

Gender Equality for Development Effectiveness

National Development Planning in the Commonwealth of Independent States

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Introduction

Throughout the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the rapid transition to market-based economies since the early 1990s has produced a number of challenges for economic policy-makers. The period of transition saw significant increases in inequality and poverty rates in countries throughout the region, partly aggravated by reductions in subsidies for energy and support for wages, food, health and other social services.¹ Public expenditures on health as a share of GDP, for example, averaged 2.3 per cent in 1994–99 with most of the region seeing further declines in the share after this period.² In addition, between 1992 and 2002, all of the CIS countries had taken on significant amounts of external debt, which has resulted in significant repayment obligations (see Table 1). Almost half of the total external debt is owed to multilateral institutions, namely the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, while a third is owed to countries of the former Soviet Union, primarily Russia and Turkmenistan.³ These obligations formed the backdrop against which seven countries in the region prepared Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), around which donor assistance was expected to unite.

Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers are required from all low-income countries that receive loans from the World Bank and/or the IMF. Like all national poverty reduction plans, they specify priorities for resource allocation—from both domestic and externally generated revenues—and contain the indicators for assessing performance, which become the basis for future donor support. What distinguishes them from other national poverty reduction plans is their emphasis on signalling to creditors the commitment of

borrowing countries to take the economic and institutional measures needed for debt repayment.

Originally associated with the heavily indebted countries initiative (HIPC) that offered debt relief to countries that had full PRSPs in place, poverty reduction strategies have become increasingly important to the entire process of development planning. This is particularly so following their integration into the aid effectiveness agenda, outlined in the 2005 Paris Declaration, as the hub around which donors structure their official development assistance (ODA).⁴ Hence the meaning of economic planning in the CIS region has changed, as virtually every country in the region is in the process of formulating national plans to reduce poverty. The importance these planning documents are now accorded, by both bilateral and multilateral institutions and increasingly by national development planners, makes it imperative for social justice and gender equality advocates to focus greater attention on development planning cycles and budget processes.

Promoting Gender Equality in National Ownership: Experiences in the CIS region

In May 2007, UNIFEM and the Government of Kazakhstan organized a high-level consultation in Almaty, Kazakhstan on Gender Equality and Development Planning and Budgeting in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Participants from 10 countries, including representatives from governments, aid donors, non-governmental organizations, academia and the private sector, focused on the importance of national planning and its potential for advancing gender

equality throughout the region.⁵

They welcomed the meeting as an opportunity to better understand the practicalities of fully integrating gender issues in national development strategies through the sharing of experiences, and as an opportunity for pursuing new partnerships. The discussions resulted in the issuance of the Almaty Declaration, a contribution to the 2008 Ghana High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, established to report on progress in implementing the five principles of the Paris Declaration (see Box 1).

National planning provides opportunities to address multiple and often interconnected development sectors. It has the potential to

	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyz Republic	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan
1992			35	1			65
1993			1,724	294			948
1994			3,265	414	760		1,107
1995			2,054	594	817		3,047
1996		438	5,807	1,151	867	751	4,163
1997		548	7,750	1,356	1,106	1,771	4,665
1998		661	9,921	1,481	1,179	2,259	3,467
1999		964	12,093	1,648	1,233	2,015	4,237
2000		1,162	12,685	1,704	1,226		3,646
2001	906	1,270	15,158	1,677	1,017	1,865	3,960
2002	1,026	1,356	18,251	1,845	982	1,660	4,776
2003	1,098	1,568	22,920	1,966	1,031	1,519	5,012
2004	1,183	1,625	31,941	2,110	822	1,273	5,007
2005	1,099	1,673	41,516	2,001	895		4,635
2006	1,257	1,916	77,000	1,980	866		4,717

Source: Asian Development Bank's Asian Development Outlook (ADO), various years.
 Note: Where data was revised in later years, the figures found in the most recent version of the ADO is used. Blank cells mean that data is not available.

Box 1: The Paris Declaration: Five principles to promote aid effectiveness

- *Ownership*, which commits developing countries to take leadership in implementing nationally defined development strategies
- *Alignment*, which commits donors to support national development strategies
- *Harmonization*, which commits donors to harmonize aid priorities
- *Managing for results*, which commits donor and partner countries to focus on results
- *Mutual accountability*, which commits donors and partners to measure aid performance through systems, procedures and capacities

inspire high-level political attention and commitment, and can offer a coherent framework for national expenditures and aid allocations. Within the CIS, experience has shown that when gender-related issues are missing from national plans, these issues receive far less attention from policy-makers, much less high-level politicians, than when they are included. Gender equality advocates in the CIS were among the first to recognize this and have worked consistently to influence the content of their national planning documents and to expand civil society and gender expert participation in the process by which they are produced.

This attention has resulted in important achievements with respect to mainstreaming gender into development planning.⁶ A survey of the priorities identified by gender equality advocates and accepted for inclusion in the countries with completed national development plans shows a concern to improve social welfare and access to economic resources, including employment and entrepreneurship. Stimulating private sector investment in utilities and social infrastructure was also seen as important. All of the national plans integrated gender-specific needs in health and education, for example, while three specifically targeted the elimination of domestic violence.⁷ Five paid attention to employment and labour markets.⁸ Plans in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan highlight women's economic rights and access to economic resources, including land and agro-extension services, as well as support for women's entrepreneurship. In Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, the focus is on self-employment, and in Moldova it is on employment and gender-based violence. Five of the seven countries also paid special attention to social policies and pension systems.⁹

These priorities reflect the current reality of poverty in the region, which is far greater in rural areas and particularly entrenched for women. The prioritization of industrial over agricultural development in the transition to market-based economies has had a differential impact on women and men. Female unemployment increased in rural areas with the declines in investment in social infrastructure.¹⁰ In addition, men have had greater opportunities to migrate for better-paying jobs to countries such as Russia and Kazakhstan.¹¹ Women are increasingly obliged to take poorly paid jobs, including as farm labourers, and intensify their labour on small private plots. In Azerbaijan, for

example, where there is strict division of labour in agriculture between women and men, women's lack of access to agricultural support services, credit and skills training limits their ability to benefit fully from private land ownership.¹²

A number of CIS countries have also made concerted attempts to align national development plans and poverty reduction strategies with the commitments made in the Millennium Declaration and other international agreements that call for progress on gender equality, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action. This gives an additional boost to gender equality provisions in development plans, and contributes to aid effectiveness by providing a natural point of alignment for international donors with similar commitments. These efforts to align with international commitments enhance the ownership principle and limit the tendency to place conditions on development assistance, especially those related to the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment.

Despite these advances, gender issues in most of the plans tend to be formulated in overly general terms, disappearing within sectoral plans and associated budgets. To move beyond the document and ensure its implementation, gender aspects of all strategies and programmes need to be clearly defined and linked with relevant sections of the budget. This in turn requires greater capacity in planning departments, in terms both of planning and budgeting and in gender expertise, as shown by the different experiences in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan (see Boxes 3 and 4, pages 6 and 7). At the Almaty meeting, government officials and gender equality experts, along with donor partners, acknowledged the need to work together to fill these gaps, in line with the principles of the Paris Declaration.

Determining strategic priorities

The opportunities provided by national planning processes to place gender equality at the centre of national policy make it important to identify and build consensus around the most urgent national gender priorities. Supported by UNIFEM and others, women's groups organized a series of workshops designed to identify strategic priorities and enhance their capacity to participate in national planning processes, thereby helping to strengthen national owner-

ship, a key principle in the Paris Declaration. They recommended four critical steps:

- Select a few strategic areas most in need of gender mainstreaming. While gender-related targets are now often included in health and education, for example, less attention has gone to gender-specific issues with regard to infrastructure or rural development.
- Identify areas where gender-sensitive data are available to provide concrete evidence of problems or needs—and a strong argument for change.
- Identify gender experts with specific sectoral expertise to contribute to national planning processes. These gender experts can provide technical support to the sectoral working groups as they did in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia and Armenia.
- Foster public awareness before and during the preparation of national plans in order to increase demand for gender equality provisions in strategies and programmes, as done in Georgia and Azerbaijan with the concept of gender mainstreaming in the PRSP.

Improving gender analysis throughout national plans

Formulating effective national plans requires improving gender analysis of different social and economic sectors, backed by good qualitative and quantitative data that can facilitate the definition of target groups and appropriate strategies to meet their needs. Experts involved in shaping national development strategies may know gender analysis or economic planning, but few are well versed in both. UNIFEM has helped some CIS countries to better integrate these two forms of expertise. It has provided gender expertise on specific development sectors, and organized training for national strategy teams on analysing poverty and household imbalances through a gender lens. Other initiatives have helped gender experts improve their knowledge of core economic issues.

In Kyrgyzstan, gender analysis of the agricultural sector revealed a number of constraints contributing to women's poverty, such as: the lack of access to land, education and other resources; women's weak bargaining power in households; labour market discrimination; and gender role expectations that tend to concentrate women in the most poorly compensated parts of the economy. The findings were used to formulate recommendations to the team preparing the national development strategy.

Measurable progress towards gender equality is critical to ensuring the effectiveness of development assistance as well as of public spending in general. In the CIS, capacity shortfalls in these areas could be reduced through the iden-

tification of better indicators and improved statistical data collection. In Russia and Kyrgyzstan, measures to improve gender monitoring and statistics have been identified as priorities for enhancing women's political roles, including contributing to development planning. In addition, the advocacy that came with increasing women's participation has raised public interest and understanding of the process.

A particular challenge in the CIS has been the lack of experience in the gender analysis of economic and financial issues. Theories and methods for analysis could be significantly sharpened, helping to capture the potentially different impacts of economic policies on women and men. Other evident gaps can be found in limited capacities to assess the potential contribution of foreign aid in supporting gender equality strategies.

Strengthening policy-budget links

Once gender equality is well integrated into national strategies, national budgetary processes can be aligned accordingly, with defined allocations that ensure national planning moves beyond a series of declaratory statements. Budget allocations channel both domestic and external resources, and can determine the scale and efficiency of gender equality measures.

In many CIS countries, where centralized planning meant specifying production targets and allocating social subsidies, there has been little experience in participatory approaches to policy development and results-based public expenditure management. There is now a renewed emphasis on linking national strategies with macroeconomic and financial forecasts through mid-term budgets. Tajikistan, for example, conducted a cost-assessment exercise related to reaching seven Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), including Goal 3 on gender equality.¹³ It calculated that actions under the national development strategy would require US \$4.8 billion over three years, with \$2.3 billion from approved external funding. These costs were then reflected in the medium-term expenditure framework, making concrete links among national and international commitments, national resources and external support. Regrettably, however, the expected external funding was not forthcoming, so the exercise, which donors had encouraged, had minimal impact. This vividly highlights the problems of unpredictable aid flows for development planning.

A similar dilemma can be faced by the work on gender-responsive budgeting, which assesses the impacts of budget allocations on women and men, and is a strategy often used in efforts to link policy to budgets. Comprehensive gender budget analysis can reveal how spending patterns affect men and women differently, and uncover inequities that may be hindering the realization of development goals. It can guide the more targeted and efficient use of funds to make real progress towards gender equality,

Box 2: Gender-responsive budgeting contributes to capacity development and increased ownership in Russia

In Russia, a gender-responsive budget initiative coincided with administrative and social policy reform. Extensive analysis, carried out by national gender equality advocates and assisted by UNIFEM, probed the budget adoption process, estimated the share of expenditures for improving women's status, assessed funding mechanisms for pensions and social insurance, and proposed support for economic opportunities that would reduce gender discrimination.

The initiative expanded the role of women and gender experts in a critical public policy-making exercise. Certain laws governing budget policy decisions now require input from gender experts, and about US \$1.5 billion from the federal budget has been shifted into gender-responsive measures, such as increases in wages in industries where women predominate and tax breaks that benefit families. The project helped develop long-term national capacities through the intensive training of 36 national and local gender budgeting experts from the government, academia and non-governmental organizations. A course on gender-responsive budgeting is now mandatory for students at the Russian Academy of Public Administration.

improve accountability for public commitments, increase the effectiveness of development assistance and strengthen capacities for forecasting the use of funds, as seen in the case of Russia, for example (see Box 2).

Increasing national civil service capacities

Some CIS countries struggle with weak public administration, both in sectoral agencies and in government mechanisms created to support gender equality. The central planning system was coordinated largely by the party executive and not designed to implement a legislatively led public policy process. Its collapse revealed human resource deficits in strategic planning and in the application of results-based approaches to development.

Specific challenges related to gender issues include limited capacities to perform qualitative analysis, develop monitoring indicators and collect reliable data, including to track the impact of aid on development. Among sector specialists, there are knowledge gaps in rights- and gender-based planning. Weak coordination mechanisms and interaction between different sectors limit the options for treating gender equality as an issue that cuts across sectors and as a primary focus of overall national development strategies.

“...sectoral and cross-sectoral issues such as gender equality present particular challenges and require further efforts in prioritization in planning, budgeting and implementation processes by both countries and development partners; such efforts will require a mix of aid instruments and a refinement of performance assessment framework indicators...”

Almaty Declaration, 20 May 2007

Improved coordination mechanisms have considerable benefits in terms of integrating gender equality into national planning. A critical starting point is establishing a special

government agency mandated to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. Experience in other regions has shown the value of setting up national women's machineries, with adequate political and financial support, in order to integrate gender into national planning strategies, helping to raise awareness of gender issues among decision-makers, and coordinate the contributions of civil society and external gender experts.

It is also important to involve gender experts and focal points from each sectoral ministry engaged in national planning. Their engagement helps shed light on the gender aspects of each sector, and can expand the skills of focal points through their work with peers from other ministries and gender advocates. UNIFEM-supported training sessions were conducted, for example, in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan on aligning priorities identified in the respective national action plans for women with the national development strategies.

Improving statistical development

Gender-based indicators of progress in different sectors help to ensure accountability by tracking gender equality issues under the framework of national strategies and development programmes. Currently, however, the lack of sex-disaggregated data in most CIS countries constrains the use of indicators. Support for improvements in sex-disaggregated data, gender-responsive social and financial standards for planning and forecasting, and harmonized data based on international commitments should continue and be expanded.

For enhanced effectiveness, systematic monitoring and evaluation should be incorporated into national development strategies at the initial stage, and not just at the end, as is current practice in many CIS countries. The quality of these activities is linked to the availability of appropriate statistics and indicators, and greater public access to information. At the meeting in Almaty, participants stressed the importance of “results-based equality,” under which

performance-based monitoring systems could concretely demonstrate how gender equality strategies reduce disparities and contribute to development results. Gender indicators can be aligned with national priorities and international agreements to guide analysis of different socio-economic sectors, and to design and evaluate appropriate responses. Kyrgyzstan has pioneered a harmonized set of gender-sensitive development indicators that is now being replicated in Azerbaijan and Tajikistan, with plans for additional implementation in Armenia, Georgia and Moldova. Harmonized gender indicators reflecting the provisions of CEDAW, the Beijing Platform, the MDGs and the national poverty reduction strategies have been employed in Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

Building on this progress, more work needs to be done to fully institutionalize the practice of gender-responsive monitoring, and ensure the use of standard procedures and protocols, including in upholding citizens' right to demand accountability from their governments and donors. Synchronizing the Paris Declaration indicators with national monitoring systems could provide one opportunity to scale up the application of gender indicators. The Almaty Declaration also calls for better monitoring of the specific contributions of international assistance to achieving national gender equality strategies. Current limitations include the common practice of indicating impacts only by noting the number of women participating in a given project.

Engaging the political process to enhance national ownership

National ownership as outlined in the Paris Declaration implies that countries will exercise leadership over their national development strategies and the coordination of resources, including through broad-based consultation with

civil society, the private sector and donor partners. Donors in turn commit to respecting national leadership and helping to strengthen related national capacities as required. Government leadership expresses itself through clearly defined policies, the allocation of appropriate funds, and the forging of links between national development priorities and international commitments.

The high-level regional consultation in Kazakhstan demonstrated the leadership that CIS governments are taking to enhance the promotion of gender equality in national development strategies. The Almaty Declaration states that development effectiveness depends on gender equality and signatories committed themselves to additional work in incorporating gender dimensions in all planning, budgeting and aid allocation measures.

A genuine commitment to this approach, and its effective implementation, has the potential to deepen the practice of transparent, participatory and effective governance. National ownership and accountability are most importantly about the responsibility of national governments to their societies, and of donors to support their ability to exercise this responsibility. National ownership depends upon the involvement of a broad range of social actors, including parliamentarians, civil society and gender equality experts, in the process of policy development and implementation, including annual performance assessments, tracking of expenditures, and reviews of the reach and benefits of public services.

What is often overlooked, however, is that the process of building national ownership of national development planning and policy development is above all a political one—responding to the demands of different groups in society and their ability to press these demands. It is important that national ownership not be simply reduced to government ownership, as a recent evaluation of direct

Box 3: Leadership on national ownership and gender equality in Kyrgyzstan

In Kyrgyzstan, the need to formulate a new national development strategy following the 2005 “Tulip revolution” prompted the Ministry of Finance to assign nine experts to draft the new document; none had gender expertise. The Special Representative of the President in Parliament mobilized the National Council on Women, Family and Gender Development and gender equality advocates to lobby for raising the profile of gender equality in the drafting process. Eventually, women’s advocates and a handful of gender experts were able to provide inputs.

When the initial draft of the strategy was produced, however, only the social sector chapters reflected their comments. Proposals for including gender-specific targets on the economy, corruption and democratic governance were ignored. An extensive campaign ensued, involving consultations with a national think tank, the business community, non-governmental organizations and the members of the drafting group under the Ministry of Finance. A well-respected member of the drafting group was asked to cost the gender equality proposals and agreed to lobby for including them within the final version of the strategy. Other forms of outreach included consultations with key international donors, and a televised debate on gender equality and the formulation of the plan. As a result, the national development strategy that was approved contains almost all of the amendments proposed by the gender experts. The Government has moved towards implementing the strategy through a national action plan.

Box 4: Broad-based consultations contribute to national ownership in Tajikistan

In Tajikistan, a long-term national development strategy was prepared in tandem with a medium-term poverty reduction strategy. The drafting process drew upon the work done under a global MDG needs assessment project in which Tajikistan was a pilot country. A gender equality drafting group, one of 12 sectoral drafting groups, was led by the State Committee of Women's and Family Affairs and included representatives from government and civil society, along with gender experts. It was agreed that the plan would feature a separate chapter on gender equality, and that gender issues would be integrated across a variety of sectors, especially health, education, the economy and agriculture. There was an emphasis on aligning priorities with the existing national gender plan. A two-day consultation on gender and development, supported by UNIFEM, helped members of the gender equality and other sectoral working groups to define priority gender issues and devise an advocacy strategy. However, the core group of economists that took over the final draft of the strategy failed to include many of the priorities and actions that this group put forward. The chapter on gender equality mainly addressed gender mainstreaming in the reform of public administration.

At that point, donors and civil society groups met with issue experts, emphasizing the significance of gender equality commitments as an essential part of numerous international development agreements, including the MDGs. They also pointed out that efforts to improve Tajikistan's economy needed to be bolstered by equal access to resources for men and women. As a result, work is now moving ahead to improve the national strategy through a detailed gender analysis of the economy, particularly in terms of employment and agriculture.

budget support by a consortium of donor agencies and partner governments points out.¹⁴ Yet the same evaluation acknowledges that the political process is one of the least explored aspects of development assistance, including the design of new aid modalities.

Parliamentarians and members of the legislative bodies have a particularly important role in this regard as representatives of all sectors of society, and in their law-making and budgetary oversight capacity. For gender equality advocates, this feature of governance and accountability provides vital political and policy space for advancing gender equality. In Kazakhstan, for example, gender equality advocates, supported by UNIFEM, succeeded in getting the Otbasylar (family) Parliamentary Group to introduce draft legislation on equal rights for men and women as the first exercise of its law-making mandate. Together with the National Commission on Family Affairs and Gender Policy and the OSCE Centre-Almaty, newly elected parliamentarians set up a parliamentary committee on gender equality to support the adoption of this law.

Civil society organizations also have an important role to play in engaging the political process, including national development planning processes, bringing in the priorities of multi-stakeholder groups and making the policies more responsive to citizens. Playing this role effectively requires, among other things, the capacity to develop their objectives and priorities into a strategic agenda and mobilize a constituency behind it. Some civil society organizations, especially in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, have begun to make links between the PRSPs, with their emphasis on fiscal constraint, and declines in social spending. For the most part, however, civil society organizations tend to be concentrated in urban areas and have yet to develop the agenda-setting and mobilizing skills needed to be able to

open policy spaces for broad-based and effective civil society participation.¹⁵

More support could go towards helping civil society groups to engage in the political process, strengthening their capacities to contribute to the development-planning process. This was particularly important in Kyrgyzstan, for example, where civil society allied with key players in the academic and business community to ensure that gender equality provisions were not cut out in final stages of the drafting process (see Box 3, page 6). In the future, policy dialogues could be formalized as routine aspects of policy-making. The Almaty agreement commits countries to develop policies and mechanisms to align national planning and budgeting with nationally agreed gender equality goals, formulated with the participation of civil society.

Donors also have a role in supporting broad-based national ownership. Experiences within the CIS suggest that more active coordination among governments, civil society and donors is needed in order to ensure a focus on gender equality. It is important for gender experts from each agency to articulate positions on gender and development, and work within the development planning process to include these in policy documents and recommendations, as the experience of Tajikistan shows (see Box 4). In Ukraine, donor coordination takes place through the Department for Technical Assistance Coordination of the Ministry of Economy. This involves thematic groups, including on gender equality, and the use of indicators and a matrix of gender priorities to assess the results of internationally funded projects.

Russia, Kazakhstan and other regionally based donors could begin to play a significant part in assisting innovative approaches to advancing gender equality in the region. Indeed, the Almaty meeting is significant in signalling

the potential for these donors to change the features of national development planning by paving the way for prioritizing human development goals, including gender equality, with strong budgetary support. The Almaty Declaration recommends the formation of a regional programme or trust fund that would support CIS countries in accessing expertise and developing capacities related to gender-responsive planning, budgeting and monitoring. It emphasizes alignment within the region through the expansion of intergovernmental cooperation and the sharing of national strategies.

Using a gender perspective in national development planning processes can also open opportunities to structure more broadly based macroeconomic policies that support sustainable economic growth and reduce economic disparities, including those related to gender. Currently, the region's poverty reduction strategies have focused on emphasizing the benefits of industrialization based on natural resource extraction while neglecting agricultural development. The urban-rural inequalities resulting from this sectoral imbalance have had a negative impact on rural

poverty, especially since social safety networks in most CIS countries have historically been closely tied to the agricultural production structures. Economic reforms have largely ignored this connection, with the result that social services and the women who performed and benefited from them are bearing the burdens of change.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the transition to market-based economies has been the increasing significance of external resources, including loans and grants, in development financing. This underlines the imperative for opening space in development plans, including PRSPs, beyond meeting the obligations attached to external finance—currently focused on export-led growth dependent on oil or other resource extraction industries. Such a change would have to be reflected in the development frameworks of major donors, including the World Bank and the IMF, with their present heavy focus on macroeconomic imbalances, in order to address the full range of human development goals. Meeting this challenge will be a measure of the success of the aid effectiveness agenda.

Notes

¹ Max Spoor, "Agricultural restructuring and trends in rural inequalities in Central Asia: A socio-statistical survey," Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper Number 13. Geneva: UNRISD, 2004.

² A. Alam, et al., *Growth, Poverty and Inequality: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2005.

³ World Bank and International Monetary Fund. "Poverty reduction, growth and debt sustainability in low-income countries," 4 February 2002, Washington, DC.

⁴ The Russian Federation, the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan, are signatories to the 2005 Paris Declaration.

⁵ Countries included all those with PRSPs—Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan—plus Russia and the host country Kazakhstan.

⁶ There are differences in the extent to which gender is mainstreamed in different generations of PRSPs. In Tajikistan, for example, the second generation PRSP was stronger in gender equality, reflecting the greater involvement of gender equality advocates in its preparation.

⁷ Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, Russia.

⁸ Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Russia.

⁹ Russia, Armenia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova specified these; Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan did not.

¹⁰ Spoor, "Agricultural restructuring"; Alam et al., *Growth, Poverty and Inequality*.

¹¹ This is now changing somewhat as increasing numbers of women migrate for service work in Russia. *Central Asia Human Development Report*. Bratislava: UNDP, 2005.

¹² I. Ahmedova. "Gender attitudes and gender equality in Azerbaijan," *Development and Transition*, vol. 8 (December 2007), pp. 12-14.

¹³ Goal 8, on developing a global partnership for development, was not costed.

¹⁴ IDD and Associates, "Evaluation of General Budget Support: Synthesis Report," Birmingham: International Development Department, University of Birmingham, May 2006.

¹⁵ In states where collective farms have persisted, including Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, traditional neighbourhood associations, called *mahallas* still play important roles in social services and social safety net provisions. These organizations existed before the Soviet era and were heavily controlled during the Soviet period. Transition brought a degree of independence but they are now influenced by local governments that fund their activities and pay some salaries. Spoor, "Agricultural restructuring".



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