

II Thematic Evaluation

Sri Lanka

Women in Development (WID)/Gender

Project Sites

Gampaha, Dehiwara, Ratmarana, Peradeniya and Sri Jayawardenepura Kotte



1. Background and Objectives of Evaluation Survey

There has been a strong emphasis on women's roles in development in recent years like the International Conference on Population and Development in 1992, the World Summit for Social Development, the 4th World Conference on Women in 1995, and so on. In light of this trend, "Towards the 21st century: a contribution through development cooperation," adopted by the DAC in 1996, produced development objectives with a focus on gender equality and women's empowerment. Japan has also actively addressed this problem and it announced the "WID¹⁾ Initiative" at the 4th World Conference on Women.

Ever since the initiation of the sector-specific research on Women in Development (WID) in 1990, JICA has been working on gender consciousness. However, up until now there has been no assessment of the extent of the use of this in JICA projects and its effects.

Against this background, JICA has implemented an assessment of five projects (agricultural development, industrial and vocational training, health and medical treatment, education and poverty eradication) carried out in Sri Lanka, as well as studying the strategies of other aid organizations toward gender consciousness, and it has also come up with lessons and recommendations to include gender consciousness more effectively in JICA projects in the future.

2. Evaluated Projects

The Agricultural Extension Improvement Project in Gampaha (July 1994-June 1999, Project-type technical cooperation)

Quality Improvement of Textile and Clothing Products (April 1996-March 2001, Project-type technical cooperation)

Sri Jayawardenepura General Hospital Project (April 1986-April 1991, Project-type technical cooperation)

Dental Education Project at University of Peradeniya (February 1998-January 2003, Project-type technical cooperation)

Slum Living Standard Improvement Project (1986 to present, Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers)

3. Members of Evaluation Team and Period of Evaluation

(1) Preliminary Study (19 January 1999-29 January 1999)

Team Leader:

Ms. Junko KUNINOBU, Professor, Head of Gender and Women's Studies, Aichi Shukutoku University

WID/Gender Policy:

Ms. Yoko HOSHI, Office of Evaluation and Post-Project Monitoring, JICA

(2) Full-Scale Study (9 April 1999-1 May 1999)

Team Leader:

Ms. Junko KUNINOBU, Professor, Head of Gender and Women's Studies, Aichi Shukutoku University

WID Advisor:

Ms. Yumiko TANAKA, Manager, Office of Evaluation and Post-Project Monitoring, JICA

WID/Gender Promotion System:

Ms. Yoko HOSHI, Office of Evaluation and Post-Project Monitoring, JICA

Participatory Evaluation:

Ms. Yumiko SAITO, former Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteer in Sri Lanka

Evaluation of Individual Projects:

Ms. Mariko SHIOHATA, Koei Research Institute

(3) Evaluation Seminar (19 September 1999-26 September 1999)

Team Leader:

Ms. Junko KUNINOBU, Professor, Head of Gender and Women's Studies, Aichi Shukutoku University

Method of Evaluation/Feedback:

Mr. Aiichiro YAMAMOTO, Senior Assistant to the Managing Director, Office of Evaluation and Post-Project Monitoring, JICA

WID/Gender Evaluation:

Ms. Yoko HOSHI, Office of Evaluation and Post-Project Monitoring, JICA

Impact Analysis:

Ms. Mariko SHIOHATA, Koei Research Institute

4. Method of Evaluation

As opposed to the usual five evaluation criteria, this evaluation placed an emphasis on the extent of women's participation in the projects and the impact of the projects on women. As a result, the field surveys involved the preparation of questionnaires together with local NGOs and the allocation of a large amount of time for interviews of participants. In particular, in the evaluation of the Slum Living Standards Improvement Project, the team directly sought the opinion of residents by holding workshops that gathered local residents together and through group discussions. The number of interviewees (beneficiaries including residents, Japanese experts, and counterparts) in the evaluation finally reached a total of about 300 people.

In addition, the team also surveyed the strategies of other aid organizations toward gender consciousness and used it as a reference for lessons and future recommendations.

5. Overview of Women in Sri Lanka

(1) Overview of Women in Sri Lanka

Since gaining independence, Sri Lanka has emphasised social welfare, as typified by the free education system from kindergarten to higher education and the establishment and maintenance of a free health care system. As a result, Sri Lanka is one of the most advanced developing nations in terms of social welfare and has even been termed "a developing welfare state." Women also enjoy the benefits of high levels of medical care and education services.

However, while the rate of female literacy and school attendance stand in contrast to those in neighboring southwest Asian countries, various problems have been pointed out. These include the fact that the female unemployment rate (18.7%, 1997) is higher than the rate of males (8%, 1997) and employment opportunities for women are limited despite their level of higher education.

(2) Policies of the Sri Lankan Government

In 1981, the Sri Lankan government ratified the Treaty to Eliminate Discrimination against Women and has been working on revision of the relevant laws in accordance with it. In addition, in 1993, the government passed a cabinet resolution on a "Women's Charter²⁾." This charter stated women's rights within the home, the rights to receive education and training, the rights to engage in economic activity and to receive the benefits of economic activity, the rights concerning health and nutrition and the right to protection from social discrimination. In 1995, with the support of the Asia-Pacific Economic and Social Forum, the Ministry of Finance and Planning collected gender specific data on the status of economic and social development in the Republic and collected the same data in each state in 1997.

Moreover, in 1997 the Ministry of Women's Affairs was established from the Ministry of Transport, Environment and Women to which it had previously belonged, and it has been addressing and implementing state development policies concerning women. However, the Ministry of Women's Affairs

has not been an independent ministry for a long time, and it has yet to make its full influence on other government institutions in the area of policy and planning with relation to women, with the "Women's Charter" still awaiting approval in the parliament.

6. Results of Evaluation

(1) Agricultural Extension Improvement in Gampaha

1) Background and Outline of Cooperation

In the district of Gampaha, an agricultural area north of Colombo, agricultural land occupies about 57% of total area with cultivation of paddy for food and coconuts as a cash crop. However, productivity is low. As well as formulating a comprehensive development master plan for the Gampaha agricultural area based by Development Study from 1986 to 1987, Japan established a technology transfer center and improved agriculture education and training facilities using Grant Aid as a model project for improving agricultural production. As a part of this project, JICA implemented the Project-Type Technical Cooperation Gampaha Agriculture Education Improvement Project.

The project involved the improvement of the crop production system in coconut fields and extension methods as well as training for extension staff with the objective of increasing agricultural productivity and improving the income of agricultural households by diversifying agricultural production.

2) Participation of Women in the Project

During the project period 12 long-term experts and 12 short-term experts were dispatched for a total of 24 experts. However, with the exception of the project coordinator dispatched during the latter half of the project, all the experts were men. This perhaps reflects the fact that the women in Japan with expertise in this area is limited. There were a total of 19 counterparts with 8 project administrative staff and 11 extension staff. In Sri Lanka many female students major in agriculture, forestry and fisheries in higher education; however as is also apparent from the female unemployment rate, they have few opportunities to utilize their expertise in the workplace. The male/female ratio was 12 men (of which 7 were extension staff) to 7 women (of which 4 were extension staff). In terms of the counterparts training in Japan, 6 were women out of a total of 22 trainee extension staff.

There was no particular evidence of awareness of gender consciousness in this project. There were no women among the participants in the project planning and design stage and no consideration was given to issues such as encouraging the participation of women in the project activities or the implementation of surveys of the needs of female farmers. In fact, training was held at times which were difficult for female farmers to attend due to domestic work. As in other Southwest Asian countries, the role of women in Sri Lankan agricultural communities is extremely important and improving the living standards of women is instrumental in the stimulation of agricultural communities. The team estimates that the outcome of the project could be further

improved simply by conducting surveys of gender specific needs during the initial stages of the project and incorporating that information into the plans.

For female farmers, female extension staff bring the important opportunity to receive technical instruction and also to get counselling not only on technology, but also on issues such as domestic problems and local human relationships. When implementing agricultural community development projects in Sri Lanka, it seems important to place an emphasis on the role of female extension staff. In this project the activities of the female extension staff were particularly notable. Out of the 13 farmer groups formed by 11 extension staff, both of the staff that formed groups were women. Generally, in Sri Lanka women form the majority of undergraduates from university agriculture departments, and it is important to use those women's knowledge effectively.

3) Impact on Women

With instruction on agricultural technology from experts and the supply of related goods such as agricultural machinery, the agricultural products in the area were diversified and organic agriculture increased. In this project, 13 farmer groups were organized and the total planting area became 104 hectares. According to most members of the groups, incomes increased as a result of the introduction of new cultivation techniques, the establishment and improvement of the management of group funds with bookkeeping method and the introduction of cultivation records³⁾. However, while production increased, there was no coordination with distribution, so sales were limited to the local community, meaning that overall sales are limited. In order to solve this problem, it is important to establish an extensive distribution system, and as it is primarily women who are interested in distribution mechanisms and have knowledge of the local area, mobilizing the knowledge of female residents to draft a future distribution plan will be effective for ensuring the sustainability of the project.

On the other hand, whereas problems have been pointed out from the perspective of the benefits for women, the breakdown by men and women of the farmers' groups organized during the project are shown in Table 1.

As this shows, males occupied 85% of the members of the farmers' groups organized during this project, and there were even six male-only groups. The reasons why men formed the majority of farmers' group members compared to the male/female ratio of the extension staff included the fact that it is primarily men who make the decisions concerning land use, the fact that the opportunities for women to attend training are limited due to domestic responsibilities, and given the social background of Sri Lanka and fact that the Japanese experts were all men, women were effectively excluded from the groups.

Although women were not consciously excluded, the failure to question the resulting male majority and to consider alternative plans resulted in the exclusion of women. Further consideration is required to understand why the female extension staff did not organize women farmers.

Table 1 The number of men and women in the farmers' groups organized in the project.

Name of Area	Men	Women	Total
1. Minuwangoda	7	4	11
2. Mirigama	10	1	11
3. Nitambuwa	8	0	8
4. Arutsugama and Bogamuwa	11	1	12
5. Maradagahaura	14	0	14
6. Badarugama	7	0	7
7. Bemura	11	5	16
8. Parewara	9	0	9
9. Donpe (men)	12	0	12
10. Donpe (women)	0	10	10
11. Urabora	11	0	11
12. Pashiara	7	1	8
13. Magaregoda ⁴⁾	—	—	6
Total	107	22	135

There are also some aspects in which the benefits of this project for farmers were limited. For example, originally a male-only group was formed in the Donpe area and that male group expanded plantings and increased income. The women's group was formed by the members' wives as a result of that.

The assistance to the women's group and the men's group was concentrated to a limited number of families, and as a result, this provided only limited benefits to the farmers. In addition, it is estimated that about 500 people including local farmers received technical training in this project. However in the WID project run by the Asian Development Bank, training was carried out for nearly 20,000 female farmers in 272 villages from 1992 to 1999, and incomes rose through the utilization of vegetable gardens based on micro-credit⁵⁾. Although there is a difference in the level of technology, the activities of local female agricultural leaders were very extensive, and they formed very close relationships with local residents. JICA has much to learn from the methods of this kind of example, which involves a large number of beneficiaries.

Through this project, aid resources such as agricultural machinery were provided. A group fund was established, and an increase in harvests was achieved, but the management rights are concentrated in the hands of men. Among the farmers' groups only one female group had a woman leader. Even in the women-only group, the opinions of men were given priority when making decisions because the husbands of the members were all members of other farmers' groups. The reasons for this include the fact that, although women have the right to use land, men own the land and the fact that local custom dictates that water management is usually entrusted to men. It is important for gender conscious development cooperation to question the meaning of these customs.

(2) Quality Improvement of Textile and Clothing Products

1) Background and Outline of Cooperation

The textile and garment industry, particularly the sewing

sector, is Sri Lanka's biggest export industry⁶). However most raw materials rely on imports and the development of goods with international competitiveness on quality and price and domestic production of raw materials are key issues. Therefore, in April 1996 JICA initiated a project-type technical cooperation Project to Improve the Quality of Textile Products with the aim of improving the technological level of the private sector in the industry through increasing the proficiency of technical instructors at the Textile Training and Service Center (TT&SC; established in 1982 with the cooperation of UNDP/UNIDO) and the Clothing Industry Training Institute (CITI; established in 1984 with the cooperation of the World Bank).

Technical training to improve the skills of technical instructors is carried out at TT&SC. The training relates to spinning textile technology, knitting technology, dyeing processing technology, quality assurance (inspection) technology and technology related to the production of raw materials. At CITI the training includes quality assurance and apparel technology (design, sewing, production and quality management and machine operation) and maintenance technology for sewing machinery.

2) Participation of Women in the Project

In the past, no particular gender consciousness has been required in projects like this one, which focus on activities to transfer concrete technology in specific sectors. Even in this project, the total of 17 long-term and short-term experts dispatched up to April 1999 included 2 women, a long-term expert in apparel technology and a short-term expert in dress design. In terms of the counterparts and the supporting staff, there are many men in the machinery and testing technology field and all the specialists in dye processing were men. On the other hand, half of the counterparts in the sewing sector were women, and both of the supporting staff for the apparel technology experts (quality control and production management) were women. The record of the training in Japan for counterparts and supporting staff in this project shows that women account for 4 of the 14 people dispatched so far and, although two women have been dispatched in the testing technology field, male counterparts have been dispatched in the sewing sector where women are a majority.

The overall male and female ratios for those completing training at the two centers are shown in Table 2. Women account for around 30% of all trainees.

Neither center keeps records of the number of men and women completing training for each training course.

However in general, men are numerous in machine and testing technology, and women are numerous in the sewing field. In addition, there is a high proportion of women in the supervisor course (cutting, sewing, etc.) and a high proportion of men in the management course. CITI is primarily an institution which seeks to improve technology in the apparel industry, and so, in that sense, judging from the current status of women in the apparel industry, it seems natural for there to be a high proportion of female trainees. However, in terms of the male/female ratio of trainees, there

Table 2 Number of trainees completing training at TT&SC and CITI

	Year	Women	Men	Total	Proportion of Women
TT&SC	1996	331	532	863	38%
	1997	275	545	820	34%
	1998	202	671	873	23%
	1999 (January-July)	134	283	417	32%
	Total	942	2,031	2,973	32%
CITI	1997	317	665	982	32%
	1998	357	841	1,198	30%
	1999 (January-July)	146	518	664	22%
	Total	820	2,024	2,844	29%

Source: Project data

is little difference with TT&SC.

Both TT&SC and CITI have trainees who are dispatched from companies and trainees who are self-funded. There were no records of the proportions of each type of trainee and the proportion of men and women; however, male trainees are generally dispatched from companies and the dispatching company pays for tuition fees, whereas many female trainees are self-funded and study out of their own choice. Tuition fees are considered high at both centers⁷, and many women attend in order to obtain qualifications⁸). There are many self-funded female trainees in the areas of design and pattern making while there are many female trainees dispatched by local governments in order to promote the natural dye and hand weaving sectors in rural areas.

There is no industrial union in the textile industry and at present there are no mechanisms or systems to support and encourage the dispatch of female workers for training. There are many requests from companies that want to send their own employees on training courses but until now there has been no particular discussion of special requests or consideration for training for female workers. The center managers (men) argue that women are not excluded from the centers and that it is possible to improve a person's technical ability depending on their skills and motivation through training and that special consideration for women would constitute reverse discrimination. In terms of gender, there is a view that to give no particular consideration amounts to absence of discrimination. However in this project it appears that there are many women who cannot participate in training due to childcare and domestic responsibilities. In order to give men and women equal opportunities to participate, it is necessary to give some attention to the current situation in which they do not start from equal points. On the other hand, this problem has not been pointed out by women. One reason is that women do not have the awareness or the educational background to make these demands. However, we can highly appreciate that, after this evaluation, the project recognized the importance of the gender specific data and started to collect it.

3) Impact on Women

The companies that dispatched trainees were generally satisfied that productivity improved due to the skills the trainees learned, and some employers pointed out that the training qualification led to promotions and pay increases⁹⁾. On the other hand, as already mentioned, many female trainees were self-funded. In addition, as the tuition fees increase with higher levels of technology, women's participation in training has a limitation. As women do not stand on the same starting line, there is a concern that a negative impact might arise in which the disparities with men will increase. As it was not possible to carry out follow-up surveys of the trainees who completed training in this study, the team could not directly confirm increased income due to training or wage differentials between men and women. But the managers of both centers indicated that they are considering the implementation of follow-up surveys of trainees in cooperation with the Ministry of Vocational Training and issues such as the disparities between men and women in post-training employment are likely to be clarified in the future.

Sri Lankan textile products are currently the country's leading export due to the operation of an export quota system. However, this system is scheduled to end in 2004, so it will be essential to improve quality and technology and to strengthen product inspection systems in order to guarantee future export markets. In this respect, the project is highly relevant, but it is forecast that it will be largely female workers concentrated in the sewing sector, who will receive the full impact of the termination of the system, such as unemployment. Thus, it is important for the project to work harder to raise the level of female technicians. In addition, it is necessary to consider enabling women to make progress not only in traditional female fields such as design and sewing, but also in fields traditionally dominated by men, such as quality control, machine management, and personnel. As a result, it will be possible to develop new skills among Sri Lankan women, which will also lead to an improvement in the international competitiveness of the textile industry.

(3) Sri Jayawardenapura General Hospital Project

1) Background and Outline of Cooperation

Since the 1970s, the Sri Lankan government has been transferring key administrative functions from the capital of Colombo to Sri Jayawardenapura Kotte based on a plan to develop a new capital. As part of that plan, the construction of a new hospital was planned. Moreover, patients tend to congregate in hospitals in Colombo because the quantity and quality of medical facilities in rural areas are inadequate and it was a matter of urgent priority to construct a general hospital in the suburbs of Colombo and to disperse patients.

Against this background, in addition to the construction of the Sri Jayawardenapura General Hospital (SJGH) with grant aid, Japan also implemented the Sri Jayawardenapura General Hospital Project through project-type technical cooperation with the objective of improving technology in the four fields of neonatal intensive care, digestive tract and urology endoscopy, clinical examination and hospital management.

2) Participation of Women in the Project

A total of 22 long-term and short-term experts were dispatched from Japan. There were a total of six women among them, including one nurse, one clinical examiner, two neonatal intensive care experts, one neonatal intensive nursing expert and one project coordinator. A total of 16 counterparts were dispatched to Japan for training, and a total of 3 of these were women in the fields of pediatric nursing, nursing and nurse management. These numbers are low compared to the overall ratio of female doctors in Sri Lanka (42% in 1990)¹⁰⁾.

Unlike other hospitals in Sri Lanka, the SJGH is independent from the Ministry of Health and is managed by a board that has significant discretionary powers in budget execution and personnel management. The SJGH was the first public hospital to require patients to pay for treatment, and this remains its distinguishing characteristic in the Sri Lankan medical system, which is basically free. Currently, only one of the 11 directors of the SJGH is a woman and only one of the seven members of the managing committee under the board is a woman. The proportion of women in the decision-making organizations of the SJGH constitutes a gender imbalance, and it is desirable to encourage the promotion of more women in order to adequately reflect the needs of women in hospital management policy.

Southwest Asia, including Sri Lanka, is characterized by a caste system¹¹⁾. Although the caste system remains within the medical profession between doctors, technicians and nurses, the awareness that it is impossible to achieve modern medical treatment without mutual cooperation between medical practitioners was increased among the participants and a structure of overall cooperation within the hospital was developed¹²⁾.

3) Impact on Women

The annual number of patients admitted to the SJGH has risen more than two-fold in approximately ten years, from 17,667 people in 1986 to 42,501 people in 1998. This shows that the SJGH has attained a certain level of recognition in Sri Lanka. However, the SJGH has no records for men and women, so it is not possible to verify differences in impact between men and women. As a result, this evaluation was restricted to the maternity ward and the neonatal intensive care ward in order to evaluate the impact on women.

The maternity ward is in constant use by a large number of patients and the number of patients admitted has increased from 2,865 in 1986 to 7,431 in 1998. In a questionnaire survey of 23 mothers attending the hospital as patients, over 60% answered that they were generally satisfied with the medical care in the hospital and the treatment they received from doctors and nurses, and 80% of the mothers responded that they agreed with the payment of a fee for treatment. Over 80% of the mothers answered that they wanted to recommend a friend or relative to the maternity ward of SJGH. On the other hand, some problems were pointed out. These included the waiting list for the maternity ward and the shortage of beds. In fact at the time of this study, around 20 women were seen waiting on chairs rather than in beds.

The SJGH has reduced the number of patients with no medical need to be admitted to the hospital by charging a small admission fee with the objective of adequately fulfilling its function as a hospital. However, at least in terms of the maternity ward, it seems that the time has come to re-examine the relationship between patient payments and the smooth running of the hospital with reference to the situation at other hospitals.

The neonatal intensive care unit at the SJGH is Sri Lanka's only neonatal intensive care facility and has gradually established its function as a referral center¹³⁾ and increased the number of premature babies and neonatal patients that it accommodates based on the activities of doctors trained in Japan and Japanese experts. At the time of this evaluation the unit was fully functioning. Based on the results of a questionnaire survey given to 11 mothers using the neonatal intensive care ward, over 70% answered that they were generally satisfied with the medical treatment in the hospital and the treatment they received from doctors and nurses. Moreover, the majority also approved of the charges.

At the time of the evaluation, 10 years had passed since the end of the project at SJGH and the equipment provided through the project had been well maintained and managed, contributing to the maintenance of medical services at SJGH. SJGH currently contributes significantly to the improvement of medical services in Sri Lanka as a top-level hospital, and the objective of the project, which was to provide high quality, advanced medical treatment, remains highly relevant today.

(4) Dental Education Project at University of Peradeniya

1) Background and Outline of Cooperation

University of Peradeniya Dental Department is Sri Lanka's only training institution for dentists. After it split off from the medical department at the same university in 1986, the deterioration of facilities and equipment was pronounced, imposing a significant obstacle to the training of dentists and specialists in dental treatment, and it was unable to adequately cater to the country's dentistry needs¹⁴⁾. Against this background, in addition to construction of educational diagnostic and treatment facilities and a provision of equipment based on Grant Aid, Japan initiated the project-type technical cooperation "Dental Education Project at University of Peradeniya" in February 1998.

The project involved the implementation of technical training for teachers, nursing staff and dental practitioners in the dentistry department with the objective of improving education, diagnosis and treatment and research capabilities in University of Peradeniya Dental Department.

2) Participation of Women in the Project

By April 1994 a total of 12 long-term and short-term experts had been dispatched, four of which were women. The female project coordinator had a deep appreciation of gender and the team leader (a man) was also very aware of the importance of gender consciousness. In order to dispatch personnel with an appreciation of gender consciousness as

experts in the future, it is important to build an adequate consensus concerning the awareness of gender consciousness at organizations that dispatch experts.

All seven professors in the education section of Peradeniya University Dentistry Department are men. At the technician level, there are 15 men and 14 women, and all of the 22 nurses are women. Although the proportion of female dentists in Sri Lanka is relatively high (52% in 1990)¹⁵⁾, the absence of women at the professorial level in the university's dentistry department is unexpected and may be due to some kind of restriction. While it is difficult to say that there is currently a gender balance in decision-making in the dentistry department, women make up about half of the junior teaching staff, so it is expected that the proportion of women at the professorial level will increase in future.

Japanese experts are conducting technical training for teaching officers in the dentistry department and there was no difference in the content of instruction based on gender and apparently no sense of difficulties based on gender differences at the time of instruction. However, as Sri Lanka has a caste system, the jobs of staff are clearly divided into dental technical experts, dental nurses, dental technicians, administrative staff, cleaners and security staff and so on. Within such a society it can be easily seen that the status of women varies according to each caste and each occupation and it is necessary to make adaptations depending on circumstances in the implementation of gender consciousness.

The head of the dentistry department has indicated a positive attitude toward gender equalization and takes serious the training of female dentists and their employment in specialist occupations. This kind of response has not been seen very much in other projects and the development of this project will be receiving attention in the future as an example of gender mainstreaming¹⁶⁾.

Some problems concerning the hospital facilities have been indicated. These include the fact that, as there are no changing rooms for staff and students, women use the lavatories to change into white coats. On the other hand, this project has provided medical equipment that is as easy for women to operate as it is for men (as women are generally not as tall or strong). It is important to incorporate a gender-conscious perspective in the planning of facilities and selection of equipment.

3) Impact on Women

It is not long since the project commenced and the current evaluation was unable to confirm a clear impact. Therefore, rather than an evaluation, this study will be positioned as a baseline survey.

After the project commenced the number of staff in the dentistry department increased around twofold, from about 75 previously to 154 in FY1999, 52% of which were women. The evaluation conducted interviews of a total of 65 students (half men and half women) in the dentistry department and the educational content of the dentistry department was highly rated. The significance of the influence and impact that

University of Peradeniya Dental Department, which is Sri Lanka's only dentistry educational institution, exerts on dentistry in Sri Lanka is clear, and the terminal evaluation to be implemented in the future and the ex-post evaluation will focus on measurement of this impact. The collection and collation of various kinds of data, including number of graduates and employment status by gender from the current point, will enable the impact of the gender-conscious perspective in the project to be assessed.

The existence of a specialist dentistry education institution in a university with a strong reputation such as University of Peradeniya is significant for the whole country, and the fact that men and women receive a well-balanced education in such an institution and that women dentists in particular are trained, is meaningful.

However, medical posts in domestic hospitals are limited and opportunities for employment as a dentist are restricted even for graduates of the country's top-ranked dentistry department. In interviews, 60% of both male and female students expressed a pessimistic view about the difficulty of finding employment as a dentist after graduation. In the future, it will be important to also address employment-related problems.

(5) Slum Living Standard Improvement Project

1) Background of Cooperation

Since three Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers were dispatched in July 1986 to the National Housing Development Association (NHDA), which was promoting a residential improvement project in slum areas volunteers have been active in city slums, with 46 volunteers in place in areas such as community development and handicrafts by April 1999. Initially, individual volunteers carried out their respective activities independently, but group activities have been in position for six years and volunteers now carry out their individual activities with a "loose cooperation" based on senior volunteers.

This evaluation targeted two areas. One is the Obesekarapura district in Kotte City where activities that target women are being conducted by handicraft volunteers. The other is in the Badoveda district of Dehiwara City, which supports improvement in living standards in an area of relocation for the poor in conjunction with yen loans based on the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF).

2) The Obesekarapura District

a) Participation of Women in the Project

In the Obesekarapura district, activities which seek to improve women's living standards through the production and sales of handicrafts have been promoted. Female handicrafts volunteers have been continuously assigned to the area since 1992 and currently the fifth volunteer is working there. The volunteers have established principles of independent development for the project with the training of handicraft instructors and establishment of a sales group.

The handicraft sales group is the main basis of activity in the district and there are currently 15 group members (all

women). The officers (chairperson and accountant) are reelected every year by the members. The flow of activities was established in 1995 on the advice of a volunteer and was reorganized in 1997 as follows.

Market finding orders preparation of materials list withdrawal of deposits from bank account purchase of materials cutting of cloth distribution of cloth production of goods inspection earning fees payment to members deposit of part of profit payment of 2% of profit to the Obesekarapura District Women's Committee.

The establishment of a system in which the members themselves participate has succeeded in fostering a sense of trust and solidarity within the group and increasing the self-confidence of the members, contributing to the smooth running of the project. Group meetings are also held regularly, twice a week, and with all members taking part in the discussion of action plans and problems, the members have a strong awareness that problems are to be solved by themselves.

However, the resolution of problems that arise within the group still requires the assistance of volunteers or the NHDA and at the current time it would be difficult to run the project without a volunteer. In addition, the officers are responsible for the management and distribution of the profits from the sale of products and the method of distribution is determined in consultation with the volunteer, meaning that it will be some time before completely independent management is achieved.

b) Impact on Women

The group members have mastered basic handicraft techniques and are able to produce standard articles independently. The income of the group is increasing every year. The payment for members is on a commission system and is generally around 200-300 rupees a month but may exceed 1,000 rupees when there are many orders. Although it does not constitute financial independence, it contributes to increasing the income of members to some extent. In terms of the use of income, all the members who were interviewed in this evaluation said that they decide themselves how the income is used. Housewives use the money for domestic purposes while unmarried women use it for miscellaneous purchases, savings and payments to parents.

Group members have pointed out that their involvement with local people and the extent of their activities has increased as impact of the project. Meanwhile, any changes in domestic role sharing or status could not be confirmed. However, the members stated that they were able to participate in the group because their home situation was stable, indicating that there is a need for education activities for men in order to promote women's participation.

The level of earnings is connected to the self-confidence of members, their adhesion to the group and the sustainability of the group. It is also worth examining a shift to dress manufacture requested by some members, which will increase

earnings.

However, the members have not yet reached the stage to develop new products and new designs, increase sales channels and control quality, so further technology transfer and networking with other organizations is important.

The team considers that it was appropriate to adopt handicrafts suggested by residents in order to improve the earnings of women. But when viewed from the perspective of gender, there are other possible choices. For example, the Women's Bank, which is receiving attention as a participatory slum development organization, carries out occupational training for women in jobs such as screen printing and electrical repairs where women have not traditionally been seen. In the future, when there are requests to increase the income of women, it will be important to consider this kind of activity.

3) The Badoveda District

a) Participation of Women in the Project

The Badoveda district is located southeast of the greater Colombo area and is an area of land reclaimed under the Yen Loan "Greater Colombo District Water Environment Improvement Project" in which about 800 households or 4,000 people have been relocated from Colombo and suburban slums.

Since the relocations began in 1992, there has been support for the strengthening of residents' organizations and improvements in the living environment based on three senior volunteers and three JOCVs in community development. The male-to-female ratio of the volunteers is 3 men to 4 women.

In 1997, a project to expand water supply was commenced using an OECF yen loan based on information from volunteers who had assessed the needs of residents through their support activities. In the project, with the support of the cooperation volunteers, the local Community Development Committee (CDC) sub-contracted construction, including the construction of drainage channels and installation of water pipes for each house, and implemented the work using residential labor service. The CDC held a total of 52 meetings for residents to explain the method of water supply for each house, the cost and the connection charges and so on.

One member from each household in the area is registered with the CDC and currently 65% of members and 8 out of 12 officers are women. In general it is common for women to take responsibility for community activities due to reasons such as the fact that while men work outside the home, women tend to get involved in the local area because they stay at home. However, one of the reasons for the large number of female officers in this area's CDC is the high level of ability of the individuals. The number of years of schooling of CDC officers (average age 47.5) interviewed in this evaluation was 9 years for women (4th year in junior high school) and 8.6 years for men (3rd year in junior high school), which is high considering that the national average for primary school incompleteness in Sri Lanka is 44% (1990/

91, includes unattending).

In the project, the CDC received and managed the compensation for the labor of the residents. Although the residents did not receive an individual wage, most of them took part in the construction actively, without class or gender distinctions and the initially forecast period for construction was significantly shortened. In addition to reasons such as the needs of residents and the reduction of costs, it is believed that an awareness among the residents that they need to solve problems by themselves contributed to the participation in the project. As the project included the CDC, in which women play an active role including in the decision-making process, the importance of the project and the motivation to participate were recognized and spread among female residents, and even without giving special consideration to the importance of gender consciousness in project implementation, it was possible to achieve active participation from female residents.

b) Impact on Women

The provision of infrastructure by the project significantly improved the living standards of the residents of the Badoveda district. In particular, women began to consider the sanitary environment not only of their own family, but also the environment of the whole area in which they live and took an active role in the excavations for sewage and the beautification of the surrounding area.

The functions of the CDC were also strengthened. The CDC improved its capacity to coordinate with external organizations and to solve problems and the CDC officers gained confidence in administration. Moreover, by reserving the construction wages as CDC funds, the CDC was able to carry out joint management and supervision as an organization which strengthened the trust and sense of unity for the residents toward the CDC.

In order for the community to develop sustainably and independently in future, it is important to further strengthen the functions of the CDC by, for example, adopting the community sub-contracting system on the operation and maintenance of the constructed water supply and sewage facilities. Operation and maintenance of the infrastructure will be more in line with the needs of residents and more economical using the CDC sub-contracting system rather than implementation by the respective organizations. In addition, the CDC will accumulate funds and will be able to develop as a labor sub-contracting organization. This type of system has already been implemented in community development in Sri Lanka and is achieving results¹⁷⁾.

Residents' organizations have a high potential to play an important role in community development and revitalization, and it is important to support these kinds of organizations. As an incentive for residents to participate in the organizations, the use of a revolving fund system which encourages loans and savings of project funds is effective. The activities of residents' organizations are not restricted by fixed ideas about what is men's work and what is women's work and should be run on the basis of individual talents

and choice. By doing this, rural development based on the autonomous participation of members will be possible.

The success of the project would not be possible without the activities of the cooperation of JOCVs. At present, there are courses on gender in the pre-assignment training for JOCVs, and volunteers with knowledge of gender have been increasing. However, it is common for volunteers to not know how to incorporate this knowledge into actual activities. The courses, which teach methods of application to actual activities rather than simply the concepts through the inclusion of case studies, are necessary.

7. Strategies on Gender Consciousness at Other Aid Organizations and JICA

(1) Project Planning Stage

All of the aid organizations surveyed in this study, namely the Asian Development Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ), are obligated to include a gender perspective from the planning stage. As a result, it is easier to include a gender perspective in each of the stages of project implementation, monitoring and evaluation. JICA considers the importance of a gender perspective at the planning stage but does not use a checklist or a social analysis table for all projects.

In addition, at other aid organizations, women members participate from the planning stage and carry out an assessment of women's needs and the results are reflected in the implementation plan for the project. On the other hand, women do not necessarily take any part in project formulation for JICA projects.

(2) Project Implementation Stage

Looking at the level at which women are involved in the project implementation system, in the projects of other aid organizations, women are involved at all levels from the project decision-making level to the participant level. At the very least, women participate up to the middle-management level. In JICA projects, women either do not participate, or, they participate only up to middle-management level, and there is a need to consider the employment of women at the project decision-making level.

(3) Project Monitoring and Evaluation Stage

In mid-term evaluations and terminal evaluations at other aid organizations, an expert in gender or sociology is included in the survey team and adjustments to the direction of the project are made from a gender perspective based on the survey results. However, the importance of data by gender has only recently been recognized and as there is insufficient preparation of data by gender. The development of evaluation methods for gender awareness is a common concern for other aid organizations and JICA. In addition, in terms of monitoring and evaluation indicators, evaluations from a gender perspective are not possible simply on the basis of quantitative indicators, so qualitative indicators from interviews and participating observations need to be developed. In this process, the

important issue is how objective indicators which exclude subjective factors can be developed.

8. Lessons Learned and Recommendations

(1) Importance of a Gender Perspective at the Planning Stage

Among the five projects studied in this evaluation, Dental Education Project at University of Peradeniya included the greatest gender consciousness. The main reasons for this were the dispatch of female experts developing a curriculum that suits women's needs, and the adequate understanding of the importance of gender consciousness among the male experts. In addition, the active holding of workshops from the Project Design Matrix (PDM)¹⁸⁾ production stage to change awareness of gender consciousness with wide inclusion of participants from the recipient country was very effective.

Where gender consciousness is not included from the planning stage, analysis is not easy at the monitoring and evaluation stages. However, in most JICA projects, there is no collection and collation of data by gender, and even in this evaluation, the absence of data by gender made it extremely difficult to analyze impacts from a gender perspective. In addition to recording and collecting statistical data by gender at all stages from project planning to evaluation and allowing comparison by time series, it is important to review the details of project activities from a gender perspective based on the results of data analysis.

In JICA project-type technical cooperation, the project implementation plan and the content of cooperation is organized by PDM at the planning stage and monitoring and evaluation is carried out on the PDM. Therefore, it should be a requirement for the PDM to incorporate a gender perspective. There is a need to formulate plans using the participation of gender specialists which give sufficient assessment of women's needs at the planning stage and sustain a gender consciousness at each stage of the subsequent implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

(2) Building a Gender Conscious Organization

When experts and counterparts are mainly male, there is a tendency to consider that productive labor, which is connected to cash income, is the responsibility of men only. It is important to conduct a gender-equal technical instruction and sharing of roles which will result in the promotion of gender equality. By encouraging women's participation in development through the formation of groups and other activities, and developing women's leadership abilities, it will be possible to promote women gradually to the main activities in a project and the core of an organization, although they may initially play marginal roles. Moreover, it is also important to deepen the understanding of participants in the recipient country on the importance of gender consciousness through project activities.

In male-led organizations, women are excluded from the decision-making processes of the organization, and the fact that women also have an active economic role to play is not recognized. As a result, particular consideration should be given to the male/female balance in the composition of members at

the decision making level of organizations. This also applies to the selection of committee members for the planning of projects. The more equal the male/female ratio of members, the easier it is to reflect on the needs of women in plans.

(3) Consideration of the Economic Activities of Women (mothers)

Generally, women (mothers) spend around two to five hours per day on cooking and three to five hours a day on child care and laundry and so on. If they also participate in economic activity such as training or work in addition to this, it is clear that they are overworked. It is important to incorporate strategies to support women who have both economic and domestic responsibilities in project activities. These strategies include child care services for working mothers (establishment of childcare centers and introduction of flex time), guarantee of transport to reduce travel times, education for men about the responsibilities of sharing domestic work, innovations to reduce time spent cooking and nutritional instruction.

1) Women in Development

In the promotion of social and economic development, this refers to the recognition of the important role of women in development and the promotion of development aid that gives consideration to ensuring women's active participation in all levels of development, not only as the beneficiaries of development. At the DAC, the criteria for WID projects are carrying out opinion surveys of women, adopting strategies to promote women's participation, the presence of women as active participants and the utilization of WID expertise.

2) At present the Women's Charter has only been approved by the Cabinet, and it is not very effective. If it is established as law by Parliament, each ministry will be expected to promote women related activities based on the Charter.

3) With relation to how much incomes increased as a result of the project, as there was no data prior to the project commencement it was not possible to make a comparison in this survey.

4) It was not possible to confirm the breakdown by gender of the Magaregoda district group in this survey.

5) This is a system of small-scale credit, which has been implemented as a strategy against poverty. The participants receive non-collateral financing ranging from several thousand to several tens of thousands of yen and use it to establish or expand their own business increasing their income and becoming independent.

6) Among Sri Lankan industrial exports, textile apparel products are in top place at 120 billion rupees (1997). In addition, it has the largest number of employees in the industrial sector numbering 310,000 (1997). The main export destinations for textile goods are the United States and the European Union.

7) There are also two private textile-training centers, but it was not possible to compare tuition fees in this survey.

8) In Sri Lanka, with the exception of licenses for doctors, lawyers and drivers, there is no public qualification system for occupations in machine operation and electrical trades (equivalent to registered engineer in Japan), and the certificate of training completion that both the centers award to trainees are gradually increasing their reputation among textile-related companies.

9) The results of interviews of people at four companies, which have dispatched trainees (Unichela Inc., Orient Garments, Inc., Vision Garments, Inc., and Hidramani Industries Inc.).

10) Department of Census and Statistics (1995), Women and Men in Sri Lanka.

11) It originated in the Hindu religion and occupations are traditionally assigned on status.

12) JICA *Sri Lanka: Sri Jayawardenepura General Hospital Project Evaluation Survey Team Report*, (March 1990).

13) The transport of a patient to the medical facility appropriate to the severity of illness and the communication of important notes to the medical facility closest to the patients place of residence following discharge.

14) In Sri Lanka, many people chew areca nuts with tobacco and as a result, there is a high incidence of oral cancers. According to hospital statistics, oral cancers account for around 40% of malignant tumors.

15) Department of Census and Statistics (1995), Women and Men in Sri Lanka.

16) This refers to incorporating a gender perspective into the development process. Specifically, it has two aspects: the first is incorporating a gender equal perspective into all policies and projects (at each stage of planning, implementation and evaluation). The second involves enabling both men and women to participate in the decision-making process in all development issues.

17) *Field work in international cooperation, Mamoru, 1999.*

18) This refers to a project outline which indicates the investment SHONO activities, objectives, indicators and external conditions, which shows the content of the project plan and the theoretical relationship between them.