) is recognised by the police and social services as having a central role in the implementation of anti-violence measures. Despite very severe resource constraints, AVNG has seen positive changes in attitudes and practices around VAW on the part of police and judicial authorities, making it feasible for the first time to convince the relevant authorities to take action against perpetrators/provide some form of banning order. It is reasonable to assume that activities of other KTK partners also contribute indirectly to achieving the longer-term shifts in societal attitudes e.g. reduction of women's economic vulnerability (ABWA); providing employment-related skills for young women (e.g. Gaenati IT and driving courses).

However, it remains impossible to make any conclusion about actual reductions in levels of VAW. In addition to absence of baseline data and the short time frame, there is a range of external factors which may affect incidence rates e.g. increase in inter-family tensions due to privatisation of the housing stock; intense resource constraints e.g. on social services. The provision of actual shelters has been highly limited to date. Nevertheless, VAW as a public/human rights issue has been 'named' across the social and political terrain of Georgia (including Abkhazia), making it more possible than before for historical silences to be broken; again, KTK partners have provided the 'safe space' e.g. for women victims to work through their feelings of shame and self-blame. The ET considered that this is an essential pre-condition to effective prevention of repeated cycles of violence.

In addition, KTK's collaboration with UNIFEM-funded initiatives extended the framework of analysis of VAW into the broader field of 'security' e.g. through the training manual on CEDAW and 1325.

Objective 3, Improvement in women's well being

On the basis of interviews with partners, key informants, and documentation, the ET concluded that a range of women had experienced significant improvement in their physical and psychological health (there is of course a close association between these two elements of well being). Direct improve-

ments can be established for: activists within the partner organisations, particularly IDP women who recalled histories of depression or near despair arising from war-related experiences affecting themselves, their families and neighbours; beneficiaries in war – affected regions e.g. access to health services; other beneficiaries without a direct experience of armed conflict e.g. women traders who have achieved a degree of security through reduction in irregularities/extortion affecting women traders (UBWA); (female) beneficiaries of sexual health education programmes in schools (Avangard); young women in their relationships with boyfriends (Women’s Hope). It can also reasonably assumed that the information networks established by the WIC and WPRC have made a contribution to well being.

By their nature, these interventions cannot be quantified in the same way as public health programmes e.g. for reducing child mortality figures in Georgia by providing ante-natal services. However, they have been successful in linking the immediate needs of women e.g. for replacement of birth control devices such as the IUD after years – even decades – with no access to reproductive health services with a broader framework e.g. collective discussions as to the gendered forces which result in women placing their own health needs “at the bottom of the list”. This approach indicates that KTK’s partners are not simply offering a way for the Georgian state to avoid taking its proper responsibilities in health care provision. At the same time, however, the ET noted that KTK at the national level did not appear to be encouraging partners towards analyzing the implications of the government’s neo-liberal policies for women’s health.

Objective 4, Higher levels of involvement/representation of women in “the peace process”

KTK’s project documentation for the period under review envisaged the activities around “peace discussion, return of refugees⁴⁵ and reconciliation” would produce the desired results. As noted above, the activities were not seen as self-contained ends in themselves. They were to be embedded within KTK extensive view of human rights and conflict. However, notions of what comprises a ‘peace process’ were very imprecise in the documentation and lacked baseline data from which to assess progress made.

The ET thus approached this objective using the definitions agreed with Sida⁴⁶:

- Conflict analysis: the systematic analysis of the range of factors contributing to, and mitigating against, risks and processes of violent (or potentially violent) conflict within the current Georgia-Abkhazia context. These factors included: underlying political, social, economic, security, ethnic or other structures, relevant internal, external or transnational actors.
- Conflict resilience: the demonstrated capacity of the women’s organisations under review to prevent, manage and resolve tensions and conflicts in their conflict-related activities and to withstand pressures of events or efforts that might contribute to escalating tensions or violence.
- Peacebuilding: activities undertaken over the medium and long-term to address underlying causes of violent conflict and/or to enhance resilience against risks that violence will result from tensions, provocations or acts by any actors that try to provoke violent conflict.

Conflict analysis

At the overall level, KTK partners all demonstrated some ways in which gender can be effectively integrated into conflict analysis. Firstly, the publications and training material of the WIC, WPRC, UWA identified ways in which the respective gender regimes marginalized or excluded women’s rights e.g. access to economic resources/inheritance rights under the guise of ‘national unity’ or ‘tradition’. The activities around VAW contributed to an understanding of how inter-personal violence impacts on social relationships.

⁴⁵ KTK’s regional programme addresses the problems of both refugees and IDPs; in the Georgian context, IDPs constitute by far the larger category.

⁴⁶ For a full ‘conflict glossary’ as submitted to Sida in the Inception Report, see Appendix 4

Secondly, there is the tranche of organisations whose activities and areas of operation are more directly related to armed conflict, such as Imedi Women for Peace, Fund Sukhumi and IDP Women 'Consent'. These have worked against the backdrop of the hostile environment of blame and counter-blame surrounding the Georgia-Abkhazia and South Ossetia wars, making any analysis of gender and ethnicity problematic. According to the Director of Fund Sukhumi, this was a significant constraint in their earlier period of operation; for example, the organisation had to avoid any indications that the organisation accepted the status quo for conflict-affected women in either Abkhazia or Georgia proper. However, it was much more difficult to obtain material containing conflict analysis in relation to the South Ossetia-Georgia situation in recent years since the IDP Women 'Consent' had suspended their operations because of security concerns.

The third element of conflict analysis is represented by KTK's thematic regional meetings on conflict-related topics e.g. the impact of war/violence on girls. These have the added value of bringing together 'gender professionals' with activists and a structure for disseminating the discussion through KTK's web of partners.

Additionally, there was some recognition of the need to keep conflict analyses updated. Despite the Georgian context of 'frozen' conflict, we did find several instances where KTK partners were incorporating contemporary developments. For example, Democrat Women of Samtskhe-Javakheti and Women's Hope were aware of the shifts in relationships between the Armenian and Georgian communities; partners kept in close contact across the Georgia-Abkhazia with regard to risks and opportunities e.g. by using the resources of UNOMIG's Human Rights Office. The ET did not have the opportunity to examine the extent to which KTK as a funder also demonstrated this capacity e.g. in relation to the decision to withdraw from cross-border meetings in South Ossetia due to the deteriorating security situation.

Conflict Resilience

The ET considered that KTK's objective of 'reconciliation' corresponded with this concept. We also included their partners' activities in relation to IDPs and to SCR 1325. Given the frequent outbreaks of tension around both conflicts outlined in Section 2.2, the ET considered that activities directed towards this end constituted perhaps the most important opening for KTK to fulfill the stated objective. At the same time, it was necessary not to have unrealistically high expectations of what their partners could 'deliver', particularly within the time frames under consideration. The ET concluded that the programmes have had a positive – and sometimes impressive – impact. The person to person encounters across the Georgia-Abkhazia border involving Fund Sukhumi, Avangard, AWA, Imedi Women for Peace, UBWA were planned with sufficient conflict sensitivity e.g. they did not demand that participants addressed their experiences of war and displacement from the outset in order to 'reconcile'. Instead, they focused on common problems such as how to support families or health needs. The incremental building of trust eventually allowed participants to reflect on the stereotyping of 'the enemy'; they were able to acknowledge both their own losses and suffering and that of women from the other side. As a result, the organisations were in a stronger position to manage tensions, as demonstrated in Box below.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325

Projects have made appropriate use of SCR1325 to support their conflict-related objectives. For example, Project Sukhumi Director felt that SCR1325 had transformed the way in which their members located themselves in relation to conflict, giving them a common reference point that had international legitimacy. This in turn had strengthened their members' commitment to the objectives of the Fund, as well as giving them valuable training material e.g. the UNIFEM manual on CEDAW and SCR 1325.

Conflict resilience

On 20 September 2007, an armed clash between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides took place in an isolated area outside the Zone of Conflict. Seven Abkhaz personnel were apprehended by the Georgian side, several were wounded and two former Russian officers reportedly on contract with the Abkhaz de facto border guards were killed.

As usual with these incidents, each side engaged in blaming and denial. The Abkhazian regime accused the Georgians of attacking what was simply a legitimate camp for training border guards; the Georgians stated that the soldiers had been intending to carry out actions against Georgian helicopters within Georgian territory. (UNOMIG's special investigation eventually concluded that the incident *had* occurred within 300 meters inside the Abkhazian administrative border, but this is still contested by the Georgian Interior Ministry)

Feelings were running high in Abkhazia... their boys had been 'kidnapped' against all international conventions, they were being mistreated by the Georgians, there would be just retaliation...

At the same time, the Union of Business Women of Abkhazia (UBWA) based in Sukhumi were in the final stages of preparing a major regional conference on the theme of women's economic empowerment in Abkhazia. The UBWA organisers had made a point of inviting Georgian women's organisations working in the same field to participate. Because of the pre-existing contacts, the UBWA and the Georgian groups were able to be in constant contact and to express their concerns and fears – would pressure be put on the mothers of the captured military to protest publicly against the presence of 'the enemy' at an event identified with Abkhazia? In the event, the Georgian groups agreed not to attend in order to avoid escalating this tension while the UBWA ensured that the contribution the Georgians had been intending to make to the conference were read out to the participants and specifically identified as an example of the advantages of cross-border networking.

Return of IDPs

As stated in Section 2.2, the post Rose Revolution government has not prioritized the needs of refugees and there has been limited civil society involvement about the terms of any possible settlement. Within these limitations, KTK partners have played a role in advocacy for a government policy on IDPs that now addresses the immediate need for better support for IDPs within the long term objective of 'a safe and dignified return.' The Director of the Union of Wives of Invalids and Lost-Warriors has acted in a voluntary capacity as the gender focal point within the Georgian Ministry of Conflict Resolution. Given the recent nature of this government policy, it was not possible to establish the degree to which any progress has been made in vital issues such as ensuring the protection of women's property rights in the event of a future settlement.

On the ground, the activities of KTK partners outlined above can all be seen as contributing to an eventual non-violent outcome which would integrated gender issues. For example, IDP women did not disguise how difficult it had been for them to avoid projecting their bitterness and loss onto their sons, thus contributing to an inter-generational cycle of violence. Within Abkhazia, a small proportion of displaced Georgians have returned to the Gali area, but we were informed that they face considerable restrictions. The issue of large scale return of IDPs from Georgia is currently too politically charged to be explicitly addressed by KTK's partners within Abkhazia; this is therefore an area that needs careful monitoring by KTK to establish risk management in the case of possible openings in the future.

Unfortunately, the ET did not have the opportunity to look into the issues around IDPs from the South Ossetia conflict. However, we were informed by the UNHCR that their living conditions were even worse than in the Abkhazia-Georgia case. This suggests that KTK and its partners will need to find ways to extend their operations as soon as it is feasible.

Given the above evidence, objective 4 has been reasonably achieved and there have been positive results in terms of higher levels of involvement and the integration of gender issues into peacebuilding.

However, KTK and its partners tend to use an undifferentiated language around women and peace in their publications and discussions in which all women are assumed to share a ‘pro-peace’ position; by inference, this excludes women from accountability for any forms of violent ethno-nationalism. There were also complex issues around the restrictions that KTK mandate places on working with men/boys.

Objective 5, Higher levels of women’s participation in democracy building

KTK’s mandate and method of operation do not specifically exclude partner involvement with government level initiatives. However, its emphasis is on the development of strong women’s movement which will in turn be able to build a democratic society where women can enjoy substantive rather than formal equality and which will manage conflicts non-violently.

In some instances, there was evidence of how ‘bottom-up’ activities contributed to this expanded view of democracy. For example, Democrat Women of Samtskhe-Javakheti explicitly linked their title with the need to integrate a gendered analysis of power relationships into their activities around gender and political representation e.g. by inclusion of ‘private’ relationships.

The ET did not gather any evidence of whether women from partner organisations had become more active in forms of local representation as a result of their involvement e.g. by standing as councillors, but it does not seem likely that this has been the case. Some partners such as the WPRC have maintained their input into the formal political process through participating in the Gender Equality Advisory Council. They reported a high measure of tension and frustration but still felt it was essential to have a presence in order to maintain the focus on gender empowerment.

It was therefore more difficult to reach a positive conclusion in relation to this objective. However, there was sufficient evidence to assume an indirect relationship between the better level of health and well being and the long term project of democracy-building. In addition, KTK partners emphasized to the ET the way in which KTK’s methodology of close but non-directive support and flexible funding was in itself a demonstration of democratic values of respect.

Other Development Issues

Sustainability: As noted at the outset of this section, it was not possible to draw conclusions around future sustainability in relation to the KTK programme. This is only in part due to the relatively short duration of the projects to date; it also relates to KTK’s and their partners’ fundamental commitment to a ‘life long’ project of empowerment of women (as defined in Section 2.1). This emphasis on process is not easily to accommodate within the practical time frame of either development or conflict-related funders. This makes it all the more important that the current programme contained a range of outputs likely to continue to generate results. These included:

- Organisational sustainability: Intensive support afforded by the KTK methodology has strengthened leadership development, skills in analysis, planning, monitoring etc. This has been particularly important for partners such as Avangard in Gali, which are operating in a very isolated context
- Concrete achievements in employment and skills related programmes, such as Gaetani’s work with young female IDPs
- Training programmes using effective training models
- Networks of trust across conflict borders. As noted above, these are crucial to the sustaining of conflict resilience, but will always be vulnerable; they should therefore not be taken for granted.

- Women's awareness of their individual agency and the benefits of collective action: Although the evidence for this is mainly anecdotal, it is reasonable to assume that this will contribute to sustainability

However, these positive outputs also contain some contradictory elements. The close relationships built up with KTK country and international staff mean that several partners expressed themselves as “dreading” the time when KTK would withdraw. The ET did not establish any details of KTK exit strategy was, but there was an emphasis on supporting partners' capacity to increase and diversify their sources of funding. Replication of training programmes outside of KTK's immediate circles could raise problems since much of the case study material in the manual is grounded in a gendered analysis of power relationships that will be unfamiliar. There is still considerable work to be done around the feasibility of charging fees for skills training.

Relevance: Activities to date have all been relevant to Sida policy as well as the range of international instruments on gender equality. The current Georgian government's interest in membership of the European Union is also potentially relevant in terms of formal indicators of gender equality e.g. in the national legislature, and to removing obstacles to women's economic empowerment e.g. discriminatory banking practices.

However, the strongest evidence of ownership comes at the grassroots/local level. KTK partners consistently commented on this aspect e.g. “They respect our subjectivity”; “they do not impose a methodology”; “they appreciate that we are working under difficult conditions and do not make a big issue when we ask for something simple, like having an effective heater when winter arrives...”; “they do not pressure us so that they can claim to be ‘the first’ to achieve something – they let the process develop at its own pace...” One of the reasons for the high level of relevance to partners is that KTK is highly selective in identifying organizations with similar objectives and values in the first place, and then it focuses on helping them in the way each sees most useful to develop towards these objectives.

Co-ordination: During the period under review, KTK achieved good levels of co-ordination with UNIFEM and with other donor-funded projects such as those of the Open Society Initiative.

3.4 UNDP: Establishment of Women's Regional Centre in Samtskhe-Javakheti, Georgia (WRC)

Budget: SEK 5,000,000 (approx. US\$ 613,000 at historical exchange rate)

Time: Frame: September 2003–January 2006 (31 months)

Target Group: Population of Samtskhe-Javakheti Region

This project was located in a region marked by a particular ethnic composition, with two of its six districts (rayons) consisting of 95% ethnic Armenians. The region has historically contained major linguistic, cultural and religious divisions. These longstanding ethnic factors combined with national⁴⁷ and regional⁴⁸ political factors to make the region an area of concern for both national and international organisations e.g. the OSCE during the 1990s. This resulted in the Samtskhe-Javakheti Integrated Development Programme (SJIDP) intended to support and integrate efforts toward building a peaceful multiethnic society. Thus the overall context was one where ‘development’ has been specifically seen as contributing to conflict prevention as well as socio-economic objectives such as poverty-alleviation, road upgrading etc.

⁴⁷ For example, affirmation of Georgian nationalism after independence and the language law making Georgian the unique national official language.

⁴⁸ Including the fallout from the Karabakh conflict on the Armenian communities living within Georgia

There is no indication in the project documentation or from the ET's interviews that gender issues were taken into account in the formulation of the SJIDP as a conflict prevention initiative. Instead, the WRC seems to have been envisaged as a separate 'women's project'.

All activities were expected to take into account the ethnic-linguistic divisions between women, and to be pro-active in overcoming them e.g. through a participative process to ensure that health services selected for rehabilitation benefit both communities.

Project Objectives

1. Build and strengthen women's capacity to collect, analyse and share gender-disaggregated data and statistics
2. Raise awareness among policymakers, civil society, media representative, and public at large about the importance to address the gender inequality in the region
3. Enhance the capacity of the local governments to analyse and design policies from a gender perspective to further advance women's development in the region
4. Support and economically empower women through the region (business training workshops for female entrepreneurs, income/employment generating projects for rural women)
5. Establish a revolving micro-credit fund for women
6. Establish a registered NGO so as to ensure continuity; this NGO to be financially sustainability through returns on revolving micro-credit revolving fund
7. Complete envisaged programme of small scale rehabilitation of clinics, equipment etc providing social/health services to vulnerable mothers and children
8. Create capacity to identify and prioritise the needs of rural women

Background to current evaluation:

The WRC was externally evaluated for the UNDP in July 2005.⁴⁹ Although broadly positive, this flagged some shortcomings, particularly: a considerable 'mismatch' between the project's ambitious objectives and its achievements; reservations about its institutional status as a NGO; the need to strengthen capacity of staff, particularly in the area of gender analysis; the lack of provision for translating and disseminating the commissioned report on gender relations. These proved to be precisely the areas of concern for the ET.

The ET experienced some methodological difficulties in obtaining verifiable information on the entire period of the project retrospectively. The project's Final Report⁵⁰ listed a substantial range of outputs and outcomes in each of the activity categories listed above. Key informants interviewed in Tbilisi prior to visiting the region, including a former Director, confirmed that there had managerial and organisational problems. Nevertheless, it was claimed that the project had been broadly successful and represented a major contribution to gender equality and conflict prevention within a challenging context. At that point, the ET was not clear as to how much of a presence the WRC still maintained.

In the region, it was not possible to undertake a high degree of triangulation of information.⁵¹ Despite this, some evidence was unmistakeable e.g. that the former premises were unoccupied and that there had not been dissemination of research to other NGOs.

⁴⁹ Jahangiri-Jeannot, 2005

⁵⁰ This document is not dated, but we assumed it was presented to Sida at some point in 2006

⁵¹ The ET could only spend 2 days in the locations where WRC had been operative (Borjomi, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki). We interviewed: former WRC staff member; a member of Board of Trustees, one beneficiary (secondary school principal, Borjomi); key informants from women's organisations operating in Akhaltsikhe and beyond; other key civil society informants.

Results

Objective 1, Building women's research capacity.

The WRC commissioned a study 'Gender Related Research and Analyses in the Region of Samtskhe-Javakheti' from the Georgian Institute of Policy Studies. The study is very well researched and contains gender-disaggregated statistics, analysis of gender roles, VAW etc. It was published in late 2004 and could have provided the starting point for strengthening local capacity for gender analysis. However, it was initially available only in Georgian and English, not Armenian and it appears that there was no provision for translation during the life time of the project. There is also no evidence that the Georgian or English version was effectively disseminated; several key informants who could have used it in their own activities were unaware of its existence.⁵² At various stages of the project, other activities were undertaken that were related to this objective e.g. WRC input into the proposed regional Action Plan for Gender Equality under the auspices of the Governor's office. However, none of these reached fruition in any form which could be accessed by the ET.

Objectives 2 and 3, Working with policy makers, civil society, media about gender inequality; Enhance local government capacity for gender-aware policy

According to project documentation, the WRC was successful in mounting a number of high profile events involving both government officials, UNDP personnel, civil society leaders (unspecified) and regional media. Given the paucity of resources for gender work in the region, these events can be assumed to have had an initial impact. However, the ET did not encounter any evidence that these had been planned so as to have an ongoing e.g. through motivating local media to participate in training on better coverage of gender issues in the region, combined with sensitivity to Armenian-Georgia relationships. At the policy level, the principal activity presented to the ET was the input into the Action Plan for Gender Equality. However, it was during this phase that the management problems of the project escalated and funding was eventually cut.

Objectives 4 and 5, Economic empowerment of women: establishment of revolving micro-credit fund

This component of the project was contracted to World Vision/Georgia/Georgian Entrepreneurs Fund (WV/GEF), the Georgian arm of World Vision International (WVI). This was done on the grounds that they would have the necessary expertise in the area of micro-credit. According to the project's Final Report, the loan capital provided by the UNDP was fully disbursed through 202 loans, with a total value of disbursement of USD 159,250; 141 of the 220 loans were disbursed to female recipients for micro-enterprises; the remainder were predominantly for agriculture. It also states that in these cases "social conventions required the head of the family to sign the loan agreements."

It was asserted by former staff and member of the Board of Trustees that WVI did not provide WRC with any detailed information about the recipients of the loans, despite repeated requests. The reasons for this were never clarified; apparently WVI stated that they could not supply confidential information of this sort to the WRC Board. As a result, no one could provide the ET with information about the impact of micro-credit on women recipients' lives. It cannot be assumed that the loans contributed to poverty reduction and still less to the wider project of economic empowerment as a pre-condition for gender equality. It is particularly unfortunate that there is no indication of whether WVI made attempts to ensure that rural women from both communities benefited.

⁵² Leading to the odd situation that it is easier to track down this information via a Google search than to obtain a copy in Samtskhe-Javakheti itself. See, for example: <http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00002459/>

Objective 6, Ensuring institutional and financial sustainability

The institutional status of the WRC during its lifetime was complex and difficult to unravel, particularly in relation to the composition and responsibilities of the Board of Trustees. At some points, the Board was actually undertaking day to day management. Whatever the details, it is evident that the project did not achieve its objective of long term institutional sustainability.

Returns on micro-credit revolving funds. It had been envisaged that these returns would be used to sustain activities after end of initial funding. However, the ET realised that, although the WRC has ceased to exist as an organisation, the whereabouts of these returns were not known. This discovery was only made at a very late stage, but the ET was hoping for clarification from the UNDP office in Tbilisi. Their response to date has been that no separate report containing detailed financial breakdown of assets was submitted to Sida but that the situation with regard to World Vision was “reflected in the overall report along with the other project activities.” The situation therefore remains unclear.

Objective 7, Small scale rehabilitation programme

The rationale for devoting considerable resources to this aspect was explained to us (by the UNDP's Programme Officer in Tbilisi as (a) to reduce the health risks of particularly vulnerable groups, such as pregnant women in remoter areas and (b) as a ‘carrot’ to attract women towards the other activities of the WRC. The list of completed projects in the Final Report includes: rehabilitation of diagnostic laboratory and children's clinic in Akhaltsikhe; provision of an ultrasound system at the Maternity House in Borjomi. In addition, the WRC negotiated for free services such as cervical examinations at existing facilities and for free computer classes for women and children in Aspindza and Adigeni.

From our interviews, it did appear that NGOs and community leaders were aware of the rebuilding and re-equipping of the health facilities. However, no one contacted by the ET in the course of its visit to the region made any explicit linkages between this contribution to women's health to the WRC or its longer term objectives but of course this does not constitute sufficient evidence. We considered it problematic that the SJIDP itself had not budgeted for this kind of provision.

Objective 8, Prioritising needs of rural women

We examined this objective principally through the loan programme. The Final Report stated that agriculture and retail were the most significant sector to receive loans, and this can thus be considered as a form of support for rural women. However, the ET found it surprising that the WRC had not challenged the practice of allowing male household heads to sign the loan agreement with World Vision. There was no opportunity to establish how much rural women had benefited from the rehabilitation of health services; the support for computer classes did not seem to be addressing priority needs.

Additional Activities Related to Gender Equality and Peacebuilding

The project arranged an inter-ethnic school exchanges between Armenian and Georgian school students. According to the final report, in 2005 30 students, 4 parents and 4 teachers from Akhalkalaki and Ninotsminda Schools spent a week in Borjomi district, living together with their peers and their parents. Students attended classes given in Georgian and Russian languages and WRC trainers from Borjomi conducted training sessions on gender, family violence, public participation and human rights. The Borjomi students then made a return visit.

Feedback from all concerned was very positive but as far as the ET could establish, this initiative was never implemented again. It is not clear whether this was due to the various upheavals within the project, resource constraints or to the political sensitivities of the wider context. There is no evidence that the project took other opportunities to develop their own/their stakeholders' capacity for conflict analysis or conflict resilience.

In summary, the ET considers that the project only achieved its objectives to a limited extent and that it did not contribute significantly to either gender equality or peace building.

Other development issues

Sustainability: As noted in the 2005 evaluation, the initial project design was over-ambitious and insufficiently coherent. Some of the management difficulties that arose can be attributed to the difficult context, but the project did not take sufficient advantage of existing expertise to find way of handling the difficulties. As a result, it appears to have lost credibility in the eyes of local civil society organisations.

The project design also appeared over-ambitious in expecting to generate sufficient income from its proposed micro-credit and income generation components. This is particularly the case with women in precarious economic conditions. It is not clear how much responsibility the SJIDP management should take for this lack of forward planning.

Relevance: The original objectives of the project were highly relevant to Sida's aim of building human security through development co-operation. They were also consistent with (a) the UNDP's stated commitment to gender mainstreaming (b) the analysis of the conflict context prevalent during the period in which the SJIDP was devised. For example, it aimed to ensure inclusion of women from the Armenian community. This was also consistent with the Georgian government's position.

However, it appeared from our interviews with local 'knowledge-holders' that the risks of ethnic conflict originally identified by the SJIDP had diminished considerably, if not entirely. These shifts were not reflected in any of the WRC's activities.

Coordination: Even in close knit communities such as Akhaltsikhe, the WRC appears to have left no 'footprint' in terms of co-ordination with other women's organisations.

3.5 Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC): Drama in Education/Teachers' Training

Time Frame: 36 months (January 2003–December 2004)

Budget: SEK 2,8448.800 to end 2004; SEK 3,900 000 for 2005–10 & 2007–10 for two projects: Disseminating The UN Guiding Principles In Georgia; Human Rights Education

Target groups: Displaced populations (IDPs and refugees⁵³) in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Zugdidi, Batumi, Sukhumi and Gali; local war-affected populations Sukhumi, Gali.

The overall objective of the NRC in Georgia during the period under review was to contribute to strengthening civic society values in IDP/mixed schools and to promote peace and tolerance among displaced and local communities. Sida's funding during the period under review was very small scale, but is now larger. The project was implemented with a number of partners, including the Georgian Ministry of Education, Stiftelsen Kvinnoforum and local NGOs.

NRC operates in a context where the overwhelming majority of teachers are female and where gender issues such as HIV/AIDS impact on both teachers and students. Their mandate does not include peace building per se, but their target groups and mode of operation have a clear relevance to the conflict context e.g. by including activities in Gali and Sukhumi.

⁵³ The later category comprised the approx. 2,700 Chechens who had crossed state borders into the Akhamati/Pankisi Gorge area.

Project Objectives in Relation to Gender Equality and to Peace building:

- Increase capacity, knowledge and competence of displaced and war-affected teachers in the fields of creative teaching (emphasis on drama-in-education) and gender issues (emphasis on trafficking and HIV/AIDs awareness)
- Safeguard children's potential for development, learning, self-esteem and community contribution in the future
- Bridge the existing gap in Georgian schools by providing manual for teachers and trainers

Results

Given the lapse of time, it was difficult for the ET team to contact project beneficiaries directly. In addition, as the NRC Director acknowledged, this project was very poorly documented at the time. However, it was possible for the ET to trace back to the original impact of the projects e.g. through focus groups interviews with IDP teachers who had been through NRC programmes and with former school children who have gone on to be trainees in current NRC programmes.

Objective 1, Increased capacity and better morale

Within Georgia proper, the ET obtained strong evidence of positive impact in relation to creative teaching for IDP and non-IDP teachers alike. It was not possible to verify this in Abkhazia, but it seems very probable that this was also the case. Teachers who had grown up and trained under the Soviet system recounted how the new methodologies challenged their assumptions about pedagogy and about children's rights: "When I was at school, I didn't even know that I had any rights." They were able to give concrete examples of how they had used the new methods e.g. forum theatre.

Along with the trauma of displacement, the majority of IDPs of all backgrounds experienced some forms of hostility from Georgian communities, with obvious effects on morale. For IDP teachers, their involvement with the NRC project meant that they were treated as skilled professionals with something to contribute to society. They also felt that involvement in the projects had been life-changing for their students. As an example, a group of young men in Zugdidi, who had progressed through the process from trainees to trainers, continue their work as volunteers even though they were also now working as professionals.

Objective 2, Human rights and gender

Teachers and teenage peer to peer groups interviewed by the ET gave accounts of how the NRC programmes had 'opened the way' to discussions with their peers around gender and human rights, in areas that had previously never been explored (see Box below). It was not possible to establish whether this impact was generalisable over the project as a whole. However, there were consistent statements from former beneficiaries about the effects on their own lives. For example, the ET was given a performance of 'Gender Dreams' by a mixed group of teenagers, who had first become involved with the NRC drama when they were children. At the organisational level, a group interview with the IDP Teachers "Lampari" emphasised that the NRC had enabled them to grasp the significance of gender in their lives and their teaching; this seemed to be borne out by the way in which they analysed issues of violence. The 'control' group interview carried out with a different group of IDP teachers who had not been exposed to the NRC training revealed less analytical attitudes.

Gendered attitudes to violence

When asked about the prevalence of violence in their lives, IDP teachers with considerable experience in NRC training were explicit about the extent of 'domestic' violence by men against their female partners. They also bemoaned the way in which young people had started to use violence. Yet they showed a very strong tendency to exonerate male IDPs' behaviour, citing the disastrous impact of displacement, loss of male status.

One NRC partner uses young people's priorities and perceptions to get across their message on bride kidnapping and other forms of sexual violence/coercion. "Instead of lecturing them as to how kidnapping is a human rights abuse, we encourage them to think of it as something very uncool for boys to do... he could only get a girl friend by kidnapping her!"

Objective 3, Breaking culture of silence around HIV/AIDS and trafficking

The ET was not able to obtain specific verification for the time period under review. However, the NRC has now been chosen as an implementing partner by the UNHCR in relation to IDPs as well as refugees and by Save the Children (SCF), both of whom enthusiastically endorse the way in which the NRC methodologies address sensitive areas. This makes it highly probable that the project was successful as a pilot scheme.

Other Development Issues

Sustainability: Although the project documentation did not show any evidence of attention to sustainability, it is evident from the NRC's current funding status that some attention was paid as to how to scale-up its activities. For example, their finalized training material is in use throughout the Georgian educational system, and by major international NGOs such as SCF. At another level, peer trainees such as those interviewed in Zugdidi have been sufficiently inspired to want to set up their own NGO rather than just depending on NRC funding.

Relevance: The project operated under the international mandate of the UNHCR and was fully consistent with all the UNHCR's guidelines on improving quality of education for refugees/IDPs & on their rights to information on human rights, gender, HIV/AIDS etc. It was relevant to UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The project contributed to the current fruitful partnership between the NRC and the Georgian Ministry of Education (and the Abkhazian Ministry of Education in exile). Under this, the NRC is playing a central role in providing the training courses which all teachers will need in order to gain accreditation from the Ministry. Several teachers interviewed (IDP and non-IDP) praised these courses and felt they had been crucial to their professional progression and general morale. This in turn feeds through to the grass roots level through their interactions with school children, their parents and the community.

Coordination: There was evidence of excellent co-ordination with Georgian national institutes, including Ministry of Education, Institute of Teachers Training, Tbilisi, Teachers' Union and with local NGOs.

4. Evaluative Conclusions and Lessons Learned

In various ways, the projects contributed to gender equality in the manner defined in section 2.1 (see box) and in compliance with Sida policy:⁵⁴

Agency: How do programs contribute to the agency, or empowerment of women? This will be addressed at the individual, organisational and network (civil society arena) levels.

Preconditions: How do the projects help to establish relevant preconditions for promoting women's agency? How do project achievements contribute to improved conditions for achieving women's equality in the long terms?

Gender analysis: How effective have projects been in gender analysis to identify the most appropriate strategies for achieving gender equality in a conflict ridden and changing context?

Gender and conflict: What role have conflict and peace building played in promoting or hindering the development of gender equality?

In addition, we conclude that they have established some of the linkages between gender equality and peacebuilding. At the 'common sense' level, addressing women's economic insecurity, their marginalisation from formal politics and VAW are all essential aspects of human security. The projects or project components that have engaged directly with the conflict context have demonstrated more specific linkages, as detailed below.

4.1 Strengthening Women's Agency through their Organisations

Projects contributed to the empowerment of women first at an *individual level* through a holistic learning process, addressing issues such as skills development, self esteem, capacity, analysis and problem solving. Practical needs such as housing, employment and health care were effectively used as entry points, especially by KTK partners to bring women into a process by which they could develop their potential, both personally and in cooperation with others facing similar issues.

KTK and UNIFEM projects have enabled women to see the pressures exerted on them to cast others only as 'the enemy,' devoid of any shared human experiences of loss and grief. This process has in turn contributed to building skills around conflict analysis, such as how to avoid inadvertently contributing to a 'culture of blame' – these skills are essential for conflict sensitivity (Do No Harm). In addition, women's organisations have themselves been strengthened by the learning process involved in implementing conflict resilience initiatives (Do Some Good). These two aspects are examined in more detail below.

From both the IDP community and the broader society, individual journeys from disempowerment due to displacement and/or violence, towards a sense of greater understanding and control of aspects of their lives was important and often dramatic in individual women interviewed by the ET.

However, while women's individual empowerment is critical, achieving gender equality needs women to be able to act together. This was supported through strengthening their *organisations*, which in full circle, are then able to provide effective support to more women, as well as to better advocate for their interests. In the case of KTK, modest but reliable core funding was provided to carefully identified partners over a period as long as three years. In addition, KTK provides one-to-one support to partners and invests in capacity building in areas such as strategic planning, organisational management, etc.

⁵⁴ It also answers questions posed in the inception report that were found to be most relevant to the projects visited in Georgia. These are to some extent embodied in section 2.1, but are attached for reference in Annex 6.2.

Partners reported that this allowed them to consolidate their internal organisation and planning capacity, and to access funding and implement additional often much larger plans. Conversely, the WRC did not demonstrate this ‘virtuous circle’.

Finally, women’s agency was strengthened through promoting the participation of women in the *civil society arena* through networking, and in promoting the participation of women’s organisation in national policy work (KTK, UNIFEM). Broad networks such as “Women for Peace” strengthen the ability of women’s organisations to mobilize quickly in support of petitions, in common and coordinated public campaigns, etc, effectively using the Internet as a mobilizing tool. As one partner said, a letter signed from a few dozen organisations gets a lot more attention than a letter with one signature.

Networks among KTK partners are less formalized than the Women’s Peace Network but are more focused on common interests such as health, business, violence against women, peacebuilding, youth, etc. These contribute to shared learning as well as strengthening a regional vision and permitting contact across conflict zones that could not otherwise take place. They involve a number of women from each member organisation, depending on the subject of the meetings. This provides excellent opportunities for leadership development. The opportunity to go to a conference and study tour in Sweden, and stay with families of KtK, had an enormous educational and motivational impact on young women leaders in the Women’s Hope project.

Regional meetings in the projects are also useful in developing conflict analysis and resilience by understanding conflict dynamics faced by women in other parts of the region, and beyond.⁵⁵ It is of particular importance to women in more isolated places like Abkhazia to feel that they are connected to a broader network and to give them a more comfortable space in which to work with Georgian women.

The participation of women’s organisations in the civil society arena has included participation in policy development and dialogue with and within national mechanisms. UN agencies are in an excellent position to promote this, given their mandate and their relationship with the government. UNIFEM was able to do this, and in its absence, the UNDP could play a much stronger role. The current government has been less willing to consult widely with civil society than had originally been expected. Yet capacity, commitment and leadership in the area of gender equality is clearly stronger on the civil society side.

While the network experience contributes significantly to women’s participation in the civil society arena, there are weaknesses in support for it, including:

- UNIFEM’s sudden departure and inadequate support to network structures and processes, as already described. UNIFEM’s departure was unanticipated, and its partners had expected some follow up.
- UNDP’s general weakness in working with women’s organisations: in projects where only UNDP is involved (Imereti resource center, WRC), women’s organisations were very much on the sidelines, in spite of the experience and expertise they had to offer.
- There is a perception among NGOs of a lack of coordination among donors, including to some extent, competition. For example, there are two separate networks for women with international support (OSCE, UNIFEM). Even with the best of intentions, there is no donor coordination mechanism to serve as a forum.
- Some projects tend to emphasize donor agendas over those of the women’s movement. For example, the interest in rapid growth of the Women’s Peace Network may have responded more to UNIFEM’s interests than to those of the existing Women’s Council for Peace

⁵⁵ Some meetings – depending on the theme – involved women from the Balkan states, from other former soviet states, Israel, and Palestine, as well as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Abkhazia

In summary, some project interventions have contributed significantly towards empowering women, their organisations and networks. In this, projects comply fully with Sida's civil society policy, with gender policy in, addressing power relations by developing women's agency, promoting women's participation in democracy building from civil society; targets women in an effective manner, and in some cases, addressing poverty. Specifically, power relations have been affected by women's access to knowledge (international conventions, women's rights), capacity to act in unison through their networks and shared analysis of social problems, increased skills and capacity to act in their own interests at various social and political levels, some (albeit limited) capacity to affect legislation in their interest, and increased resistance to male violence, among other achievements.

Lessons Learned

- Face-to-face meetings are very useful in building a solid foundation for networking, especially in a context of conflict where they help to build confidence and reinforce the humanity of the other.
- Virtual networks are very useful for maintaining contacts once established. They are used effectively by women to communicate, share information, and mobilize and coordinate activities. This is particularly important in communicating when travel and phones are not options due to conflict or costs.
- Attention to process is important in developing agency, capacity and sustainability of partners and of networks, and in contributing to the development of a made-in-Georgia women's platform. For example, KTK's support to organizational development has allowed women's NGOs to develop according to their own agendas and time frames rather than donor defined ones. As a result, organizations are stronger, more competent and confident in their sense of agency, and ultimately more sustainable.
- Short term projects project funding is generally inadequate for the medium to long term objectives of gender equality and women's empowerment. In addition, they put considerable strain on partners who are often still developing their capacity, and who themselves often have long term goals.

4.2 Developing Pre-conditions for Women's Equality

Legislative framework/national machinery:

It is not clear if the UNDP and UNIFEM projects supporting *national machinery* and *legislation* as a project objective as an end in itself or as a precondition for achieving gender equality. Taken either way, results to date are very modest. No permanent government gender body has been established, general legislative equality exists (even though it is not always respected), but gender specific legislature is fairly weak and political commitment remains to be demonstrated. Several stakeholders see the establishment of the Gender Advisory Council as a major achievement. They also regard it as extremely significant that a National Action Plan (reduced as it is) has been adopted and that for the first time it has a budget and a strong minister responsible for it. National Action plans have come and gone in the past, unimplemented and leaving no results. It is still too early to tell if this plan will be fully implemented and what kind of an effect it will have.

There are many external factors for slow progress, including resistance, low priority given to the issue, militarization of society due to the frozen conflict, the neo liberal framework which tends to disadvantage women, and last but not least, a very low representation of women in decision making positions to push for more comprehensive progress. However, in one form or another in every culture, these are obstacles to women's equality. Project designs need to take into account realistic assumptions and risk analysis to address them. UNIFEM and KTK's approaches are more flexible, given their emphasis on supporting local women's organisations in seeking appropriate solutions, as well as strengthening civil society's capacity to advocate, which will be a critical factor in bringing about change.

While the starting points of many legislative efforts are international agreements, a more thorough gender analysis taking into account specific Georgian “gender regimes” may identify more effective entry points for change. The Soviet gender regime, to some extent, forms a specific impediment: many gains for women such as childcare, quotas for women’s participation, and equal access to education have been degraded or rejected due to their association with a generally rejected political model. Enlisting government support for gender equality will depend on finding a “language” they understand: for example, in the neo-liberal framework, showing that violence against women is costly to economic as well as human development.

Women’s political participation

Participation appears also to be considered a goal in itself (UNDP), rather than an enabling factor. In the context of Western liberal democracy, there is evidence to show that a “critical mass” of around 30% of women in national parliaments or other central political institutions is the threshold for significant change in the way gender issues are approached.⁵⁶ In Georgia, there are too few women (less than 10%) to mark any clear pattern.

The Gender and Politics project encourages women to run for office, supports local councillors in their professional capacity through a Forum, has carried out public campaigns to promote voting for women, and worked for political commitment on gender equality from parties. These are all important activities although still not resulting in any significant increase in women’s participation in government at either level. While there is prejudice regarding women in politics (patriarchal regime),⁵⁷ there is no evidence that this is the most significant barrier. Under the Soviet gender regime, the population was accustomed to seeing women in leadership positions, even though these were regarded as imposed by the Soviet system and attributable to quotas. Georgia has traditionally had strong women leaders: the current Chair of Parliament is a woman, and historically, Georgia has had strong, respected women leaders (e.g. Queen Tamar and St. Nino).

On the other hand, discussions with women and a study commissioned by the project⁵⁸ revealed a number of concrete obstacles for women that the project does not or can not address: the unpaid nature of local council work, combined with women’s increasing role as breadwinner and housewife (i.e.: the triple day), resistance to any Soviet sounding idea such as quotas, resistance of parties to putting women high on the lists, lack of funding (their own, or from the party) for campaigns. One of the most important factors working against women’s increased participation is the electoral reform processes that will reduce the overall number of elected representatives at national and local levels.

The project may have to think of creative ways to address these issues. The Women’s Forum, for example, is a useful tool but less than half of women councillors have participated in training, and only 10–12% participate in the Forum. A decentralized process including women interested in political participation, women in political parties, and women’s organizations with political/advocacy objectives may be an effective alternative strategy. Meetings involving women also need to take into account women’s responsibilities – which may affect the timing of meetings, the provision of childcare, etc.

Ensuring women bring a gender perspective to office would depend either on recruiting women who already have such a perspective, or on training women representatives in gender analysis. The former might include recruiting candidates from the women’s movement who in addition to a gender focus, would have a movement behind them to support their advocacy in government. In the latter case, Gender & Politics emphasizes training for women councillors to improve their political capacity so that

⁵⁶ See the work of Norris and Lovenduski in the UK and Jonasdottir in Scandinavia

⁵⁷ One government official thought politics was a bit too dirty for women; another (a woman) expressed doubt that one could find enough qualified women to make up 50% of parliament !

⁵⁸ Jashi, op cit, pp 76–78

they can both survive and be effective in a hostile milieu. Through this strategy, there is no assurance that women will vote in ways that promote strategic gender interests, even if greater gender balance is achieved.

In short, UNIFEM and UNDP projects have supported important processes in promoting national machinery, gender mainstreaming and gender balance in parliament and government, although results are limited and the projects do not seem to be able to affect the fundamental causes of this. While the goals are also shared by many women's groups, there is frustration at the slow pace, and diminishing confidence in government to actually make significant change. In this context, it is important that women's organisations can turn to international tools such as CEDAW and SCR 1325 as a way of claiming some political space.

Addressing attitudes and culture as a precondition to women's equality.

There is a strong emphasis on culture and attitudes in a number of the projects, indicating an understanding of how central and deeply rooted is the patriarchal regime and how important a barrier it is to women's equality. All projects address it to some extent: Gender and Politics carried out two "gender week" programmes; UNIFEM had a targeted public awareness strategy on women. The most apparent change, noted through anecdotal evidence, is the broad awareness and capacity building on CEDAW and SCR 1325 strongly rooted in the use of the UNIFEM manual. The ET was unable to measure the impact of broader campaigns, given the lack of baseline information, and the resources (including time) and specialized methodology needed to assess the impact of TV spots, newspaper articles, photo exhibits, women-in-art Agendas, etc. However, given the importance of cultural attitudes, it would be worthwhile to engage in an evaluation and identification of effective public awareness strategies for changing them.

NRC and many KTK partners address gender issues in a holistic way in training, through peer-to-peer programmes, role-playing, forum theatre, creative activities etc. This approach is similar to the KAP survey (Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices) methodology used in health education and the results have often been similarly revealing in terms of disjuncture between 'what is said' and 'what is done'. The UNDP programme is weak in this area, focusing mainly on the provision of information.⁵⁹

The UN Common Country Assessment (CCA) (2004) identified teachers and journalist as professions with a majority of women and recommends that they be among key actors in initializing mass media campaign and education on gender equality, with special emphasis on addressing indirect discrimination.⁶⁰ Targeting teachers and journalists, as well as youth and students, is an important strategy of most of the projects assessed.

A general weakness of most of the projects is that they do not address masculinity and do not target men. This does not mean that men are not involved in training: often they are the majority involved because of the positions they hold as representatives, journalists, NGO members etc.⁶¹ However, in the UNDP training there is little evidence that they are called on, or supported in challenging their cultural attitudes.

Lessons Learned

- Civil society participation in political processes is important and serves – as in the case of the Gender Advisory Council – to help push the legislative gender agenda. However, there is an important role for a civil society movement outside of government structures, free to exert pressure, innovate and provide support to isolated progressive forces within government.

⁵⁹ The ET did not observe any training or find any training manuals. This information is based on review of training session agendas, and interviews with UNDP staff and training beneficiaries.

⁶⁰ UN Common Country Assessment for Georgia, 2004, p. 27

⁶¹ In Imereti, for example, the Resource Centre trained all 295 local councilors, of whom only 15 were women

- Working with government legislation and machinery requires a long term commitment, and a clear concept of the relationship between creating an enabling environment for achieving gender equality, and the achievement of equality itself.
- Women’s participation in politics is an important objective, but also important is the capacity of women (and men) to analyse and represent women’s strategic interests in all their legislative activities.
- It is important to focus on learning rather than training in capacity building. In the area of gender, this involves those deeply rooted attitudes and behaviours of both men and women that cannot be addressed solely by imparting information. Formulating learning outcomes, participative monitoring of step-changes in attitudes and longer-term behaviour change would be a more productive approach to this challenge.⁶²
- An understanding of the cultural content of beliefs and practices is required for understanding the challenges to achieving meaningful gender equality. For example, issues such as the ‘double standard’ around male and female sexual behaviour impact on everyday life.
- Men need to be targeted in a special way to address their role in promoting gender equality. It is not all women’s work.

4.3 Gender Analysis and Effective Targeting

There are significant contrasts among the projects in terms of clarity of gender analysis. The WRC⁶³ represents an example of the women-in-development (WID) approach in which “the problem” to be solved is seen as women’s exclusion from the development process. Appropriate action is therefore to devise schemes for their inclusion e.g. through income-generation. A similar problem exists with the Women’s Economic empowerment component of the Gender and Politics project in Kutaisi, which failed to use the opportunity to encourage women to explore non-traditional areas that might be more successful.⁶⁴ In contrast, other projects have been grounded in gender-and-development (GAD) approach that recognizes many of the problems are the result of the way in which women have been integrated into ‘development’ without addressing fundamental inequalities e.g. they have been expected to generate income without any rights to make economic decisions, inherit property etc.

Among the projects, UNDP recognized that the lack of understanding of gender presented the risk that it may be interpreted (and implemented) as a “women in development project”, e.g. as one that addresses women’s issues. However, they discounted this risk as low given the quality of experts involved.⁶⁵

A project with a clear gender analysis will look at the same practical needs of women (such as income, health care, etc) and develop responses that also consciously address the causes of these problems. For example, health was addressed as a critical issue that women needed to deal with before they could really do anything else. In Gali, Avangard used health consultations as place where women came to meet their practical needs (health) as a pre-condition, to addressing other issues such as conflict.

⁶² There is substantial evidence in this area from community-based HIV/AIDS programmes: see, for example, the work of Action Aid’s ‘Stepping Stones’ programmes:

⁶³ According to UNDP, the WRC was established to be the gender component of the larger integrated development programme, which did *not* mainstream any gender considerations.

⁶⁴ Analysis carried out by the UNDP showed that women’s business tended to be in traditional areas, where there is often too much competition; women needed new technical (“professional”) skills to survive in new market economy, and women had less access to credit than their male counterparts (Jashi, op cit) While the project provided credit support (including men who participated in training) the project missed opportunity to analyse non traditional potential business for women, or to accessing new more relevant skills. It would be worth following up in the next few years to assess different impact on the women and men involved.

⁶⁵ UNDP Gender & Politics Project Proposal 2003, p. 5

The safe space to meet and talk with others was assessed by Avangard as essential. Similarly, Democrat Women of Samtskhe Javakheti saw health as a precondition for forming a space that brought together Georgian and Armenian women and began to address common problems rather than differences.

An additional element of gender analysis in the Georgian context is the link of gender to conflict analysis. The above examples illustrate the importance of addressing women's needs most pressing needs, in a safe space, before they can begin to analyse either gender or conflict issues. As SCR 1325 attests, conflict analysis is an essential pre-condition for effecting change in any aspect of war, violence and human security. Taken together, the websites, bulletins, records of regional meetings etc of UNIFEM and KTK partners provide significant insights into the nature of the Georgian conflict. The content and case studies in the UNIFEM CEDAW/SRC 1325 Manual are grounded in women's experiences during the wars complemented by their capacity for gender analysis. The WRC-funded research document also contains important conflict analyses; for example it examines the role of religion as a dividing force between women of the two communities. Unfortunately this research is limited in accessibility both in the region and beyond.

To date, these conflict analyses have been constrained by a tendency to generalize about "women", and the need to avoid stirring up hostility. For the contextual reasons outlined in Section 2, this kind of gendered analysis has had limited effects on the broader civil society and virtually none on the state structures. Nevertheless, they represent a breakthrough in the field of promoting gender equality through peacebuilding.

A good gender analysis will also recognize when targeting men or women specifically, or promoting gender balance is the most appropriate strategy for the arriving at the goal of gender equality. As an equity strategy requires the targeting of women for some actions, there is a need for men to be specifically targeted for others. Male attitudes need to be addressed in order to remove barriers to women's equality. Violence against women, for example, will not be eliminated without changing male attitudes. NRC achievements around the rejection of bride kidnapping for example, demonstrate the effectiveness of targeting men. Their support for equality may depend on strategies designed to address attitudes they have never questioned. The derisive male response to the proposed bill on domestic violence indicate there is much work to be done. In addition, men who are truly receptive to gender equality should be trained, supported and included as allies because they often make the best advocates to work on the attitudes of their peers.

On the other hand, the gender balanced approach to the UNDPs Women's Economic Empowerment (49% of beneficiaries were men) was inexplicable in terms of gender analysis because women were disadvantaged in business *in relation* to men.

Lessons Learned

- It is essential to have a finely tuned gender analysis in each project: Fuzzy concepts of gender equality can result in very dispersed and ineffective projects.
- Gender analysis is an ongoing activity in the iterative development of projects: it is important to be able to identify and take advantage of opportunities to promote gender equality that arise in the implementation of any project.
- An effective RBM process, including a results chain, can be a useful tool for guiding and monitoring long term gender objectives, as well as identifying likely risks and opportunities.
- There remain enormous challenges to integrate gender into conflict analysis. Efforts that have been made in research, documenting case studies, etc., need to be effectively shared and incorporated into organizational activities in ways that promote and stimulate further research, as well as practical application.

- Neither gender equality nor peace are the exclusive responsibilities of women. Men need to be targeted, and included in ways that will promote gender aware processes of democratic and peace oriented development. A careful, combined gender and peace analysis will be needed to ensure the best approach for targeting men.

4.4 Gender Equality and Conflict Resilience

Many project activities made important contributions to building conflict resilience in the sense of withstanding pressures of events or efforts that might contribute to escalating tensions or violence. Both phases of UNIFEM's work, the Women's for Peace Network/Coalition and KTK's ongoing programme addressed the 'frozen conflict while the WRC's school-exchange initiative at least made an initial attempt to incorporate regional dynamics of conflict. The NRC work shows that hostility between IDP and local communities is another element requiring conflict resilience.

The activities contained a general emphasis on how women used their agency as mothers to support non-violence. There was some acknowledgement that, since women can be motivated by a desire for revenge, conflict resilience needs to first effect change at the individual level and then move into a shared examinations of cycles of violence. Some innovative linkages have been made with aspects of women's lives other than motherhood e.g. as business women. Cumulatively, these initiatives represent a distinctive integration of gender analysis, a grasp of gendered power relations and actualization of women's agency in the face of conflict. All of these elements relate to the aspirations of SCR 1325 to draw on women's expertise. The various networks have all functioned to disseminate knowledge and methodologies around conflict resilience. In some instances, however, network e-bulletins and newsletters have over-simplified the challenges involved.

Widening the circle of gendered conflict resilience remains a challenge. At present, there is insufficient evidence from the person to person and cross border activities as to their effects beyond the 'safe circle of like minded women e.g. whether male partners, neighbours or community leaders have been drawn in. However, there are some indications that there can be ripple effects. For example, the UWA has reached out to another NGO representing wives of (Abkhazian) combatants, inviting them to meetings held to share the reports from KTK regional meetings.

Conflict resilience activities involving person to person encounters are constantly subject to both sudden shocks or just to a gradually deteriorating security environment. (This applies just as much to gender-blind activities.) Sida funded projects have had to deal with both armed incursions and overall deteriorating security, such as KTK's work in South Ossetia. It seems probable that the long term organisational and capacity-building support provided by KTK to its partners has been an important factor in mitigating the impact of these events, in contrast to other gender and conflict projects.

Lessons Learned

- Along with conflict analysis, integrating gender with conflict resilience requires a broader concept of human security.
- There are no 'short cuts' or blue prints but an understanding of gendered relations of power at all levels is an essential starting point.
- Networks can play an important, central role in disseminating the outcomes of specific conflict resilience activities. At the same time, as women's organisations acquire more expertise and confidence in this kind of activity, it will become increasingly important to step beyond their 'safe circles'.
- This is another area where SCR 1325 should come to the fore, allowing the organisations to gain credibility in the wider security context as well as helping sustainability.

The ToR did not encompass the gender implications of possible future scenarios such as a political settlement between Georgia and Abkhazia. However, such scenarios have enormous implications for gender equality; for example, they will almost certainly involve conditions for return of IDPs, dismantling the respective militaries etc. An increasing body of evidence shows that even where women have made essential contributions to maintaining the social fabric of war-affected societies, their voices are ‘disappeared’ once a settlement is actually set in train⁶⁶. In the face of this evidence, it is important that Sida and its partners adopt a forward-looking approach that builds on existing achievements in the arena of gender, conflict and peace.

- Property rights. UNIFEM-funded research⁶⁷ show that Georgian women’s *de jure* equality in relation to inheritance of housing, land and property is frequently undermined by customary law that insists on male rights to immovable property. If this is the case in times of peace, then how should women IDPs be supported in the event of their voluntary return?
- Tackling government policies in a post conflict society: A political settlement will bring to the fore issues such as compulsory conscription, and the state defense budget that are currently out of bounds. Should women’s organisations thinking beyond the immediate demands of peacebuilding?
- In some instances, women’s experiences of armed conflict have given them a measure of empowerment e.g. through becoming household heads, dealing with authorities etc. The normalization of society could mean a reinforcement of patriarchal expectations, including increases in VAW.

5. Recommendations

What Sida Should Do

1. Sida should continue to support gender equality work in Georgia because it contributes effectively to the promotion of human rights, peace building and democratic government. Sida has already supported valuable contributions that should be further supported and expanded, especially given the long term nature of these goals.
2. Sida should prioritize work with women’s organisations of civil society and their intercession in policy development and lobbying. This work has proven effective in Georgia, and moreover promotes Sida’s objectives for democratic development and a gendered approach to Sida’s Civil Society policy. In addition, changes at the national machinery/legislation level are unlikely to be effective without civil society pressure and expertise.
3. Support to legislation and national machinery is valid and should continue, but it currently provides less opportunity for results. Demonstration of government commitment to implementing at least the modest NAP should be an indicator to Sida regarding the level of effort to devote to this strategy. To be most effective, work with government should complement and promote civil society priorities.
4. Sida should support partners in developing an effective RBM capacity in order to better monitor medium and long term results. (progress has been made in some cases). An effective RBM, including a results chain, can be a useful tool for guiding and monitoring long term gender objectives, as well as identifying likely risks and opportunities.

⁶⁶ See Pankhurst, 2006, *Gendered Peace: Women’s Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*

⁶⁷ Liz Sanikidze et al ‘*The Reality – Women’s Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities in Georgia*’, Tbilisi 2006

5. Sida should ensure that projects it supports carry out specific gender analyses, which should be the basis on which to build the results chain of the RBM. In addition, projects should count on skilled gender experts (especially local experts) with the capacity to analyse and act on gender implications and opportunities arising throughout the project's development.
6. Sida should support partners who have demonstrated their capacity to combine conflict sensitivity with gender analysis. Where this capacity is not already evident, Sida should consider how to provide support from skilled experts in gender, conflict and peacebuilding, especially those with local/ regional knowledge.
7. Sida should find ways to encourage projects it supports define and develop learning/capacity development objectives rather than activity focused (training) ones, which do not provide useful indicators of results. This is particularly important in the area of gender where behavioural changes almost never happen solely just as the result of information transfer.
8. Sida should support partners in targeting men, particularly in their attitudes and behaviours as men (grounded in social constructions of masculinity) because changes in men's attitude are critical to changing historically-embedded obstacles to equality. The ET suggests that organisations already involved in gender issues are best suited to do this; some partners were already doing it in an ad hoc manner, or had ideas on how and why it should be done.

What Sida Could Do⁶⁸

9. Sida could take leadership among donors in promoting the establishment of a mechanism for coordinating gender efforts. The purpose of coordination would be to ensure most effective use of resources, avoid duplication and overlap and promote the development of a more cohesive and higher profile approach to gender among donors. Sida is one of the strongest actors in the area of gender and could credibly promote such a forum.
10. Sida could take the initiative, based on its leadership and the accumulated experience of its gender projects, to organize a forum for debating gender issues that are currently impacting on the lives of Georgian women. Along with 'development'-related problems e.g. poverty, unemployment, health, VAW, there would be scope for looking at conflict. Such a forum would contribute to building a common conceptual and methodological framework within which to integrate gender equality. Sida could convene government and civil society participation, facilitating dialogue between the two and promoting civil society participation in developing the national gender strategy. This could also be a forum for sharing research done by partners, or identifying research needs. The mechanism for doing this would need to be developed in collaboration with partners – it could be coordinated through a partner with a network, directly through the existing network(s), and/or through some mechanism in coordination between the gender donor group and women's networks.
11. In conjunction with the improved RBM process, above, Sida could work with implementing partners and a number of their local partners to develop a shared set of indicators that could be the basis for future impact assessment. This would achieve a number of objectives, including strengthening gender analysis capacity of partners, sharing existing good practices, and contributing to a more coherent agenda for women's equality.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Additional suggestions for enhancing Sida's gender impact

⁶⁹ This recommendation stems in part from the experience of the ET in not finding much serious reflection on many of the questions incorporated in the Inception report. For example, it was difficult for women interviewed to reflect on the direction of a Georgian "women's movement" or to identify long term strategic vision rather than short term priorities. The lack of vision and self reflection as a movement may be due to the relative new-ness of civil society organisations in general, the diversity of programme focus, and the overwhelming emphasis on peace/conflict of most of the organisations we met. It may also result partly from the general absence of impact indicators in the project proposals. This is not altogether unexpected, but does suggest there is an opportunity for Sida to act as a catalyst.

12. Although assessing gender in the other areas of Sida activity in Georgia was not part of the ToR, the overarching impact of the government's neoliberal (generally, not women friendly) economic strategy suggests it would be useful to ensure that other partners of Sida participate in the discussions on gender. A number of local projects visited, for example, had an excellent capacity for understanding the strategic possibilities in projects that on the surface, responded to women's practical needs. This is the essence of a good gender and development project. It is likely that other project partners could benefit from this experience in their mainstreaming efforts.
13. Although it is vital to avoid duplicating existing initiatives, Sida could use its international legitimacy to facilitate a set of encounters between current partners, other interested partners and national and regional security institutions that are open to dialogue about 'post-conflict Georgia'. (It would also be vital to avoid exposing any of the participants to public criticism, so these encounters might need to be 'off the record'⁷⁰ until conditions allowed.)
14. Sida could promote work at the national level to raise awareness of the level and impact of violence against women. Specifically, it could support statistical research to better measure the actual amount and forms of violence against women : without a mechanism such as a specially designed household survey, violence statistics tend to be vastly underrepresented. This information would provide a better base for government policy and services, as well as a very effective tool for raising public awareness—starting with derisive parliamentarians. Given the capitalist nature of the government strategy, an additional step of calculating cost to the economy of VAW could important impact.

Annexes

List of persons/organisations met

Conflict Glossary

Methodology, from Inception Report

References

⁷⁰ There are several precedents for this kind of initiative even in the midst of armed conflict, such as those conducted by the Quaker Peace and Service organization.

Annex 1 Persons Met

Tbilisi

Maria Israelsson, Head of Office, Sida

Louise Bermsjo, Programme Officer, Sida

Tamar Sabedashvili, Coordination Analyst, formerly UNIFEM project Director

Annika Karlsson, Field Coordinator, Kvinna till Kvinna

Stina Magnusson, Field Coordinator, Kvinna till Kvinna

Nino Lagvilava, Project Coordinator, Gender and Politics

Natia Cherkezishvili, UNDP Program Officer, Governance, Gender and Politics

Natia Natsvlishvili, Governance Team Leader, UNDP Georgia, Gender and Politics

Manana Gabashvili, Area Manager, NRC

Helen Rusetsky, Women's Information Centre (KTK and UNIFEM)*

Nana Chopliani, "Young Teachers and Psychologists Association" (NRC)

Lika Nadaraia, Women's Political Resource Center (KTK, UNDP)

Nanuka Mzhavadadze, Chair, Women's Political Resource Center

Keti Kurtskhalia, Women's Political Resource Center

Tamar Romelashvili, member of Republican Party; member of the Gender Advisory Council;
Head of the Women's Rights Centre of PDO

Keti Elizbarashvili, European Union, Delegation of the European Commission to Georgia

Nino Kochishvili, Project Manager, Delegation of the European Commission to Georgia

Lela Bakradze, UNFPA

Sophie Jambazishvili-Yucer, Programme Assistant, UNHCR

Larry Dershem, Monitoring, Evaluation and Research Specialist, Save the Children

Marina Ushveridze, Program Director/Georgia Children's Tolerance Education Program

Manana Kvachakhia, Head of Schools Department, Abkhaz Ministry of Education in exile (NRC)

Nato Shavlakadze, Anti Violence Network of Georgia (KTK)

Manana Mebuke, President, Union of Wives of Invalids and Lost-Warriors (UNIFEM)

Tamar Abramishvili, International Center for Education of Women

Liana Beria (Director), IDP Women Organization "Consent" (KTK & UNIFEM)

* () indicates project partner

Focus Groups

IDP teachers from “Lampari” with experience of NRC training programmes

IDP teachers “ “ without “ “

Meeting with stakeholders – women local Councilors and Women’s Forum Representatives from Rustavi, Tetritskharo, Marneuli and Sachkhere districts, (UNDP)

Staff and trainees of Displaced Teachers Union “Lampari” (NRC)

Gali

Maia Kvaratskhelia, Avangard, (KTK, UNIFEM)

Zarko Petrovic, UN Human Rights Office, UNOMIG

Sukhumi

Yulia Gumba, Chair, Association of Business Women of Abkhazia (KTK)

Lolita Zade, Association of Business Women of Abkhazia (KTK)

Natella Akaba, Association of Women of Aabkhazia (KTK)

Marina Gumba, Center for Social and Psychological Assistance for Women (KTK)

Irina Kvikviskiri, Zurab Achba Cultural Center “World without Violence” (KTK)

Ludmila Avidzba, Medicine of 21st Century

Zugdidi

Khatuna Gadelia, Trainer, NRC

Group Interviews

Peer Educators and trainers (NRC)

Gaenati: staff and trainees (KTK)

Kutaisi

Akaki Bobokhidze, Governor of Imereti Region.

Eleni Berekashvili and Staff of Imereti Gender Equality Resource Centre (Gender and Politics)

Mass media representatives from Imereti Region (UNDP)

Maya Metskhvarishvili, Redactor in Chief of Newspaper “Akhali Gazeti”

Nino Gachava, Representative of Radio Freedom

Gia Dvalishvili, Representative of TV studio-laboratory

Ketevan Berdzenishvili, Radio “Dzveli Qalaqi”

Alla Gamakharia, Fund Sukhimi (Kvinna tillKvinna UNIFEM)

Borjomi

Ketevan Khachidze, Director of the Secondary School #6 in Borjomi (WRC and NRC)

Akhalsikhe

Maria Gachechiladze, Head of the Governors Regional Development Service, Regional Information Resource Centre (former Director/Project Manager/Board Member of WRC)

Davit Metreveli, Regional Information Resource Centre Board Member

Marina Modebadze, Democrat Women of Samtskhe-Javakheti (KTK)

Nanuka Gelashvili, Women's Hope (KTK)

Round Table with NGOs

Veronika Ambaryan, Youth Armenians Center

Gocha Natenadze, Chief Coordinator of Projects at "Tolerani"

Rudik Vazdanyan, Office Manager of "Toleranti"

Ali Petrosyan, Union "Samtskhe"

Merab Beridze, Former Rector of Akhalsikhe State University

Elza Zedginidze Teacher of Georgian Language Programme for "Turk-Meskhetians" community, "Toleranti"

Akhalkalaki

Round Table with NGOs and educators

Roin Kavrelashvili

Nara Ganosyan

Natela Melikidze, Assistant Professor of Javakheti Branch of Tbilisi State University

Seda Melumyan, Representative of ECMI Georgia

Annex 2 Conflict Glossary

Conflict Prevention: activities undertaken to reduce manifest tensions and/or prevent the outbreak or recurrence of violent conflict

Conflict Management: activities undertaken to prevent the escalation of violent conflict, in terms of either the intensification of violence or its geographical spread

Conflict Reduction: activities undertaken to reduce the intensity or geographical extent of violent conflict, including short-term activities to end wars.

Conflict Resolution: activities to resolve underlying disputes or divisions, or to transform relations and agendas of disputing parties so that the previous divisions are much less potent as sources of conflict.

Peace-building: activities undertaken over the medium and long-term to address underlying causes of violent conflict and/or to enhance resilience against risks that violence will result from tensions, provocations or acts by any actors that try to provoke violent conflict.

Conflict resilience: the capacity of societies and countries, through a combination of societal and state structures, capacities and relationship, to prevent, manage and resolve tensions and conflicts peacefully, and to withstand pressures of events or efforts that might lead to violent conflict.

Conflict analysis: the systematic analysis of the range of factors contributing to, and mitigating against, risks and processes of violent (or potentially violent) conflict. These factors include: underlying political, social, economic, security, ethnic or other structures; relevant internal, external or transnational actors; and of relevant dynamics and processes. A conflict analysis should examine each of these factors, and the ways in which they are interacting, to understanding the overall conflict process. Conflict analyses tend to presume that all conflicts are complex (possibly several inter-linked conflicts) and caused by the dynamic combination of several factors.

Conflict Assessment: the combination of: conflict analysis; assessment of likely impacts and implications for the conflict of actions or measures that are being, or may be being taken in response to the conflict by relevant internal or external stakeholders; and an assessment of the risks and opportunities of possible response measures by the agency conducting the assessment.

Conflict Sensitive policies and programmes: policies or programmes that are designed and implemented in a way that systematically addresses risks that the policy or programme might unwittingly contribute to risks of violent conflict and identifies and takes opportunities to adjust or implement the policy or programme to contribute to conflict prevention, conflict reduction or peace-building.

Annex 3 Methodology

(Section 4 of the Inception Report)

1 Principles

The evaluation team is committed to professional evaluation practices, including the following principles:

- The evaluation team work within a results based, or results oriented approach. RBM/ROM, Outputs, outcomes and impact will be defined as they are in OECD/DAC evaluation guidelines.
- In order to assure the most accurate, impartial study, the team will triangulate sources of information for all key areas of analysis as much as possible.
- Both qualitative and quantitative (when available) data will be considered
- Sources of information will be varied, including a selection of direct participants (partners, beneficiaries), additional stakeholders (governments, other donors or NGOs), key informants (knowledgeable about the projects/project issues but not directly involved), and possibly control groups.
- Sida has expressed an interest in data collection at the grass roots level that is less accessible in documentation. As much as possible within time constraints, the ET will include direct beneficiaries and women's organizations in direct consultations.
- Methods of data collection will include: document review, individual and group interviews, focus groups, direct observation (site visits).
- Evaluation report will follow Sida's proposed format

2 Methodological Proposals

The Sida ToR call for an evaluation product and methodology that can best be described as hybrid. It contains elements of various evaluation approaches:

Impact assessment: Sida would like to address impact but recognizes that some key conditions do not exist. Among these are:

- The projects are relatively new (from 2003/04) and oriented to long term results that may not yet be apparent
- Appropriate baseline data and continuing statistical information may not be available.
- There are practical limitations of time and resources for the evaluation process
- The projects are not explicit about the impact they hope to achieve; most address outputs and outcomes, and do not contemplate any further monitoring beyond the end of project funding. (valid impact indicators can be constructed ex-post through a participatory process)
- The projects are not designed to form a programme with a common set of outcome or impact results. In fact, they form two: impact on gender equality and on conflict reduction and peacebuilding.

Meta-evaluation is the term used for evaluations designed to aggregate findings from a series of evaluations:

- This allows for an evaluation that brings together the cumulative effects of various projects within a theme, or within a country programme

- It is most effective when projects are designed within a framework for overall development, or at least, all existing evaluations are undertaken with the same ToR
- In this case, only two of the 5 projects have outcome evaluations.

Programme Evaluation, or thematic evaluation: Evaluation of a series of interventions designed to attain regional, national or thematic results.

- This most closely coincides with the questions posed in the *ToR* for the evaluation
- As the projects are not designed to form a programme, a programme framework must be constructed after the fact.
- Expected results are not shared across the projects, increasing the challenge of identifying common results indicators
- As a thematic evaluation, two distinct themes need to be addressed (see section 3.4 for discussion). It is not clear which reflects Sida's interests.

The above considerations present various challenges for the evaluation team, principal among them, the need to work concurrently at several levels of evaluation. Taking this into account, the evaluation team proposed a methodology based on four levels, or layers of evaluation. The first two of these are basic to addressing the issues raised in the ToR. Steps 3 and 4 were not considered practical given constraints of time and resources, as well as the short time frame of the projects themselves. The full methodological proposals presented to Sida for discussion are available in Annex 4. Elements from the additional steps have been incorporated below.

Step One: Project Evaluation

Outcomes at the project level will have to be determined. In two cases, project evaluations provide this information. "Mini" evaluations will have to be completed on the other three. These would concentrate on outcome results, and will not address efficiency, management or monitoring issues unless these prove to be central issues in the project outcomes. An independent confirmation of project results, according to the projects' own expectations is an indispensable step in any of the evaluation options proposed below. In addition, the methodology will seek to identify unanticipated results which may have impact implications. This is also encompassed in the first question posed in the ToR.

Principal methodological tools: document review, individual and/or group interviews with beneficiaries, with partners, and with key stakeholders including government representatives; site visits. Specific results and indicators will be those specific to each project

Advantages

- This step is required to provide basic input to Stage 2
- In identifying unanticipated results on a project level, the range of questions in additional steps may be more comprehensive
- This step will address important outcome results on a project by project basis

Limitations

- Methodology will require evaluation team to work at multiple levels.

Step Two: Programme Evaluation

Results from all five projects will be assessed according to Sida's key evaluation questions in the areas of results (which will be addressed primarily through Step one) impact, sustainability, relevance, and ownership. Additional questions identified in section 3.5 will also be considered as much as possible. This will involve developing a programme framework for the five projects, focussing particularly on approaches, characteristics and objectives that the projects have in common. Two key impact questions proposed in section 3.4 will be the central threads in assessing impact. Given the broad scope of the evaluation, assessment of grass roots impact will concentrate on the two impact questions.

Principal methodological tools: document review; interviews with partners, stakeholders (including government), key informants knowledgeable on the identified issues, other multilateral and bilateral agencies for cooperation; simplified programme results chain. This step will build on step 1, starting with more basic outcome questions, establishing unanticipated outcomes, and then proceeding to broader programme issue. Many of the sources of information will be the same as for step 1, but a different level of questions and analysis will be applied.

Advantages

- This approach will approximate a programme/thematic evaluation and address the key questions posed in the ToR
- This step, along with step one, can be achieved in three to four weeks of field work, with the currently constituted team, and will not exceed current budget.
- This approach will address the conceptual framework developed in section 3.
- Project outcomes identified in step one will be assessed in the light of the key impact questions identified in 3.4.

Limitations

- This approach does not address the critical assumption that if the project results are achieved, women's lives will be improved.
- It does not assess the alternative strategies that might be more effective.

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- Sida, 2005, *Promoting Peace and Security through Development Co-operation*
- UNIFEM, Women for Conflict Prevention & Peace Building, Southern Caucasus: Project documents: proposals, interim Reports, final Report, supplementary documents.

UNIFEM, 2007, *Advancing gender equality – using CEDAW and UN Security Council Resolution 1325 training module for gender equality advocates*

UNSCR 1325: www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/res1325/.pdf

UNDP, Gender and Politics project documents: proposals, interim reports, report prepared for ET

UNDP, 2006, Final Project Report, *Establishment of Women's Regional Center in Samtskhe-Javakheti, Georgia*

Website for Gender and Politics project: www.genderandpolitics.ge [currently under construction]

United Nations, *Common Country Assessment for Georgia*, 2004.

Annex 5 Terms of Reference

Terms of Reference for Impact Assessment of Sida funded projects in the area of Gender Equality

1. Background

Sweden's development cooperation with the South Caucasus started in 1998 and was limited in financial terms. The first strategy for development cooperation with the region was adopted in 2003 and the cooperation with Georgia increased significantly after the Rose Revolution late 2003. The cooperation with Azerbaijan and Armenia has remained limited but the two countries have been included in regional projects aimed to enhance cooperation and thereby contributing to peace building. Sweden's development cooperation with the region has been spread over a range of different areas where there was request for Swedish assistance and Swedish expertise such as forestry, health, democratic governance and human rights, land management etc. During the past years, the development cooperation has been increased financially but limited to fewer sectors. Projects targeted at increasing gender equality have since 2003 constituted a significant share of the cooperation in the area of good governance and human rights in all three countries.⁷¹ The projects have had focus on the one hand on aiming to increase women's political participation in general, mobilising the women's movement, and at creating or strengthening the institutional mechanisms (national machinery) for gender equality including legal protection and on the other, aiming to increase women's participation in processes of conflict management and peace building in particular and at networking across conflicts. Some projects, such as Kvinna till Kvinna's activities, are active in both.

The time has now come to look back and assess the results of the work Sida has funded: has it been relevant? What has the impact been? Have the projects succeeded in making a difference in terms of women's participation, strengthened national machinery *and* gender concerns in the peace processes? Has combining gender equality and conflict management/peace building processes been a fruitful strategy? It is hoped that the impact assessment can provide Sida with guidance in its onward strategy to promote gender equality and gender equality in peace processes in the region.

The projects to be evaluated are:

- Gender and politics by UNDP includes Georgia and Armenia and aims at capacity building and skills development activities of women in decision-making positions as well as facilitating a dialogue on gender issues. (2003-ongoing)
- Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in the Southern Caucasus was implemented by UNIFEM and includes the three countries in the South Caucasus; Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The overall objective was to enable the development of a transformative peace agenda for the South Caucasus, which ensures the protection of women's human rights. The project activities focus on ensuring that the women organisations and other representatives of women have the skills and opportunities to advocate for women's rights. (2003–2006)
- Kvinna till Kvinna's activities in the South Caucasus aims to contribute to the strengthening of women's position and the respect for women's rights in a society affected by several conflicts. (2002-ongoing)
- Women's Resource Centre in Samtskhe Javakheti, Georgia, UNDP. The project comprises the establishment of and support to a women's resource centre in the Samtskhe-Javakheti region.

⁷¹ The development cooperation with Georgia is gender mainstreamed to some extent, but this evaluation concerns only projects specifically targeted at gender equality.

The project is part of a larger UNDP project aimed at developing the region and reducing risks of conflict between the large Armenian minority and Georgians in the region. (2003–2006)

- Human rights training to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) including gender and trafficking by the Norwegian Refugee Council.

All the above except the Gender and Politics project by UNDP have linkages to conflict management and/or peace processes to varying degrees. Several of the projects are carried out in the same region and sometimes same cities.

While Sida sees gender equality as concerning the relationship between women and men and inequalities as embedded in and enforced by societal structures, targeted projects directed to women are often part of a strategy chosen to support the mobilisation of women and letting their voices be heard. Without a critical mass of vocal women in the political arena, mainstreaming is likely to be fruitless. The projects to be studied in this evaluation have largely chosen the strategy of empowering women through mobilising and capacity building women. Among the women targeted are also marginalised women's groups including Internally Displaced Persons, minorities and refugees. The projects have to a much less degree targeted men. Kvinna till Kvinna are bound by their mandate to work exclusively with women's organisations. While structures and stereotypes for both men and women have been addressed by the project it is unclear to what extent men have been involved.

2. Assignment

The purpose of the assignment is:

1. To assess the *results* of the listed Sida funded projects in terms of gender equality and peace processes
2. To assess the *impact* of the listed Sida funded projects in terms of gender equality and peace processes
3. To assess the *sustainability* of the listed Sida funded projects in terms of gender equality and peace processes
4. To assess the *relevance* and appropriateness of the projects
5. To assess how the *work process* has been with respect to ownership, capacity and coordination
6. To give *recommendations* to Sida on what areas and methods could be fruitful in Sida's continued work to forward gender equality and gender aspects of peace processes. The consultant shall *not* give recommendations as to which projects should be granted additional support.

The evaluation was originally intended to cover all projects in the South Caucasus. However, as the Swedish Government in August decided to phase out Sweden's development cooperation with Armenia and Azerbaijan and as the consultations during the first phase of the evaluation concluded that a narrowing down of the evaluation was desirable, Sida decided to limit the scope of the evaluation to only Georgia. As several of the projects to be evaluated cover the conflicts in Georgia, it is hoped that the evaluation will still be able to answer the above questions.

The end result of the assignment is a report with an assessment of the results, impact and sustainability of the Sida funded projects on gender equality, women's human rights and gender concerns in peace building efforts. The report shall also include the relevance of the programme as a whole and with recommendations for Sida's future support to promoting gender equality and peace building processes.

3. Scope of work

The following issues and questions are of interest in the evaluation:

1. *Have the projects achieved the results stated in the project documents?* Have they achieved other results?
What are the measurable results achieved? Are results different among targeted men and women?
Are results different for different groups of women e.g. IDPs, minorities etc.
2. *What is the impact of the projects?*
 - What impact have the projects had in terms of gender equality and women's human rights?
Among the questions to be asked are: Have women's political participation and/or the acceptance of this increased? Have the attitudes on gender equality changed positively or negatively among men and women? Has the content of politics become gender responsive in terms of e.g. getting certain issues on the agenda and if so, what results have been "easy" to achieve or very difficult? Has media reporting become more gender responsive in terms of e.g. reporting on gender issues, how women are portrayed? Have the institutional mechanisms and legal framework for ensuring gender equality been improved?
 - What kind of impact can be seen on the frozen and potential conflicts targeted in the projects?
Have the projects contributed to a peaceful solution of the conflicts? Have they resulted in greater understanding between the parties/people of the conflict, attitude change or increased contact in any measurable way?
3. *Sustainability*; Is there reason to believe that the results are sustainable? What efforts have been made to ensure effective sustainability of the impact of the project after the cessation of Sida support?
An important part of evaluation of sustainability of result is identifying constraints e.g. relating to the different groups of women that have benefited from the projects or societal barriers to change. (A project might have been successful in most areas, but faced a considerable challenges in other areas – and it can be these areas that are most relevant for sustainability.)
4. *Relevance*; what is/was the relevance of the Sida support in relation to the co-operation partner's and the primary stakeholders' priorities and existing needs?
5. *Ownership and capacity*; what are the defined roles of the Georgian counterparts and the implementers with respect to ownership and delineation of responsibilities? How has the capacity of the Georgian counterparts been assessed prior to implementation?
6. *Coordination*; Has the project liaised and collaborated with other donors and/or agencies for effectiveness and resource efficiency?

A final set of questions will be agreed after the first stage of the evaluation.

The following issues are to be left out of the evaluation:

1. *Effectiveness*;
2. *Quality of reports etc*
3. *Cost-effectiveness of the project*;
4. *External factors*; To what degree have external factors affected project implementation and results?
Has the risk analysis been realistic?
5. *Recommendations* as to which projects should be granted additional support

4. Methodology

The evaluation will be carried out in two steps:

First: A pre-study

The pre-study is to lead up to a proposed methodology for the evaluation itself.

For each of the questions the consultant shall present a few alternative methodologies, preferably including one that require less time and resources and one that is more ambitious in scope. For each of the suggested methodologies the following should be discussed:

- A general assessment of the pros and cons of the methodology.
- An assessment what the method requires in terms of work-time and other inputs.
- To what extent, and in what way, the methodology in question is thought to handle methodological problems of relevance. It is acknowledged that some methodological problems only can be addressed in a relatively imperfect way. The methodological problems to be discussed should include:
 - What results and impact is reasonable to expect at the time of the evaluation (i.e. it might be that some impacts require more time to come into effect than what actually has passed since the activity)
 - To what extent the relevant results and impact could be measured in any meaningful way
 - To what extent one might find reliable sources for the required information (e.g. to what extent one has to rely on information only from respondents with a clear stake in the projects)
 - To what extent the observed effects or impacts could be *attributed* to the projects

The process of identifying methodologies will require the consultants to outline a tentative program theory, i.e. to analyse the possible effect-chains in the various projects. Suggested methodologies might include focusing on some particular part of the effect chain that could be of particular interest. Additional issues and questions to be asked could also be identified.

The proposed methodologies are to be presented and discussed with Sida in Stockholm and with the Section for Development Cooperation. The exact selection of questions and methodologies, and the work plan and timeframe this will imply, will then be agreed upon.

The desk study includes review of background reports on the state of gender equality and women's human rights in the region. The consultant shall orally summarize the reports on the state of gender equality and women's human rights to Sida in Stockholm and Tbilisi.

Second: The actual evaluation

The evaluation team will travel to Georgia for interviews with project owners, stakeholders and target groups. It is suggested that the consultant also meet with key governmental agencies, NGOs, and other donor organisations that are active in the arena of gender issues. Sida in Stockholm and Tbilisi will assist in the preparations of the mission to Georgia although the programme will have to be set up by the consultant. The Section for Development Cooperation will also have the opportunity to participate in the discussions and meetings in Georgia.

A local expert/consultant will be hired by the consultant to assist with technical support, backstopping, arrangements for meetings, background research, interviews, interpretation, if and as required, and drafting of the reports from the assignment. The Terms of Reference will be negotiated directly between the local expert and the consultant. Contacts should also be taken with authors of relevant parallel studies and with development cooperation partners in the country.

The assumption is that the external consultant will work closely with one locally recruited consultant throughout the process of planning, implementing the above three tasks as well as finalizing the prescribed reports from the assignments.

5. Team composition

The consultant, or a team of consultants, shall have the following qualifications:

- sound experience in evaluation methodologies
- experience from and knowledge of the political context of the South Caucasus
- expertise in conflict management and peace processes, gender concerns in conflict management, Resolution 1325 and its implementation etc
- expertise in gender equality; women's movement/women's mobilisation, strategies for gender equality, national machinery for gender equality

The local consultant should preferably be of Georgian nationality to make travel to Armenia and Azerbaijan possible.

Consultants that have played a role in the implementation of any of the projects under evaluation are disqualified from this assignment.

6. Timeframe

For details, see enclosed budget for phase two.

Task	Time required	Suggested dates
Desk study	1–2 weeks	June & August
Present proposed methodology for discussion with Sida, orally and in writing	2 hours	August 23
Preparatory work	2 days	
Travel to the region	22 days	October
Oral presentation to Sida Tbilisi	2 hours	End of mission
Report writing	~one week	Draft presented on November 19
Oral presentation to Sida Sthlm. Discussion with Dept for Europe, Dept for Evaluation and Division for Peace and Security + possibly seminar	1 day	~ November 26
Final report		December 10

7. Reporting

Main findings and recommendations will be discussed with the Sida Cooperation Office in Tbilisi before departure to Sweden. A first draft report shall be submitted to Sida by November 19 for comments. The draft report shall also be circulated to the project owners for comments. The final version of the report, including a set of recommendations for future support should be submitted by December 10.

The consultant shall adhere to the terminological conventions of the OECD/DAC Glossary on Evaluation and Results-Based Management as far as possible.

That the evaluation report should consider the report format presented in Annex 2. The consultant also needs to compile a Sida Evaluations Data Work Sheet in Annex 3.

Sida may wish to hold a seminar on the findings of the evaluation for which the consultant shall be available.

8. Budget

Enclosed.

9. List of reports to be studied

The below project documents are available. Annual reports are in general more analytical and (ideally) report on fulfilment of project objectives while semiannual reports focus on activities. Annual reports are hence more useful for the evaluators but semiannual reports can be consulted for clarification when necessary.

The Sida policies listed below are to be used as points of reference.

Project application and reports

Women's Resource Centre – Samtske Javakheti, UNDP

- Project application and budget (as a separate document)
- Semiannual report 2003 (it says December 2004 on the cover but it was sent to Sida early 2004 so it must be a typo)
- Semiannual report January–August 2004
- Semiannual report August 2004–March 2005
- Semiannual report March–August 2005
- Final report September 2003–January 2006 (narrative)

Kvinna till Kvinna

- (Project application for 2003–2005 only in Swedish.)
- Interim Report for Georgia Jan–April 2004
- Interim Report for the South Caucasus May–August 2004
- Interim Report for the South Caucasus Sept–Dec 2004
- Final Narrative Report 2003–2005. (Financial report only in Swedish although financial report for projects funded available in English for 2004 upon request)
- Project application for 2006–2008 (This application was judged insufficient as a basis for a decision for funds for additional three years. Sida therefore prolonged the first project until the end of 2006 and asked KtK to submit a new application for 2007–2009)
- Final Report for 2006
- Project application for 2007–2009 with appendix 2, 3 & 4 (appendix 1 is the budget but only in Swedish, translation can be provided upon request),

Norwegian Refugee Council

- Project application for drama in education 2003–2004
- Short progress report for 2003
- Annual report 2003–2005 in two parts, one narrative from the field office and one including the financial report from the NRC head Office.

UNIFEM, Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in the Southern Caucasus,

- Project application 2004–2006
- Project logframe for 2004–2006
- Annual report 2004
- “Annual report” Jan 2005–March 2006

Gender and Politics, UNDP

A clarification that may help navigate among the below documents: This project was first formulated as a joint Georgian and Armenian project with separate components. After Sida approval UNDP hired the consultants Språngbrädan and IPM to carry out an inception phase with LFA excersices etc. These resulted in new project documents (“applications”) with separate activities and budgets forwarded to Sida in December 2004.

- Project proposal 2003–
- Semiannual for the Georgian project March–April 2004
- Donor report for the Armenian project 2003–2004 with the following appendix:
 - LFA document
 - project substansive revision with budget substansive revision
 - inception report
 - progress report 3rd quarter
- Revised project document for the Georgian project 2005 onwards.
- Semiannual Jan–April 2006
- Annual report Georgia 2006

Evaluations

Evaluation of the UNIFEM project by Annet Lingen, 2007

Evaluation of the UNDP project Women’s Resource Centre in Samtskhe Javakheti.

Commissioned by DFID in 2005 by Guissou Jahangiri-Jeannot.

Reports on the situation regarding gender equality and women’s human rights

- Survey Gender & Society in Samtskhe-Javakheti, Georgia, 2004 (produced by the UNDP project Women’s Resource Centre in Samtskhe Javakheti)
- Armenian Action Plan on improving the status of women 2004–2010 (supported by the UNDP Gender and Politics programme)
- Plan of Action for Implementation of Gender Policy in Georgia – 2007–2009 (supported by the UNDP Gender and Politics programme)

Sida policy documents

All Sida documents are available on www.sida.se except the strategy for development cooperation:

- Strategy for development cooperation with the South Caucasus 2003–2005 and 2006–2009 (<http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/03/97/72/66b7b766.pdf>)
- Sida policy on gender equality “Promoting Gender Equality in Development Cooperation”

- Sida's policy on Peace and Security "Promoting Peace and Security through Development Cooperation"
- Sida's policy for civil society

Annex 6 Short information about the projects (from project documents)

Women for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in the Southern Caucasus, UNIFEM

Development objective: To enable the development of a transformative peace agenda for the South Caucasus, which ensures the protection of women's human rights.

Project objectives

1. To ensure that women's organisations, including those representing marginalized women (IDP and refugees), have the skills, alliances and opportunities necessary to effectively advocate for peace and the inclusion of women's issues into peace building and conflict prevention processes.
2. To develop and strengthen capacities and mechanisms for dialogue and collaboration between decision-makers, civil society, and other national and international stakeholders to ensure the inclusion of women and women's concerns into the policy agendas.
3. To create an enabling environment for youth to actively promote a culture of peace and the respect for women's human rights.

Gender and Politics, Georgia and Armenia, UNDP

The *development objective* is twofold. Firstly, to build the capacity of women in decision-making positions in the countries to take an active part in political life, as well as initiate a dialogue on gender issues within the political structures. Secondly, to support the regional cooperation, information sharing and strategy development on gender issues.

Project objectives

- National and regional capacity building in decision making, leadership, negotiations/advocacy, gender awareness, women's networking, men against violence etc.
- Elaboration of a regional strategy on gender, aiming at identifying common problems and opportunities and required actions for change.
- Technical strengthening of governmental gender mechanisms, in order to facilitate and improve the engendered implementation of policies.

The target groups are both women and men in parliament, local authorities and gender structures within Government, such as Women's Commissions.

Kvinna till Kvinna, South Caucasus

Kvinna till Kvinna is a women's organisation as well as a peace organisation. The majority of the women's organisations that KtK co-operates with in Southern Caucasus are active in conflict and conflict prone zones, and implement projects directly targeting IDPs and ethnic groups on both sides of the conflict. Activities range from conflict resolution, peace talks, domestic violence and women's health to private business support with the objectives to empower women and increase respect of women's rights.

The KtK *development objective* for involvement in south Caucasus is to contribute to the strengthening of women's position and the respect for women's rights in a society affected by several conflicts.

The KtK project objectives are:

- To help women take a more active part in the development of a democratic society on all levels in the South Caucasus region

- To help women take active part in peace processes in order to secure future peaceful co-existence in the South Caucasus region.

Women's Resource Centre in Samtskhe Javakheti, Georgia, UNDP

The project comprises the establishment of and support to a woman resource centre in the Samtskhe-Javakheti region. The partner is the UNDP.

The *development objective* is to reduce the conflict potential through promoting local governance, poverty alleviation and the active participation of rural women in social, political and economic life.

The *overall project objective* is to establish a Women Resource Centre in the region of Samtskhe-Javakheti as part of the larger UNDP programme i.e. the SJIDP. The centre will:

- build and strengthen the women's capacity to collect, analyse and share gender-desegregated data and statistics,
- raise awareness among policymakers, civil society, media representative, and public at large about the importance to address gender inequality in Samtskhe-Javakheti,
- enhance the capacity of the local governments to analyse and design policies from a gender perspective to further advance women's development in the region.

Human Rights Training for IDPs by Norwegian Refugee Council

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) has been active in human rights education in Georgia since 1998. Sida has cooperated with the NRC since 2000, a project aiming at teaching human rights, mainly to internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Georgia.

This project will include the components drama in education and HIV/AIDS and gender. It will also comprise the development and printing of a teacher's manual. The overall objective is to contribute to the introduction and strengthening of civic society values in Georgia, and to promote peace and tolerance among displaced and local communities.

Recent Sida Evaluations

- 07/50 Healthy Support? Sida's Support to the Health Sector in Angola 1977–2006**
Kajsa Pehrsson, Lillemor Andersson-Brolin, Staffan Salmonsson
Department for Democracy and Social Development
- 2008:01 United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean (UNLIREC)**
William Godnick, Heido Ober, Charlotte Watson
Department for Cooperation with Non-Governmental Organisations, Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management
- 2008:02 Swedish Democracy Promotion through Non-Governmental Organisations in Bolivia, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Peru
Outcome Oriented Evaluation of Diakonia's Latin America Programme**
Staffan Löfving, Charlotta Widmark, Roddy Brett, Victor Caballero, Miguel Gonzalez, Cecilia Salazar, Fernanda Soto
Department for Evaluation and Internal Audit
- 2008:03 Phasing-out Swedish Health Support in Luanda, Angola
A study of the Evolution of Reproductive and Child Health Services, 2006–2007**
Kajsa Pehrsson, Kenneth Challis, Tazi Maghema
Department for Democracy and Social Development
- 2008:04 The Southeast Asian Network for Agroforestry Education (SEANAFE), Phase II
Indonesia, Laos, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam
"Sharing Knowledge on Markets, Landscapes, and Environmental Policies"**
Bo Tegnäs, Awang Noor Abd. Ghani, Hendra Yanto
Department for Natural Resources and Environment
- 2008:05 Apoio Saudável? Um Estudo do Apoio Sueco à Saúde em Angola 1977–2006**
Kajsa Pehrsson, Lillemor Andersson-Brolin, Staffan Salmonsson
Department for Democracy and Social Development
- 2008:06 Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA)**
David J. Francis, Jim Björkman, James Manor
Department for Research Cooperation
- 2008:07 Sida's support to Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) for development**
Alan Greenberg
Department for Infrastructure and Economic Cooperation
- 2008:08 Capacity Building for Decentralisation and Local Self-Governance, phase II, Mongolia, 2001–2004**
Staffan Engblom, Nicklas Svensson, Peter Westermark
Department for Infrastructure and Economic Cooperation
- 2008:09 African Universities Responding to HIV/AIDS**
Daniel K. B. Inkoom
Department for Africa

Sida Evaluations may be ordered from:

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SE-105 25 Stockholm
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A complete backlist of earlier evaluation reports may be ordered from:

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