

GOVERNANCE IN TAJIKISTAN

Evaluation of the women smallholder farmer
advocacy campaign

Effectiveness Review Series

2015/16



Photo: Oxfam in Tajikistan

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An independent consultant commissioned by Oxfam GB has prepared this report with the support of a local research partner. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed herein represent the points of view of its author and may not necessarily be shared by Oxfam GB or any of its implementing partners who have been involved in the campaign.

ACRONYMS

CBO	Community-based Organisation
DCC	Donor Coordination Council
DFID	Department for International Development
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Commission
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gendered Enterprise and Markets
GPF	Global Performance Framework
GREAT	Growth in Rural Economy and Agriculture: Tajikistan
LWL	League of Women Lawyers
NABWT	National Association of Business Women of Tajikistan
NASMBT	National Association of Small and Medium Business of Tajikistan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OGB	Oxfam Great Britain
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PPCR	Pilot Programme for Climate Resilience
SDC	Swiss Development Cooperation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WWI	Women's Wealth and Influence

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Oxfam GB's Global Performance Framework is part of the organisation's effort to better understand and communicate its effectiveness, as well as enhance learning across the organisation. Under this Framework, a small number of completed or mature projects are selected at random each year for an evaluation of their impact, known as an 'Effectiveness Review'. One key focus is on the extent to which they have promoted change in relation to relevant Oxfam GB global outcome indicators.

During the 2014/15 financial year, one of the projects that was randomly selected for an Effectiveness Review was the GROW Campaign in Tajikistan. Oxfam GB (OGB) integrated aspects of its global advocacy campaign, GROW in an effort to complement agricultural value chain programming implemented by a variety of organisations in the Khatlon region of Tajikistan. The GROW campaign takes a multi-pronged approach to the multi-faceted issue of global food insecurity by focusing on a diversity of causes, including climate change, land reform issues, industrial farming and private sector policies. In Tajikistan, the campaign team selected contextually relevant key issues to guide its advocacy activities, including climate change, land reform and water availability with a focus on women smallholder farmers as the key agricultural producers. OGB did this through trainings, workshops, round tables and highly visual events integrated with previous and currently existing programming.

In Tajikistan, the GROW Campaign was implemented in a distinctive way by leveraging synergies between previous, existing, and future programming both directly and tangentially related to the main themes of the campaign. Rather than serving as a standalone campaign, GROW acted as a platform from which to promote, influence, and advocate on issues through related projects being implemented on the ground.

This evaluation uses a research protocol based on process tracing, a qualitative research approach used by case study researchers to investigate causal inference. The evaluator seeks evidence of the extent to which the intervention's key targeted outcomes have materialised; investigates the causal mechanisms responsible, i.e. how the observed outcome change came about; and, in light of an evidenced understanding of competing explanations, draws conclusions about the significance, if any, of the intervention's contribution. This evaluation uses secondary sources, key informant interviews, and community focus group discussions as sources of evidence.

This evaluation focused specifically on two of the four intermediate outcomes outlined in the theory of change and identified by the evaluator and OGB team members as key policy-level outcomes of the campaign and the most significant for the evaluation to focus on. These were:

Outcome 1: Increased awareness/knowledge of policy makers, civil society and the general public about the link between women smallholder farmers, resilience from climate change-induced shocks and national food security.

Outcome 2: Political will at the national, regional, and local level to increase support for women smallholder farmers and take a gendered approach to climate change resilience.

FINDINGS

The GROW Campaign made an important contribution to increasing awareness and knowledge by engaging affinity networks associated with issues related to rural communities and women smallholder farmers and empowering women at the community level. This contribution was particularly apparent among regional government officials where awareness was quite low before the campaign. The campaign also made some contribution to increasing political will

among regional and local government officials through the networks with which OGB engaged and the explicit linkages with CBOs that encouraged greater interactions between communities and local officials. By raising awareness of the active role that women could play in economic development, local officials were more willing to engage with them. This change in political will, however, was limited to engagement. The extent to which government officials at the regional and local levels were proactive in advancing the issues discussed during these meetings and other forums was, and continues to be, inconsistent and personality-based.

Table 0.1: Outcome contribution scores

Outcome	Contribution scores	Short commentary
1. Increased awareness/knowledge of policy makers, civil society and general public about the link between women smallholder farmers, resilience from climate change induced shocks and national food security.	3	The GROW Campaign and integrated OGB programming made an important contribution to the increased awareness and knowledge among local and regional policymakers by going beyond the common training and workshop paradigm and providing regular opportunities for interaction between government officials and groups of women. However, this contribution was moderate when put into the context of all of the other related efforts by organisations active in Tajikistan.
2. Political will at the national, regional, and local levels to increase support for women smallholder farmers and take a gendered approach to climate change resilience.	2 (<i>regional & local level</i>)	The GROW Campaign made some contribution to increasing political will at the regional and local government levels by engaging through networks. However, there was no measurable change due to the campaign at the national level. The level to which the campaign contributed to a greater gendered approach is inconclusive.

Table 0.2: Contribution score key

5	Outcome realised in full Evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
4	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
3	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
2	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made some contribution Outcome realised to a small degree and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
1	Outcome realised, to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution

PROGRAMME LEARNING CONSIDERATIONS

The following recommendations are based on a synthesis of key informant interviews and the evaluator's own observations.

1. The concept of a campaign as framed in the global GROW Campaign is very much a foreign concept in much of Central Asia, particularly Tajikistan. Tajik society is very community-oriented and family-focused, limiting the effectiveness of activities that may be more common in advocacy campaigns across Europe, North America and Latin America. A standalone campaign, such as that conceived in the global campaign, would have limited effect in Tajikistan. Thus, the country team worked to integrate the concepts central to the campaign into the related programmatic work and vice versa. This approach proved to be successful, even if this approach came late in the campaign timeline. The 'convening and brokering' approach¹ seems to be the most effective method by which organisations such as Oxfam can influence policy in Tajikistan. Indeed, this evaluation shows that the most salient mechanism for change was the development, engagement and influencing of stakeholder networks for advocacy at various levels of Tajik government.
2. Influencing in Tajikistan is predicated on a system that is very personality and reputation based. Much of the most effective advocacy work happens on a personal level outside the meeting or conference room. The most influential individuals are those that have lived and worked in Tajikistan for a long time (or their entire lives) and are trusted by officials and stakeholders alike. It is the task of an organisation like Oxfam to leverage its local relationships, invest time to develop these relationships, and raise its own visibility. With the high turnover of high-level Oxfam representatives in-country, this must be central to any future advocacy efforts.
3. The largest gaps in awareness, knowledge and practice are evident at the regional and local levels. This campaign saw the greatest gains at this level, which is testament to both the effective targeting of the country team as well as the initial low standard of awareness and knowledge at this level. For future advocacy programming, Oxfam should continue to focus on communities and officials at the local and regional levels.
4. A common practice among organisations in Tajikistan when working with women and women's groups is to identify the most 'active' or outspoken women with which to work or lead groups of women. While the logic of this practice makes sense – the more active or outspoken women will be motivated to engage with the organisation and its programming and perhaps motivate other women – it misses a great opportunity to empower women that are not yet able to advocate for themselves. It is common to speak with an 'active' woman in a community in Tajikistan who is working with numerous organisations in her community. This woman is arguably receiving the greatest benefit from the programming when greater gains might be seen by focusing on other women in the community. Many stakeholders interviewed for this evaluation indicated that organisations need to shift their programmatic focus toward more marginalised women or those not yet 'active'.

1 INTRODUCTION

Tajikistan is a small landlocked country bordering Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and China. Despite being largely mountainous terrain with only seven percent arable land, agriculture remains a key sector for the economy, employing 75 percent of the labour force and contributing up to 23 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). While agriculture does constitute a large portion of the economy, Tajikistan is still considered a food insecure country with 46 percent of the population living below the poverty line (USAID, 2012). Women play an increasingly large role in the agricultural sector due to large numbers of male labour migrants leaving rural areas in Tajikistan and travelling to foreign countries, such as Russia. However, women often lack control of resources at each stage of the agricultural value chain, including tenure rights, knowledge of farming techniques, and marketing of products.

Khatlon province, one of two agricultural producing areas of Tajikistan, is still transitioning from the cotton-dominated agricultural system operated by state-owned collective farms during the Soviet era to a more market-oriented arrangement with production on recently-privatised farmland. As a result of the relatively recent land reform process, which began in 1997 and continues to this day, the large collective farms were divided into approximately 150,000 small farm plots for private cultivation, but without the agricultural extension required to support the new farmers (USAID, 2012).

In an effort to complement agricultural value chain programming implemented by a variety of organisations in the Khatlon region, Oxfam GB (OGB) integrated aspects of its global advocacy campaign, GROW, in Tajikistan. The GROW campaign takes a multi-pronged approach to the multi-faceted issue of global food insecurity by focusing on a diversity of causes, including climate change, land reform issues, industrial farming and private sector policies. In Tajikistan, the campaign team selected contextually relevant key issues to guide its advocacy activities, including climate change, land reform and water availability with a focus on women smallholder farmers as the key agricultural producers. OGB did this through trainings, workshops, round tables and highly visual events integrated with previous and currently existing programming.

This report evaluates the impact of these advocacy activities using a qualitative impact evaluation methodology called process tracing. This methodology establishes a research protocol to investigate the key outcomes to establish the extent to which: a) the outcome(s) have materialised; and b) we can evidence that the project contributed to these changes.

The evaluation drew on primary and secondary data sources to reconstruct the theory of change for the campaign. The evaluation focused on two intermediate outcomes from the GROW Campaign in Tajikistan: (1) Increased awareness/knowledge of policy makers, civil society and general public about the link between women smallholder farmers, resilience from climate change induced shocks and national food security; (2) Increased political will to increase support for women smallholder farmers and take a gendered approach to climate change resilience. These outcomes were selected with key stakeholders and identified as relevant and important expected outcomes of the campaign. The extent to which the campaign contributed to the materialisation of these outcomes was then analysed.

This report is structured into six main sections: (1) Introduction; (2) Evaluation design; (3) Campaign description; (4) Key findings; (5) Programme learning considerations; and (6) Conclusion. The framework, methodology and process used by the evaluator to conduct all analyses and identify key findings are included herein.

2 EVALUATION DESIGN

2.1 PROCESS TRACING

OGB has adopted a Global Performance Framework. Among other things, this framework involves the random selection each year of closing or sufficiently mature projects under six outcome areas, and rigorously evaluating their performance. These evaluations are referred to as Effectiveness Reviews. Effectiveness Reviews carried out under the 'Good Governance' outcome area are informed by a research protocol based on process tracing, a qualitative research approach used by case study researchers to investigate causal inference.

Good Governance interventions work towards achieving specific intermediary and final outcomes. The Evaluator's first task is to work with the programme team and partners to identify the scope of the intervention, including the outcomes or changes it is seeking (or sought) to achieve, and the activities undertaken to bring these about. The Evaluator then seeks evidence of the extent to which the intervention's key targeted outcomes have materialised; investigates the causal mechanisms responsible, i.e. how the observed outcome change came about; and, in light of an evidenced understanding of competing explanations, draws conclusions about the significance, if any, of the intervention's contribution.

As such, the purpose of the evaluation is not simply to focus in on whether observed outcome-level change can be reasonably linked to project activities. Rather, the approach is more nuanced and should accomplish three things: (1) shortlist one or more evidenced explanations for the outcome in question (which may or may not include the intervention); (2) rule out alternative, competing explanations incompatible with the evidence; and (3) if more than one explanation is supported by the evidence, estimate the level of influence each has had on bringing about the change in question.

While not intended to be a mechanical sequence of linear steps of how the research exercise should proceed, the following eight steps form the core of the research exercise's protocol.

1. Undertake a process of (re)constructing the intervention's theory of change, in order to clearly define the intervention being evaluated – what it is trying to change (outcomes), how it is working to effect these changes (strategies/streams of activities) and what assumptions it is making about how it will contribute to these changes (key assumptions).
2. Work with relevant stakeholders to identify up to three intermediate and/or final outcomes considered by stakeholders to be the most significant for the evaluation to focus on (central to the intervention's theory of change and useful for learning/forward planning).
3. Systematically assess and document what was done under the intervention to achieve the selected targeted outcomes.
4. Identify and evidence the extent to which the selected outcomes have actually materialised, as well as any relevant unintended outcomes.
5. Undertake 'process induction' to identify salient plausible causal explanations for the evidenced outcomes.
6. Gather required data and use 'process verification' to assess the extent to which each of the explanations identified in Step 5 are supported or not supported by the available evidence.

7. Write a narrative analytical report to document the above research processes and findings.
8. Summarise aspects of the above narrative analysis by allocating project/campaign 'contribution scores' for each of the targeted and/or associated outcomes. This is not expected to provide a precise measure of contribution, but rather a sense of how much the campaign was likely to be responsible for the observed change(s).

For the full process tracing protocol, please see Oxfam's Policy and Practice website.²

2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF LOGIC MODEL

The first step in the Process Tracing methodology involves reconstructing the intervention's theory of change and working with stakeholders to identify the most significant outcomes on which the evaluation will focus. The GROW Campaign in Tajikistan did not have an explicit theory of change. Thus, the evaluator reconstructed a draft theory of change using campaign documents furnished both by the OGB Tajikistan team and collected through an extensive primary and secondary document review.

The evaluator presented the proposed theory of change to the OGB Tajikistan team during a participatory workshop and worked with them to further refine and validate the theory of change. Following agreement upon the theory of change, the evaluator suggested outcomes on which the evaluation could focus based on key criteria.³ He then worked with the team members using participatory methods to identify the two key outcomes upon which the evaluation would focus.

The theory of change refined at this workshop and the outcomes selected are described in Section 3 of this report.

2.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Evidence for this evaluation was drawn from sources using three complementary methods that allowed for triangulation of findings: (1) document review; (2) key informant interviews (in-person, phone and online questionnaire); and (3) focus group discussions.

Table 2.1 outlines the sources of evidence and the data collection methods employed for each. A detailed explanation follows of how these methods were employed as well as the methods used for analysis.

Table 2.1: Data collection matrix

#	Outcome	Method of verification	Source of data
1	Increased knowledge/awareness of policy makers, civil society, and general public about the link between women smallholder farmers, resilience from climate change-induced shocks and national food security.	Interviews (in-person, online)	Policy Committee on Women and Family Affairs, DFID, USAID, PPCR Focal Point, Khukumat Representative, national strategy papers, policy recommendation papers
		Document review	Civil Society Tajik Climate Network, NABWT, CAMP Kuhiston, League of Women Lawyers, ACTED, NGO Women with High Education, Z-Analytics, Radio Vatan
		Focus group discussions (community members)	Household/Community Community members, local authorities
2	Political will at the national, regional and local levels to increase support for women smallholder farmers and take a gendered approach to climate change resilience.	Interviews (in-person, online)	Policy Committee on Women and Family Affairs, DFID, USAID, PPCR Focal Point, Khukumat Representative, Point, national strategy papers, policy recommendation papers
		Document review	Civil Society Tajik Climate Network, NABWT, CAMP Kuhiston, League of Women Lawyers, ACTED, NGO Women with High Education, Z-Analytics, Radio Vatan
			Household/Community Local authorities

2.3.1 Document review

A total of 52 documents were reviewed for this evaluation. These documents were collected from a variety of sources including: (1) OGB Tajikistan team members; (2) key informants; and (3) internet searches. The evaluator took great care to be as comprehensive and representative as possible in the collection and use of relevant documentation. These documents can be viewed in Appendix 1 of this report.

2.3.2 Key informant interviews

A total of 18 key informants were engaged as part of this evaluation through in-person interviews (n=15), phone interviews (n=2) and an online questionnaire following the interview protocol (n=1). Ten of the key informants were selected and interviewed using the bellwether methodology.⁴ Initially, OGB Tajikistan staff identified key informants. These were supplemented by the evaluator, based on knowledge of the civil society and policy networks in Tajikistan. Using a snowball sampling approach, additional key informants were identified by interviewees and added to the list. The sample included stakeholders both directly and indirectly involved with the campaign and its related policy focus. These individuals can be viewed in Appendix 2 of this report.

2.3.3 Focus group discussions

Two focus group discussions were conducted with members from target communities. Each focus group was gender-segregated and consisted of individuals that had been directly involved in campaign activities or lived in communities in which these activities occurred.

2.3.4 Data analysis

All relevant campaign documents, interview transcripts, external policy documents, external policy recommendations and national strategy papers were systematically coded using the qualitative analysis software package NVivo. Qualitative data analysis was conducted by coding interview transcripts and comparing textual language in policy and strategy documents. This allowed the evaluator to identify predominant themes across informants and potential links between campaign and media materials and policy change. The evaluator regularly reviewed and revised coding categories throughout the analysis process to ensure convergent and discriminant validity.

2.4 LIMITATIONS

There were two key limitations that arose during this evaluation: (1) lack of access for the evaluator to national-level policy makers, and (2) limited access to OGB Tajikistan team members that had been directly involved in the campaign.

Due to a new national directive that requires foreign nationals to apply to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Tajikistan for access to national-level officials, the evaluator was unable to interview these individuals. Respondents from the international donor community were selected as proxies for these officials.

The GROW Campaign in Tajikistan finished in early 2015 and most staff that had been involved with the campaign from the beginning were no longer working for OGB. The evaluator was able to speak with individuals who had been engaged at certain stages of the campaign, but a comprehensive overview of the campaign, its initial aims, its activities, and the context in which it was implemented was not possible.



Photos: Images taken for use during the campaign. Credit: Oxfam

3 CAMPAIGN DESCRIPTION

The GROW Campaign in Tajikistan was initiated in 2011 as part of the global Oxfam GROW Campaign. This global advocacy campaign takes a multi-pronged approach to the multi-faceted issue of global food insecurity by focusing on some of the many causes, including climate change, land reform issues, industrial farming and private sector policies. In Tajikistan, the campaign team selected relevant key issues to guide its advocacy activities, including climate change, land reform and water availability with a focus on women smallholder farmers as the key (and increasingly so) agricultural producers.

The overall aims of the GROW Campaign in Tajikistan were to: (1) increase the household food security and climate change resilience of smallholder women farmers, and (2) increase their ability to contribute to national food security by increasing their access to markets. GROW in Tajikistan sought to work with women smallholders to increase their capacity to grow food and with the private sector and government to increase their engagement with women smallholders. The campaign was conceived as a way to influence the government of Tajikistan, the private sector and other development actors present in rural Tajikistan with regard to the value of investing in smallholder agriculture, particularly women, by providing evidence and highly visible events to illustrate this value.

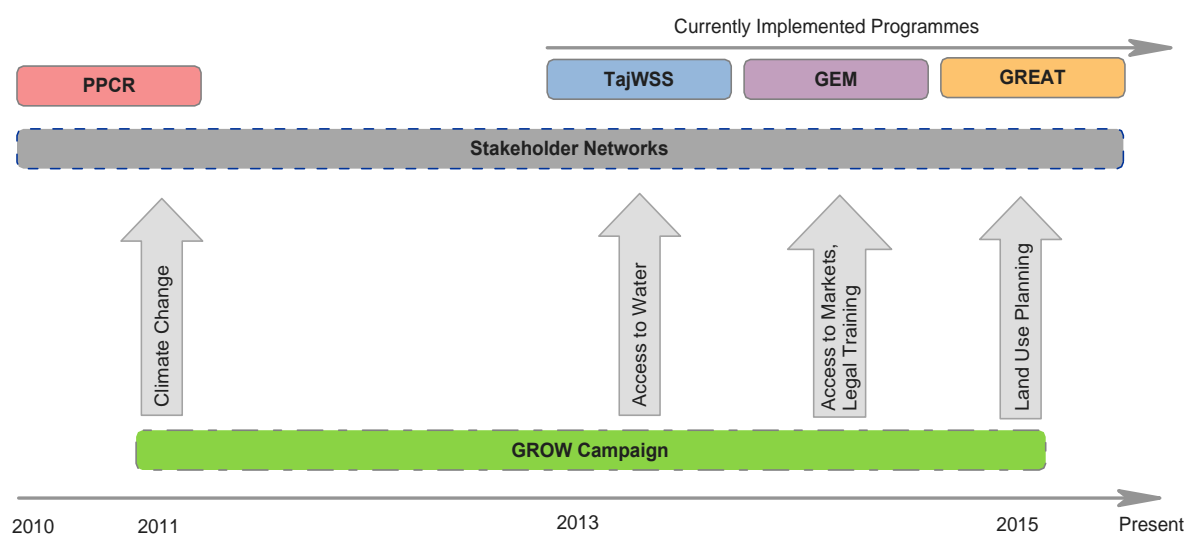
Specifically, the GROW campaign initially laid out the following objectives, to: (1) influence the national debate on food security in Tajikistan, championing the contribution of smallholder women to food security; (2) highlight the barriers women smallholder farmers face to increase their production and marketing of food; (3) convince the national government and other actors of the important role women smallholders can play in contributing to food security at the national level; and (4) convene and facilitate the engagement of multiple actors – government, business and smallholder farmers – to support women smallholder farmers.

In Tajikistan, the GROW Campaign was implemented in a distinctive way by leveraging synergies between previous, existing and future programming both directly and tangentially related to the main themes of the campaign. Rather than serving as a standalone campaign, GROW acted as a platform from which to promote, influence and advocate on issues through related projects being implemented on the ground. Before the GROW Campaign began in Tajikistan, OGB was working with key stakeholders in the country on the Pilot Programme for Climate Resilience (PPCR), a World Bank led climate resilience investment initiative. GROW continued engagement on these issues and with the networks mobilised during the PPCR process. In addition to this work on climate change resilience, OGB began implementing the Tajikistan Water Supply and Sanitation (TajWSS) programme, which seeks to improve coverage, and service delivery of water to rural communities and has a large policy and civil society engagement objective that GROW supported.

Similarly, the GROW Campaign engaged with stakeholders and communities directly involved with the Gendered Enterprise and Marketing (GEM) and Growth in Rural Economy and Agriculture in Tajikistan (GREAT) programmes. GEM focuses on increasing the access of women to local markets and knowledge of legal and business concepts, while GREAT seeks to empower community-based organisations (CBOs) to better manage land and the land reform process underway in Tajikistan, while applying a value chain approach for producers to have a stronger position in the market.

Figure 3.1 illustrates how the campaign supported and was related to the activities of other OGB programming in Tajikistan.

Figure 3.1: GROW campaign implementation context



In order to achieve change, OGB engaged not only in planned and opportunistic advocacy, but sought also to raise public awareness of women smallholders and their contribution to food security. The vision was that highlighting the strength and diversity of these women and celebrating their success would increase public awareness and change public perception of what is possible and what women can achieve.

OGB worked closely with its partners in these programmes to implement GROW, especially Tajik NGOs and Tajik women's groups. The aim to empower women smallholders to engage with district-level government and private sector actors and to build the capacity of women's groups to influence the direction of policy change at the national level was integrated into these programmes, and the GROW Campaign collaborated with a number of local civil society organisations to implement aspects of related programming. At both district and national level, OGB aimed to work in alliance with other stakeholders, including both government bodies and the private sector, and also engage in advocacy on its own. In these alliances, OGB took on both the role of an active participant and a facilitator.

Linked with other programming, the League of Women Lawyers (LWL) conducted legal trainings on access to land in key communities, which GROW supported through continued engagement of civil society networks around this issue. The National Association of Business Women of Tajikistan (NABWT) facilitated trainings on marketing and worked to set up women's producer groups using GROW as a link to external audiences through events and advocacy materials. One such event was the Women and Her Land competition organised by the National Association of Small and Medium Businesses of Tajikistan (NASMBT) that brought together members of the established producer groups to compete for a cash prize in a highly visible event in the capital city of Dushanbe. Across all of these events and separate programmes, the GROW Campaign served as a link to leverage synergies and share resources.

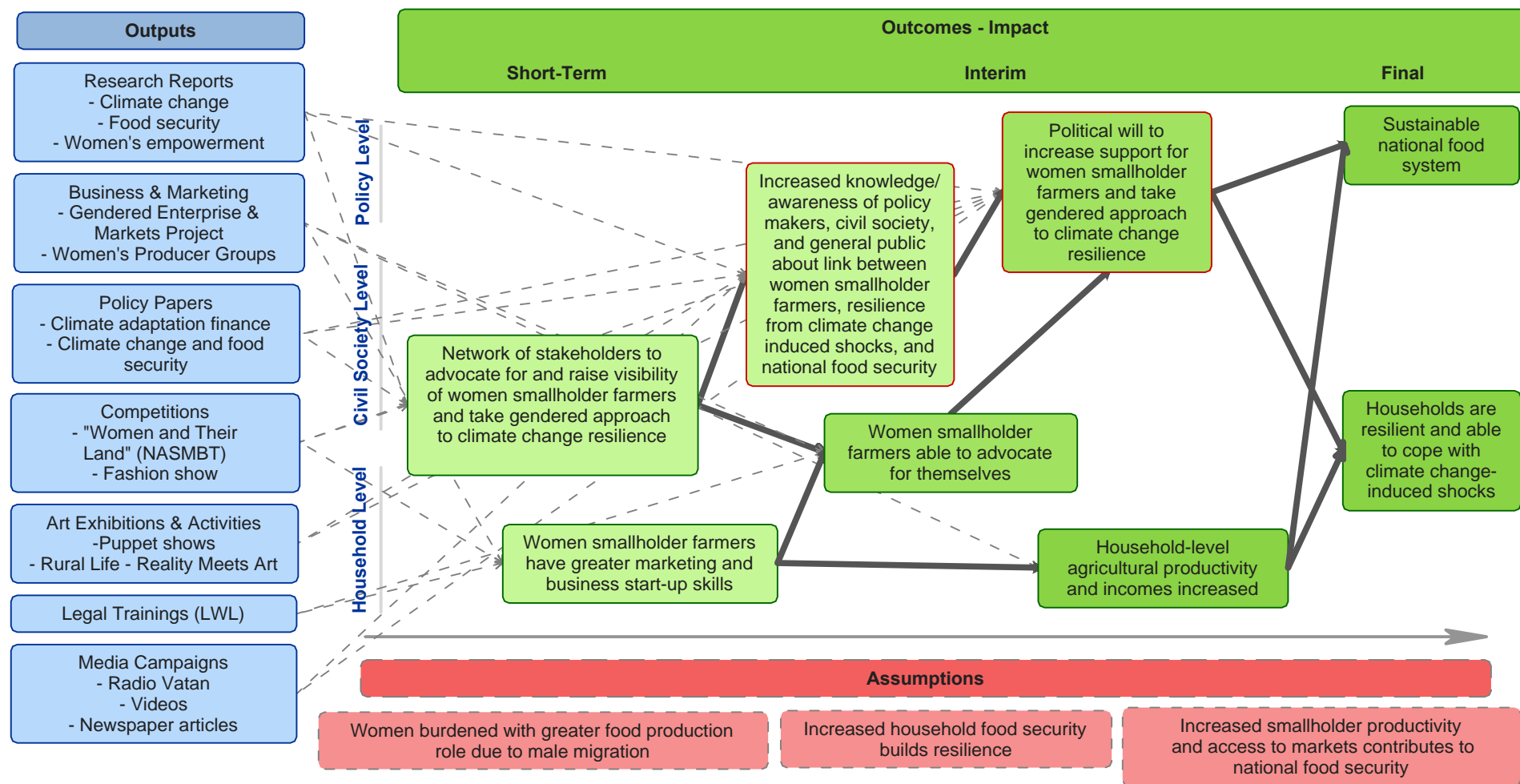
Finally, a number of highly visual events were organised as part of the GROW Campaign to raise the visibility of women smallholder farmers among the general public. With an objective to explicitly link agriculture to food security and women's central role in this process, the GROW Campaign organised a cooking show at the Serena Hotel in Dushanbe. The show highlighted products grown by producer groups set up under the GEM programme and used innovative recipes that would appeal to an international palate. Heads of international agencies and the donor community were the target group for this event. The campaign also collaborated with the local independent radio station, Radio Vatan, to develop and produce a weekly radio show discussing issues and success stories focused on women farmers. The show interviewed

experts, government officials, women farmers and programme staff with the intention of raising awareness among the general public of the issues that women smallholder farmers face and their important role in agricultural development and food security. Finally, the campaign organised a photography exhibition featuring photos of women in rural settings, further shedding light on the lives of women and farming in Tajikistan.

3.1 THEORY OF CHANGE

As illustrated in Figure 3.2 on the next page, the GROW Campaign conducted a number of activities with the intention of achieving short-term, interim and final outcomes.

Figure 3.2: GROW Campaign Tajikistan Theory of Change



The GROW Campaign is based upon three key underlying assumptions: (1) women are burdened with a greater food production role due to male labour migration out of Tajikistan; (2) increased household food security builds resilience to climate change induced shocks; and (3) increased smallholder productivity and access to markets contributes to national food security. Based upon these assumptions, the campaign outputs focus on three different levels of intervention ranging from the household and regional levels to the civil society and national policy levels.

All of the outputs can be categorised into four different types of strategy: (1) research; (2) media campaigns; (3) visual advocacy events; and (4) trainings. The first two output categories focused on influencing policy makers and the international donor communities, the third on international donor communities and households, while the fourth was intended only for beneficiary households. The underlying link between all of these outputs and intended outcomes was the engagement of relevant stakeholder networks, the first short-term outcome to which the campaign aimed to contribute. All other outcomes were intended to build on this towards the establishment of a sustainable national food system and climate change resilient households.

At the national policy level, OGB, through the GROW Campaign, engaged networks of actors to share evidence and advocate for greater awareness to the national and regional governments of the importance of women smallholder farmers to agricultural development and food security. Some of these networks were established through previous or ongoing OGB programming, while others were mobilised within the explicit framework of GROW. Upon review of conference reports, roundtable meeting participant lists and media articles, individuals from government entities are routinely included and are reported as serving as active members of these networks. The campaign theory then follows that policymakers would be both highly engaged in these networks and proactive to take the recommendations and research findings forward for visible changes in policy and legislation and a gendered approach to these processes.

At the regional and local levels, the GROW Campaign sought to raise awareness and link officials to target communities through regular competitions, events, community development planning processes and meetings. The theory was built around the idea that by providing evidence of the importance of women to rural communities and proving the abilities of women in economic and agricultural development through linkages with government officials and self-advocacy, officials would be convinced to provide more support, engage more deeply with communities (particularly women), more consistently implement policy and legislative directives from the national level, and take a gendered approach to implementation and provision of services. This was further strengthened by the relevant policy reforms discussed above that provided a more supportive forum for engagement related to women's rights and their role in economic development.

3.2 TARGETED OUTCOMES

This evaluation focused specifically on two of the four intermediate outcomes outlined above in Figure 3.2 and identified by the evaluator and OGB team members as key policy-level outcomes of the campaign, and the most significant for the evaluation to focus on. These include:

Outcome 1: Increased awareness/knowledge of policy makers, civil society and the general public about the link between women smallholder farmers, resilience from climate change-induced shocks and national food security.

Outcome 2: Political will at the national, regional and local levels to increase support for women smallholder farmers and take a gendered approach to climate change resilience.

4 KEY FINDINGS

Based on the process tracing methodology discussed in Section 2 of this report and the targeted outcomes selected during a participatory workshop with OGB Tajikistan team members, this section will systematically analyse each outcome and present its findings by:

1. Defining the outcome the campaign was seeking to bring about
2. Assessing whether there is evidence to suggest that the desired outcome actually materialised and to what degree
3. Identifying salient causal stories that explain how the desired outcomes may have been realised
4. Assessing the campaign's contribution to achievement of the observed outcome, considering other plausible, alternative factors.

Within the analysis for both outcomes, this evaluation makes a key assumption about the link between understanding/engagement and action. This evaluation assumes that outcomes fall on a spectrum with increased understanding/engagement on one side and tangible action at the other. For Outcome 1, we will explore whether the outcome materialised across a spectrum of awareness, knowledge and practice. For Outcome 2, we will explore whether the outcome materialised along a spectrum of engagement and proactivity. Figure 4.1 shows how these analysis reference points are related.

Figure 4.1: Evaluation key assumptions



4.1 OUTCOME 1

Outcome 1: Increased awareness/knowledge of policy makers, civil society and the general public about the link between women smallholder farmers, resilience from climate change induced shocks and national food security.

A desired outcome of the campaign was to increase the awareness or knowledge of three key groups on the importance of women smallholder farmers to household resilience from climate change induced shocks and national food security: (1) policy makers, (2) civil society organisations and (3) the general public. While this link was made explicit in campaign research reports and other materials, the outcome of interest was primarily to shed a positive light on the role of women in the agricultural sector and reinforce this image with evidence proving the importance of women to food security and resilience.

This evaluation makes a distinction between increased awareness, knowledge and practice. While changes in practice were not an explicit objective of the campaign, evidence of changes

in practice suggest increased awareness or knowledge, and thus serve as important sources of evidence, where evident. The central assumption here is that if there is evidence of a change in practice among groups targeted by the campaign, it is reasonable to assume that this change was precipitated by an increase in awareness and knowledge. Furthermore, it is important to explore changes along this spectrum of understanding at each level of Tajik society in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms at play. This evaluation is primarily concerned with the national policy, civil society and regional government levels, but evidence at the household level will also be mentioned where it contributes to an understanding further up the hierarchy. The level to which evidence suggests that this outcome materialised along this spectrum of understanding is explored below.

4.1.1 Validation of outcome

Available evidence suggests that there has been an increase in understanding of the importance of women smallholder farmers to economic development among national policymakers, civil society and regional government officials. According to an analysis of responses from respondents and secondary sources, the greatest change can be seen at the regional government level in which existing and newly established policies from the national policy level and greater knowledge at the household level converged to build greater awareness among regional government officials.

At the national policy level, several initiatives point to the existence of knowledge of the importance of women to the country's economic development. Specifically, key changes to existing policies on land ownership,⁵ the ratification of an international convention on discrimination against women,⁶ speeches from the president concerning the role of women in the agricultural sector, and legislation on preventing domestic violence⁷ all served to raise the visibility of women's issues among policy makers and the general public. Key informants identify these initiatives as important to increasing awareness on the status of women and providing a more supportive environment for discussions about women, even if not all are directly related to women smallholder farmers.

At the regional level, programming implemented by local civil society and international organisations served to increase knowledge among smallholder farmers at the household level and thus, awareness at the regional government level. This programming largely consisted of trainings, workshops and linkages with local legal and financial resources among individuals at the household level. This programming often engaged networks at community, regional and civil society levels, further solidifying the knowledge among members of these networks. According to many informants, the increased knowledge at the household level served to mobilise groups of women, thereby encouraging more attention from regional government officials. This awareness drawn from sources at the household level was coupled with the greater visibility of women's issues and policy activities, further catalysing the change at the regional level.

4.1.2 Salient causal stories

Based on coding of key informant interviews and secondary sources, the following causal stories were identified as potential causal explanations for the realised outcome and are explored in detail in this section:

- A. Programming at the household level by local civil society and international organisations, including Oxfam, mobilised groups of women and encouraged greater attention from regional government officials.
- B. Policy activities and discussions at the national level provided a more supportive environment and raised visibility on women's issues.

This section will describe each potential causal story and relevant evidence supporting its existence. The extent to which this story explains whether and how the outcome above

materialised along with the role that the campaign played will be explored. The extent of the campaign contribution will be described in [Section 4.1.3](#).

4.1.2.1 Causal Story A

Causal Story A	Programming at the household level by local civil society and international organisations mobilised groups of women and encouraged greater attention from regional government officials.
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Evidence based on interviews with key informants and bellwethers as well as secondary sources suggests that this causal story is an important explanation for how Outcome 1 materialised. The trainings and workshops facilitated in communities by local civil society and international organisations led to an increase in awareness and knowledge at the household level. Groups of women, now empowered with knowledge, mobilised to garner greater attention from regional government officials. OGB, through the GROW Campaign, played an important role in this process by both mobilising women through trainings and workshops and facilitating greater interaction between communities and regional government officials. OGB and its partners' contribution was important in that it brought together groups of women and regional government officials through forums in which they had never interacted before. They used the training and workshop paradigm common in Tajikistan to provide women with greater knowledge and then encouraged greater collaboration and self-advocacy through regular meetings and roundtables.

Due to the central importance of land tenure, access to credit, agricultural development and food security in Tajikistan, as mentioned in the introduction, many organisations implement programming on these issues. Furthermore, given the outsized role of women in agriculture due to male migration, many of these organisations focus on women in their programming or take a gendered approach to their interventions. All of these organisations work at the community level (some in the same districts as OGB) and many also engage with networks with influence at the regional government and national policy levels. They organise roundtables, facilitate trainings and workshops, link producers with markets through producer groups, and work with microfinance institutions to develop products designed for women smallholder farmers.⁸

OGB, through the GROW Campaign, complemented these efforts at the community level by facilitating trainings and workshops. Linked with other programming, the League of Women Lawyers (LWL) conducted legal trainings on access to land in key communities, which GROW supported through continued engagement of civil society networks around this issue. The National Association of Business Women of Tajikistan (NABWT) facilitated trainings on marketing and worked to set up women's producer groups, using GROW as a link to external audiences through events and advocacy materials. One such event was the Women and Her Land competition organised by the National Association of Small and Medium Businesses of Tajikistan (NASMBT) that brought together members of the established producer groups to compete for a cash prize in a highly visible event in the capital city of Dushanbe. The campaign also organised puppet shows highlighting the importance of women in the agricultural sector and linking this important role with climate change resilience. Importantly, each of these trainings engaged regional and local government officials in addition to groups of women with the intention of raising awareness among these groups. Rather than only providing trainings, OGB and its partners encouraged regular interaction between these groups; a method not commonly used by other organisations.

Each bellwether informant engaged during this evaluation identified greater knowledge and empowerment among women over the past five to seven years. Most credit this knowledge to the trainings and events organised by international organisations and the civil society organisations with which they work, highlighting OGB as one organisation among others. Given the sheer number of trainings and workshops conducted at the household level by local civil society and international organisations, it would be sufficient to assume that these had at least a nominal effect on an increase in awareness and knowledge. However, when speaking with

individuals through community focus groups, it was clear that there was substantive knowledge on some of the key concepts contained in the trainings and workshops of these organisations. For example, these discussions elucidated varying degrees of understanding about agrarian reform rights, agricultural marketing, business skills and rural infrastructure management concepts. Furthermore, community members further validated the view of bellwethers that local civil society and international organisations contributed to an increase in knowledge at the household level by identifying these entities as important sources of this knowledge.

'Before we didn't have so much knowledge. Through trainings and events, we improved our knowledge.' – Community member

'We had lack of knowledge in terms law and other [concepts]. Due to various organisations we improved our knowledge. Before we didn't have land or knowledge on how to obtain it.' – Community member

'Now, the role of women has improved, because now we have access to the market by having some knowledge [about marketing].' – Community member

'Five years ago, knowledge and the status of women were lower. Different events and seminars have increased our knowledge.' – Community member

'We are now aware of all [land access] administrative procedures, how to follow them and do it in the right way [due to trainings].' – Community member

Informants credited greater knowledge and empowerment among women as a key reason for greater awareness among local and regional government officials. They identified an increase in mobilisation among women that has forced officials to pay attention.

'Before those women had lack of knowledge. Through those events, they could raise their awareness and increase their knowledge. They became more active and more demanding [of government officials].' – Civil society representative

'The regional and local governments [are more willing to work with women] because they are informed about those women, who have capabilities and are very active.' – Civil society representative

'Another reason the government started to learn about women in rural areas was [due to] the number of women working on agricultural land is greater when compared with men, as men have left their homes ... The government started to pay attention to women and to all social problems.' – Civil society representative

OGB, through the GROW Campaign, acted as both a mobiliser (through knowledge transfer by trainings and workshops) and as a facilitator of engagement (through networks that brought together community members and regional government officials to share evidence and advocate for greater awareness to the regional governments), in order to raise the importance of women smallholder farmers to agricultural development and food security. Some of these networks were established through previous or on-going OGB programming, while others were mobilised within the explicit framework of GROW. Key examples include:

1. OGB worked with CAMP Kuhiston, a local civil society organisation focused on sustainable mountain community and livelihood development, to organise the First National Meeting on the Role of Women in Agrarian Reform on March 28, 2013. This conference brought together key stakeholders to discuss the priorities and challenges associated with women in agrarian reform in Tajikistan and developed a draft resolution to relevant national government bodies. The meeting was attended by members of the lower chamber of parliament (*Majlisi Oli*, *Majlisi Namoyandagon*), the Committee on Women and Family Affairs, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the State Committee on Land Management and Geodesy, the Environmental Committee, national experts, farmers and associations from Sughd and

Khatlon regions, and governmental and international organisations (CAMP Kuhiston, 2013).

2. OGB collaborated with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the State Committee on Investments and State Property Management to organise a roundtable on women's entrepreneurship in Tajikistan on October 8, 2015. The participants discussed the existing problems and ways to improve economic opportunities for women, as well as exploring the role of the state in promoting business partnerships with them. Representatives of the government, international organisations, civil society and women in business and the media attended the meeting (Asia Plus, 2015).
3. OGB continued to work with organisations through the network with which it had engaged during its involvement in the PPCR process. This network continued to plan national conferences on climate change and roundtables and produced position statements on national and international climate policy for submission to the government (Tajik Climate Change Network, 2012).
4. Through the TajWSS programme, OGB worked with organisations to establish the Network of Stakeholder Organisations on Sustainable Water Supply and Sanitation in Tajikistan. Within this network, representatives of the government, donor organisations, NGOs, the private sector, communities and civil society discuss policies, share best practices, develop policy solutions, and suggest new areas to be discussed and researched. Thematic Working Groups work on specific issues related to water tariffs, taxation and gender. This network presents research and policy documents to the Inter-Ministerial Coordination Council (IMCC) of the Government of Tajikistan (Green, 2013).
5. A task force started by State Community of Investment and Management of the State Property of Tajikistan. Following a Symposium on Central Asian Business Women held in Dushanbe in 2014, a Taskforce to Support Women Entrepreneurship in Tajikistan, led by the State Committee on Investment, was created. This Task Force brings together representatives from the private sector, government and the donor community and serves as a forum to discuss policies and reforms to support women's entrepreneurship (MicroCapital, 2014).
6. The OGB Country Director serves as the representative for all international NGOs in the Donor Coordination Council (DCC). This coordination body serves as a forum for international donors and NGOs to discuss coordination and priority issues for eventual presentation to the government by the chair of the DCC.

The overall consensus among bellwethers and informants alike is that networks that bring together community members, civil society, government officials and relevant international organisations are highly effective at raising awareness. In Tajikistan, these networks are often engaged through roundtables and meetings that allow participants to raise issues and discuss solutions.

'I think [roundtables] and providing reports are very important. We can discuss in those roundtables while inviting different government institutions and actors, in order to raise the role of women in society.' – Civil society representative

'By sharing information in such a roundtable, we can somehow knock on the door of the policy maker, by raising the issue.' – International organisation representative

'By organising meeting, events, seminars, various roundtables and research, we ... involved different community associations and civil society organisations in order to raise the issue on changing the role of women in society. This is important in this country.' – Civil society representative

In summary, bellwethers and community members identify local civil society and international organisations, including OGB, as the key sources of awareness raising and knowledge transfer at the community level. Informants further explain that the increase in knowledge directly influenced an increase in awareness among regional government officials. Household members, particularly women, were empowered to exercise their rights and had the knowledge to access the appropriate resources, raising their visibility among regional government officials. In addition, these connections and opportunities for discussion between community members and regional government officials was further strengthened through roundtables and seminars that brought together stakeholders from all levels of society.

4.1.2.2 Causal Story B

Causal Story B	Policy activities and discussions at the national level provided for a more supportive environment and raised visibility on women's issues.
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There is evidence to suggest that this causal story could have contributed to the materialisation of Outcome 1, however, it could not have been the primary reason for the increase in awareness or knowledge. Bellwethers credit the policy activities and discussions at the national level as important to facilitating discussions among individuals and communities at lower levels of the hierarchy. However, they characterise this influence as merely supportive. The role of OGB in driving or facilitating these policy discussions at the national level could not be evaluated due to lack of access to national policymakers during data collection.

At the national policy level several initiatives point to the existence of knowledge of the importance of women to the country's economic development. Specifically, key changes to existing policies on land ownership,⁹ the ratification of an international convention on discrimination against women,¹⁰ speeches from the president concerning the role of women in the agricultural sector, and legislation on preventing domestic violence¹¹ all served to raise the visibility of women's issues among policy makers and the general public. Key informants identify these initiatives as important to increasing awareness on the status of women and providing a more supportive environment for discussions about women, even if all are not directly related to women smallholder farmers.

'Recently, we have adopted very good laws ... for women [against domestic] violence, food security, and others.' – Civil society representative

'...You can see legislation and laws which allow women to become more proactive because they have raised awareness among the public.' – Civil society representative

'There were some changes at the policy level in terms of awareness and knowledge ... by settling the new reforms and strategies which contributed to improving the role of women. Currently the situation in those main aspects is much better when compared with the last five years.' – Civil society representative

According to a number of informants, of key importance to continuing the discussions about the role of women in Tajikistan was the establishment of the National Strategy for Enhancing the Role of Women in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2011–2020. It was approved under a Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan as of May 29, 2010. The strategy includes concrete actions to improve women's participation in education, the labour market, entrepreneurship and in politics. (League of Women Lawyers, 2015) (Duban, 2016).

While OGB is engaged with national policymakers through some of the same networks described above, its influence on the recent legislative activity and policy discussions could not be evaluated due to lack of evidence and access to policymakers. However, due to the lack of evidence, any role could not be disproven. As will be explored through Outcome 2, it is reasonable to consider that awareness and knowledge already existed among national policymakers, which led to the legislative and policy action described above.

Bellwethers and international donor informants identified the supportive environment coming from national policy level as an important contributor to the increased awareness and activity among the general public and civil society organisations working on women's issues. They also point to greater ease in conducting work, particularly for international organisations engaged on these issues. It is reasonable to assume that the organisations mentioned above have been able to take advantage of many of the benefits associated with increased discussions about the role of women in Tajik society inside and outside of the agricultural sector. However, there is little evidence to suggest that it was the primary driver of this increased awareness or knowledge at the regional level.

4.1.3 Contribution analysis

This section explores whether OGB, through the GROW Campaign, made any contribution to the outcome described above, the mechanisms by which these contributions were made, and the magnitude of these contributions.

Based on available evidence, the evaluator concludes that the GROW Campaign made an important contribution to increasing awareness and knowledge, particularly among regional government officials. The extent to which OGB made any contribution to raising awareness or increasing knowledge among national policymakers could not be determined through this evaluation.

As described in Causal Story A, civil society and international organisations encouraged greater awareness among government officials by mobilising women at the community level through trainings and workshops. This contribution was particularly apparent among regional government officials where awareness was quite low before the campaign, as explained by informants and bellwethers alike. OGB was identified as one organisation in particular that facilitated this mobilisation.

'When we created the [producer] groups through Oxfam, then [the regional government] paid more attention [to us] because our group is very active.' – Community representative

Regional government officials themselves also identify the influence of OGB as key to their own understanding of local needs.

'We can say that due to Oxfam, [we are willing to help] the group of women who needs the support and ... land.' – Regional government representative

In addition to mobilising groups of women at the community level, OGB made an important contribution by engaging networks concerned with issues related to women smallholder farmers at the civil society and regional government level. In many interviews, respondents at these levels noted OGB's involvement in meetings, symposia, roundtables and conferences as the most salient contribution of the organisation in relation to women smallholder farmers.

'[We used] information we received from Oxfam that was related to this approach. In Tajikistan we have a good coalition. We have been closely working under this coalition. We did two roundtables with the National Association of Business Women of Tajikistan and the Committee of Women and Family Affairs.' – Civil society representative

'We are at least trying and somehow they are accepting our recommendations. We proposed many times to them to mention the words "women" and "farmers". Before they didn't have them, but now they have them on each page of the project reports. Specifically, we were lobbying with Oxfam's collaboration' – Civil society representative

While there is evidence of this influence based on interviews with stakeholders and bellwethers, the level of influence from the campaign is considered to be moderate (but important) when

zooming out to include the related programming from other organisations. Donor agencies, UN organisations and international and national NGOs alike work on these same issues, implement in the same communities, are part of the same networks, and engage with the same policymakers as did OGB through the GROW Campaign and its related activities. These activities have directly influenced changes in legislation and can reasonably be expected to have contributed to changes in awareness and knowledge in much the same way OGB has.

However, these networks are an important aspect of policy change in Tajikistan, as explained in Causal Story A, thus this strategy had the most salient impact across the civil society and regional government levels. The extent to which OGB contributed to the discussions at the policy level could not be evaluated due to limitations in speaking with national policymakers. While this contribution could not be assessed, there is enough evidence from bellwether informants and regional government officials themselves to suggest that the more supportive environment engendered by these policy discussions did help to raise awareness among regional government officials.

The campaign contributed to important advocacy discussions among civil society networks and empowered women and communities to exercise rights enshrined in existing and newly reformed laws. An environment more supportive to discussions about women's issues due to ongoing discussions related to CEDAW and domestic violence allowed for these networks and the activities focused on the general public to be amplified and included as part of the national discourse on the role of women in Tajik society. This more focused awareness-turned-practice among policy makers and the greater knowledge among communities in which GROW was implemented served to raise awareness among regional government officials and increase important engagement between these officials and the communities that they serve.

Table 4.1: Outcome 1 Contribution scores

Outcome	Contribution score	Short commentary
Increased awareness/knowledge of policy makers, civil society and general public about link between women smallholder farmers, resilience from climate change induced shocks and national food security.	3	The GROW Campaign and integrated OGB programming made an important contribution to the increased awareness and knowledge among local and regional policymakers by going beyond the common training and workshop paradigm and providing regular opportunities for interaction between government officials and groups of women. However, this contribution was moderate when put into the context of all of the other related efforts by organisations active in Tajikistan.

Table 4.2: Contribution score key

5	Outcome realised in full Evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
4	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
3	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
2	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made some contribution Outcome realised to a small degree and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
1	Outcome realised, to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution

4.2 OUTCOME 2

Outcome 2: Political will at the national, regional and local level to increase support for women smallholder farmers and take a gendered approach to climate change resilience.

A second desired outcome of the campaign was to facilitate increased support to women smallholder farmers by building political will among policymakers and government officials. A related component of this outcome was to increase support among these individuals to take a gendered approach to issues related to rural and agricultural development, including climate change resilience.

This evaluation defines political will as either: (1) willingness to engage on an issue of interest or (2) proactivity to follow up and act on an issue of interest. As described above, these constitute stages of a similar process in building political will. This evaluation assumes that proactivity is a more advanced expression of political will and is likely preceded by efforts to engage (Civicus, 2009). The discussion will differentiate between these two degrees of political will, where possible. The level to which evidence suggests that this outcome materialised is explored below.

4.2.1 Validation of outcome

Available evidence from key informants and secondary sources suggests that there has been an increase in political will among regional and local government officials, although this increase is not seen among national policy makers. According to an analysis of responses from respondents and secondary sources, the greatest change could be seen at the regional government level in which greater knowledge at the household level built greater awareness among regional government officials, and thus, greater willingness to engage on issues related to women in rural communities. Among policymakers at the national level, informants report existing political willingness, and thus, minimal change.

At the regional level, the increase in political willingness among government officials is linked with Outcome 1, validating the logic of the theory of change shown in Figure 3.2. The more supportive environment resulting from the policy and legislative reforms discussed above, along with more active women community members due to greater knowledge at the household level, has encouraged regional and local officials to engage on issues related to women smallholder farmers. While evidence suggests that willingness to engage on issues related to women in rural communities did increase among regional officials with whom OGB engaged, this political willingness did not necessarily lead to greater proactivity. Rather, more inconsistent action among regional officials is reported.

At the national level, evidence suggests that significant political willingness already existed. Thus, even if there were any change, it would have been too minimal to measure for this evaluation. The number of networks of which these individuals were members supports the reported high frequency with which national-level policymakers engaged on issues related to women smallholder farmers. Relatedly, the substantive policy and legislative reforms discussed above suggests a high level of proactivity.

There is evidence to suggest that policies at the national level are more gendered when compared to the period before the GROW Campaign was conducted; however, these policies are the result of many years of consultation and engagement pre-dating GROW. Specifically, as explored above, key changes to existing policies on land ownership,¹² the ratification of an international convention on discrimination against women,¹³ speeches from the president concerning the role of women in the agricultural sector, and legislation on preventing domestic violence¹⁴ show a greater focus on gender in policy and legislative directives. At the regional and local level, however, there are still great limitations among officials in taking a gendered approach to implementation of policies and provisions of services. Even though enshrined in

law, women's access to credit, land and education still is limited, and their involvement in local decision-making processes is inconsistent (Kuvatova, 2014).

4.2.2 Salient causal stories

The following causal stories were identified as hypothetical causal explanations for the realised outcome and are explored in detail in this section:

- A. The establishment by local civil society and international organisations of networks of government officials, local civil society organisations, international organisations and community members facilitated engagement on women's issues.
- B. The Committee on Women and Family drove discussions and action at the local and regional levels that encouraged greater engagement on women's issues.

This section will describe each potential causal story and relevant evidence supporting its existence. The extent to which this story explains whether and how the outcome above materialised along with the role that the campaign played will be explored. The extent of the campaign contribution will be described in Section 4.2.3.

4.2.2.1 Causal Story A

Causal Story A	The establishment by local civil society and international organisations of networks of government officials, local civil society organisations, international organisations and community members facilitated engagement on women's issues.
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Available evidence suggests that the engagement between government officials and communities was an important mechanism for engendering political will and contributing to Outcome 2. However, the expression of political will was limited to engagement with these networks of civil society, community members and international organisations with one notable exception that will be explored below. OGB played a limited role by participating in these networks and was often cited by informants as a regular contributor.

At the regional level, increased awareness among regional officials due to the mechanisms explored through Outcome 1 contributed to greater political will by encouraging and facilitating engagement with communities. Informants identify a greater willingness among government officials to work with community members because of the greater awareness and the linkages facilitated by the networking events.

'[The government officials] are [now] calling us to events organised by the government.'

– Community representative

'[The officials were more willing to work with them] because the jamoat and local government were informed about those women, who have capabilities and are very active.'

– Civil society representative

'Nowadays we mostly encourage women for positions and access to the market, to secure their food or food security. Before going to the market for selling, we [work with] organisations and civil society [to conduct] different seminars and trainings.' – Regional government representative

However, informants suggest that this political will was limited to engagement and did not lead to greater proactivity. They credit the national government with recently enacting relatively strong policies and legislation, but that there seems to be inconsistent political will at the regional and local levels to implement these actions or at least be proactive in following up on issues raised by communities.

'In the case of the districts, I'm very disappointed. It's very lucky when you see a qualified, active person. There is no interest [to follow up on issues].' – Civil society representative

'We adopt very good law, theoretically, for violence against women or food security. However, those are not implemented well. The main reasons why those strategies or adopted laws are not implemented in practice is due to lack of knowledge or will [at the regional level].' – Civil society representative

'The weakness of Tajikistan, is that national reforms are accepted ... at the national level and [when it gets] to the local level, it is not implemented.' – Civil society representative

'De jure, all the legislation and all the reforms are very well constructed, but de facto they are not implemented well.' – Civil society representative

As outlined in Causal Story A for Outcome 1, OGB was involved in coordinating and participating in a number of networking events that brought together key members of local, regional and national entities to discuss and make recommendations on issues related to women and rural development. Bellwethers and informants largely saw these events as highly effective at raising awareness at the regional level by linking officials at this level with communities. As explained above, the role of OGB, through the GROW Campaign, can be seen as both mobiliser (through knowledge transfer by trainings and workshops) and facilitator of engagement (through networks that brought together community members and regional government officials to share evidence and advocate for greater awareness to the regional governments) with regard to the importance of women smallholder farmers to agricultural development and food security.

At the national level, substantial political will both through engagement and proactivity existed before and during the duration of the GROW Campaign. Numerous stakeholders, informants and bellwethers characterised the national government as being highly attuned to women's issues in agriculture, the need for gendering policies, and finding solutions to ensuring these policies are implemented. Officials at this level attend workshops, conferences and roundtables, are actively engaged in these events, and have begun to increase the frequency with which they follow up on these issues by pushing through policy reforms. Evidence of this existing will can be seen in the policy reforms discussed above. This movement toward greater political will on supporting issues related to women's smallholder farmers occurred before GROW began, and thus, any change is either too minimal or would not be attributable to the campaign. The role of the national policy level and related institutions, as well as its more nuanced expression of political will, will be explored in greater detail through Causal Story B.

'There is greater [political] will ... [which can be seen in] the National strategy and some influence and the government support.' – Civil society representative

'At the national level ... their willingness and knowledge are quite good.' – Civil society representative

'We are lucky, as our government has a national strategy in [the agricultural] field and gender issues. Our government became more gender-sensitive in order to support women, taking into account the economic situation and male migration. Therefore, they put a lot of effort in this regard. Now, they put more attention on the gender issue, while before they put more on the business. In 2013, they settled the law on 'legal and social protection of women from domestic violence' for example. It says that they are aware of the problems that women face. At the same time, they are working on protecting women and increasing the level of the role women in the business, political, and economic fields.' – Civil society representative

The key campaign outputs for this causal story involve linkages between government officials (particularly at the local and regional levels), the advocacy networks engaged by OGB, and the communities with whom OGB worked. By raising awareness and knowledge among

policymakers, government officials and communities, the campaign facilitated limited political will through engagement.

4.2.2.2 Causal Story B

Causal Story B	The Committee on Women and Family drove discussions and action at the local and regional levels that encouraged greater engagement on women's issues.
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Many bellwethers and informants credit the Committee on Women and Family (Women's Committee) as a key driver of policy discussion and change on women's issues in Tajikistan. There is evidence to suggest that it does play an important role promoting women's rights, monitoring compliance and coordinating gender equality activities in Tajikistan. Through collaborative relationships with local and international organisations, the Women's Committee facilitates engagement on issues; however, without sufficient financial resources and with the lack of a concrete plan to carry out new policies and strategies, it is limited in its ability to actually encourage proactivity on these issues.

'I think [the Committee on Women and Family Affairs] is quite effective in the sense that they are providing the women leadership and advocating on the government strategy.'
– Civil society representative

The Women's Committee was established in 1991, and its authority was broadened in 2006. It serves as the central authority on implementing state policy on protecting women's rights and issues. It is tasked with cultivating women's rights, addressing women's socioeconomic participation, and delivering public services. The Committee has offices at the national, provincial, district and municipal levels. The Committee's work plan includes climate change, support for labour migrants' wives, and peace and security issues. However, it has no dedicated finances and much of its support comes from partnerships with international development actors (Duban, 2016).

According to the Second CEDAW Shadow Report, the network with which the Women's Committee engages does not currently include all line ministries or state agencies and there is a limited understanding of how to enact gender mainstreaming plans in government offices. The assessment found that while 'almost all ministries and agencies' support the goals of advancing women and ensuring equal rights, 'unanimous support of gender equality is not evince in concrete actions and measures directed on restoring gender equity, in particular, when it comes to redistribution of powers of men and women both in [the] public sphere and in [the] family' (UNHCHR, 2013) (Duban, 2016).

OGB regularly works with the Women's Committee through the various networks with which it engages. As noted above, one example of this was the First National Meeting on the Role of Women in Agrarian Reform in 2013, coordinated and facilitated by OGB through the GROW Campaign. By engaging with the Women's Committee and facilitating further linkages between them and local communities, it is reasonable to consider OGB as making some contribution to increased political will through the Women's Campaign. However, again, this would be limited to increased engagement among regional government officials. Given the relative lack of ability of the Women's Committee to advance political will beyond mere engagement, OGB would not have been able to contribute to any additional political will beyond what was described in Causal Story A.

4.2.3 Contribution analysis

This section explores whether OGB, through the GROW Campaign, made any contribution to the outcome described above, and if so, the mechanisms by which these contributions were made, and their magnitude.

Based on available evidence from key informants and community members, the evaluator concludes that the GROW Campaign made some contribution to increasing political will among regional and local government officials by linking communities and raising awareness among these officials both directly and indirectly. However, the extent to which the campaign made any measurable change in increasing political will among national policy makers and government officials could not be evaluated. The key mechanism by which the campaign increased political will at the regional and local levels was through the networks with which OGB engaged and the explicit linkages OGB made through the development of CBOs and community development plans that encouraged greater interactions between communities and local officials. By raising awareness of the active role that women could play in economic development, local officials were more willing to engage with them. This change in political will, however, was limited to engagement. Proactivity at the regional and local levels was, and continues to be, inconsistent and personality-based. The level to which the campaign contributed to a greater gendered approach at the national and regional levels is inconclusive, despite there being evidence that this change has taken place at the national level.

'When we created the [producer] groups through Oxfam, they [the regional government] paid more attention [to us] because our group is very active.' – Community representative

'This [legal training] initiative was from the government. However, they didn't have sufficient sources and through Oxfam they could somehow keep those groups who were providing consultation for free for women with insufficient knowledge.' – Civil society representative

'From my experience, now we have [participation from] CBOs and the jamoat. [This participation] promotes ideas, leaders, and it brings a lot of collaboration and recognition both to the issue and to the people. The most important example was this [women's producer group] competition [where the women's groups] engaged the authority directly in the form of competition.' – Civil society representative

'We can say that due to Oxfam, [we are willing to help] the group of women who needs the support and ... land.' – Regional government representative

While available evidence suggests that changes in the expression of political will were limited to engagement, one notable exception exists. The TajWSS programme was often cited by informants as an important example of how networks can not only raise awareness and encourage engagement on issues, but also lead to tangible policy change. This was the only programme in which the GROW Campaign was integrated that had such a salient influence on political will at the proactivity end of the spectrum. The programme and its unique contribution are explained in detail below.

TajWSS Example

OGB began implementing the TajWSS programme in 2009 to bring together government and civil society stakeholders to discuss issues of water and sanitation and enact policy changes. The project also focuses on building the capacity of local water-related stakeholders and developing a financing mechanism for sustainable management of water in rural communities.

The project began by facilitating the creation of an Interministerial Coordination Council (IMCC), with membership of 14 ministries and government agencies. The council meets four times a year to discuss policy and make decisions. The project also created a network of stakeholders that meets every two months.

‘Central to the new programme is that its work is not framed as a project, but rather [is] about building sustainable institutions. Improving the communications between government actors and other stakeholders in the water and sanitation sector all contributed to building a better environment on decision making’ (Green, 2013).

The programme has succeeded in getting a water law passed that identifies who is responsible for regulating drinking water and who provides the services. Furthermore, it has clarified the process for obtaining permits for rural water infrastructure permits. The government now co-funds the water infrastructure programme.

The method by which this has been successful is ‘convening and brokering’ in which OGB did not come in with the answers, but rather convened and facilitated brokering of high value policy changes among stakeholders (Green, 2013).

One informant explained her belief in the effectiveness of this approach:

‘You might know that Oxfam is leading on the WASH group. If we organise such [forums] as a place to discuss with different actors from civil society ... about the issue, I believe we can move this issue, and help to increase the role of women smallholders.’ – Civil society representative

At the regional and local government level, OGB contributed to some increase in political will. In many interviews, key informants spoke of increased engagement among these officials and a more supportive attitude from the majority of relevant officials with whom OGB works. While some of this change could be attributed to engagement with the Women’s Committee, informants suggested that at least some of this change is due to other networks with which OGB engages. The notable example is the TajWSS Programme in which the engaged network led to tangible policy change. The mechanism by which the change took place was by linking communities with officials and empowering women in these communities to advocate for themselves.

While the GROW Campaign did contribute to greater political will among regional and local officials, this will was limited to engagement with communities rather than proactive follow-up on issues or services. The networks with which OGB works served to connect communities with officials and encourage them to work together by raising the awareness among the government officials of the issues at the community level. It is reasonable to consider the regional and local government’s engagement with other organisations on these same issues to have made some contribution to the change in political will as well. The level to which the campaign contributed to a greater gendered approach is inconclusive.

Table 4.3: Outcome 2 Contribution scores

Outcome	Contribution score	Short commentary
Political will at the national, regional and local level to increase support for women smallholder farmers and take a gendered approach to climate change resilience.	2 <i>(regional & local level)</i>	The GROW Campaign made some contribution to increasing political will at the regional and local government level by engaging through networks. However, there was no measurable change due to the campaign at the national level. The level to which the campaign contributed to a greater gendered approach is inconclusive.

Table 4.4: Contribution score key

5	Outcome realised in full Evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution
4	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made a crucial contribution Outcome realised in full and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
3	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
2	Outcome realised in part and evidence that intervention made some contribution Outcome realised to a small degree and evidence that intervention made an important contribution
1	Outcome realised, to any degree, but no evidence that the intervention made any contribution

5 PROGRAMME LEARNING CONSIDERATIONS

The following recommendations are based on a synthesis of key informant interviews and the evaluator's own observations.

1. The concept of a campaign as framed in the global GROW Campaign is very much a foreign concept in much of Central Asia, particularly Tajikistan. Tajik society is very community-oriented and family-focused, limiting the effectiveness of activities that may be more common in advocacy campaigns across Europe, North America and Latin America. A standalone campaign, such as that conceived in the global campaign, would have limited effect in Tajikistan. Thus, the country team worked to integrate the concepts central to the campaign into the related programmatic work and vice versa. This approach proved to be successful, even if this approach came late in the campaign timeline. The 'convening and brokering' approach¹⁵ seems to be the most effective method by which organisations such as Oxfam can influence policy in Tajikistan. Indeed, this evaluation shows that the most salient mechanism for change was the development, engagement and influencing of stakeholder networks for advocacy at various levels of Tajik government.
2. Influencing in Tajikistan is predicated on a system that is very personality and reputation based. Much of the most effective advocacy work happens on a personal level outside the meeting or conference room. The most influential individuals are those that have lived and worked in Tajikistan for a long time (or their entire lives) and are trusted by officials and stakeholders alike. It is the task of an organisation like Oxfam to leverage its local relationships, invest time to develop these relationships, and raise its own visibility. With the high turnover of high-level Oxfam representatives in-country, this must be central to any future advocacy efforts.
3. The largest gaps in awareness, knowledge and practice are evident at the regional and local levels. This campaign saw the greatest gains at this level, which is testament to both the effective targeting of the country team as well as the initial low standard of awareness and knowledge at this level. For future advocacy programming, Oxfam should continue to focus on communities and officials at the local and regional levels.
4. A common practice among organisations in Tajikistan when working with women and women's groups is to identify the most 'active' or outspoken women with which to work or lead groups of women. While the logic of this practice makes sense – the more active or outspoken women will be motivated to engage with the organisation and its programming and perhaps motivate other women – it misses a great opportunity to empower women that are not yet able to advocate for themselves. It is common to speak with an 'active' woman in a community in Tajikistan who is working with numerous organisations in her community. This woman is arguably receiving the greatest benefit from the programming when greater gains might be seen by focusing on other women in the community. Many stakeholders interviewed for this evaluation indicated that organisations need to shift their programmatic focus toward more marginalised women or those not yet 'active'.

6 CONCLUSION

The GROW Campaign in Tajikistan was initiated in 2011 as part of the global Oxfam GROW Campaign. In Tajikistan, the campaign focused on climate change, land reform and water availability with a focus on women smallholder farmers as the key agricultural producers. GROW was implemented by leveraging synergies between previous, existing and future programming both directly and tangentially related to the main themes of the campaign. Rather than serving as a standalone campaign, this design rendered GROW a platform from which to promote, influence and advocate on issues related to projects being implemented on the ground. It was this strategy of integrating the campaign into programming and leveraging relationships through new and existing networks with which OGB engaged through these projects that proved most successful. In fact, the networks served as the key mechanism through which observable change occurred and a causal link could be made between the campaign and this change.

The GROW Campaign made an important contribution to increasing awareness and knowledge by engaging affinity networks associated with issues related to rural communities and women smallholder farmers and empowering women at the community level. This contribution was particularly apparent among regional government officials where awareness was quite low before the campaign. The campaign also made some contribution to increasing political will among regional and local government officials through the networks with which OGB engaged and the explicit linkages with CBOs that encouraged greater interactions between communities and local officials. By raising awareness of the active role that women could play in economic development, local officials were more willing to engage with them. This change in political will, however, was limited to engagement. Proactivity at the regional and local levels was, and continues to be, inconsistent and personality-based.

Despite this observable change attributed in part to the campaign, it could not be evaluated whether GROW increased political will among national policymakers and government officials. The level to which the campaign contributed to a greater gendered approach at the national and regional levels is inconclusive, despite there being evidence that this change has taken place at the national level.

Overall, the campaign was successful in raising awareness and increasing knowledge and political will, particularly at the regional and local levels. This effect, however, was weaker than it could have been due to the lack of a strategic direction from the outset. Future advocacy campaigns in Tajikistan would do well to adopt the eventual integrated design of GROW and take advantage of the continued relationship-building process through engagement with networks, particularly at the regional and local levels. The 'convening and brokering' approach exhibited through the TajWSS programme is well suited to the Tajik context and leverages Oxfam's strengths. This evaluation serves as one piece of evidence that future efforts should follow this approach more systematically and strategically.

APPENDIX 1: DOCUMENTATION REVIEWED

#	Document Name	Type	Date
1	Climate change: Beyond coping. Women smallholder farmers in Tajikistan	Research Report	6-Jun-11
2	Climate Change Investment through the Pilot Programme for Climate Resilience in Tajikistan	Research Report	24-Jan-11
3	Owning Adaptation: Country-level governance of climate adaptation finance	Policy Paper	13-Jun-11
4	Supporting Smallholder Livelihoods in Tajikistan: Working with women farmers to build new forms of collective action	Case Study	5-Aug-15
5	Growing disruption: Climate change, food, and the fight against hunger	Policy Paper	23-Sep-13
6	Oxfam's WE-Care Initiative: An overview	Manual	20-May-15
7	What Works for Women: Proven approaches for empowering women smallholders and achieving food security	Research Report	15-Mar-12
8	Targeting the young: Tajik puppet shows highlight importance of WEE in Agriculture	Blog	20-Mar-15
9	Women Smallholder Farmers In Tajikistan	Video	-
10	Women Water Forum	Event	8-Jun-15
11	GROW Song	Video	22-Jan-15
12	Gendered Enterprise and Markets (GEM) Launch	Event	28-Nov-14
13	Cooking Show at Serena Hotel Event	Event	14-Nov-15
14	Woman and Her Land Video	Video	8-Apr-14
15	Woman and Her Land Awards Ceremony Coverage	Video	8-Apr-14
16	Woman and Her Land Event at Hyatt	Event	8-Apr-14
17	The Role of Women in Agrarian Reform (with CAMP Kuhiston)	Event	28-Mar-13
18	Woman Mistress of the Earth Competition (with NASMBT)	Event	17-Feb-14
19	Rural Life – Reality Meets Art Event at La Grande Dame with GIZ	Event	2-Dec-13
20	Rural Life – Reality Meets Art Event at Hyatt with GIZ	Event	15-Mar-13
21	Legal Trainings with League of Women Lawyers of Tajikistan	Training	8-May-15
22	Gendered Enterprise & Markets Project	Event	28-Nov-14
23	Adopting a Resilience Approach in Tajikistan	Research Report	April 2014
24	Puppet theatre	Blog	February 2015
25	Photography exhibition and agrarian reform roundtable – key messages with GIZ	Event	4-Mar-13
26	Economic Justice Operation Plan 2011–2015	Internal	April 2011

27	GROW Priorities for 2012	Internal	11-Nov-11
28	GROW Campaign Monitoring Report July–Sept 2012	Internal	September 2012
29	Tajikistan GROW Advocacy Strategy 2012–2016	Internal	30-May-12
30	Tajikistan GREAT Proposal 2015–2016	Internal	22-Mar-15
31	Convening and brokering in practice: sorting out Tajikistan's water problem	Blog	17-Jan-13
32	Legal Analysis on Gender Aspects of Women's Access to the Economic Resources (LWL)	Research Report	2015
33	Laws on Dekhan Farms	Policy	2009
34	TajWSS Evaluation (AguaConsult)	Evaluation	January 2014
35	National Strategy on the Activation of Women	Policy	-
36	The results of social research on policy evaluation of the realisation of women's socio-economic rights in the five regions of Khatlon Oblast (LWL)	Research Report	2015
37	Women in water sector in Tajikistan (Asia Plus)	Media Coverage	12-May-15
38	Successful women entrepreneurs shared their experiences (Jahannamo)	Media Coverage	8-Oct-15
39	In Dushanbe, discussed the issues of women's entrepreneurship (Asia Plus)	Media Coverage	8-Oct-15
40	Oxfam-supported Women's Producer Groups present their products at regional trade fair (Asia Plus)	Media Coverage	24-Jul-15
41	Video: The best 'owners' of the land of the Khatlon region (Ozogadon)	Media Coverage	5-Apr-14
42	Zan. Zamin. Zamon Radio Show (FM 106)	Media Coverage	25-Feb-14
43	The first national meeting on role of women in the development of the agricultural sector (Asia Plus)	Media Coverage	28-Mar-13
44	On the national strategy for strengthening role of women in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2011–2020	Policy	-
45	Forum 'Women and Water'	Media Coverage	6-Aug-15
46	Monitoring and Evaluating Advocacy (Case study by UNICEF)	Research Report	January 2010
47	The First National Meeting on the role of women in agrarian reform in the Republic of Tajikistan (CAMP Kuhiston)	Press Release	28-Mar-13
48	Khatlon women learning new technology for seedlings cultivation (Asia Plus)	Media Coverage	22-Feb-2016
49	The Programme on Land Reform in Tajikistan (OSCE)	Research Report	July 2004
50	Gender Aspects in Agriculture	Policy	Dec-13
51	On Women's Issues – Gender Perspective (Vecherka)	Media Coverage	4-Mar-13
52	Minster of Agriculture of Republic of Tajikistan: The success of agricultural reform depends on the stage of realisation of the potential of women (Asia Plus)	Media Coverage	-
53	First National Conference on the Role of Women in Agrarian Reform in the Republic of Tajikistan Report	Conference Report	28-Mar13

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

#	Affiliation
1	Oxfam GB
2	Oxfam GB
3	Oxfam GB
4	Oxfam GB
5	Oxfam GB
6	Tajik Climate Network
7	CAMP Kuhiston
8	National Association of Business Women
9	League of Women Lawyers
10	ACTED
11	DFID
12	DFID
13	Radio Vatan
14	USAID
15	NGO Women with High Education
16	Zerkalo Social Research (Z-Analytics)
17	Muminobod District
18	Committee on Women and Family
Muminobod District FGD 1: 9 women; FGD 2: 7 men	

APPENDIX 3: REFLECTIONS ON PROCESS TRACING METHODOLOGY

Overall, we found the process tracing methodology very useful in understanding mechanisms by which change may have occurred and ascribing levels of contribution to the change that various actors may have had. This is an effective perspective from which to work, particularly for advocacy campaigns on issues central to the society at hand, as numerous actors often play a role in affecting change in these situations.

There were two key challenges, however, that made this evaluation particularly challenging, and yet, makes this methodology particularly suited to a complex intervention, such as GROW in Tajikistan:

1. Given the way in which GROW was implemented in Tajikistan, there were very few campaign-specific outputs. Instead, the campaign was integrated within other ongoing programming related to the central themes of the campaign. In attempting to attribute any observable change to the campaign, this required a very clear understanding of all of the relevant programming and what advocacy messaging contained within could be considered GROW. The solution was to look at OGB's programming as an interconnected system and focus on the period of GROW's implementation. By exploring how each programme adopted the messaging of GROW and the mechanisms by which they disseminated this messaging, we were able to make nuanced causal links where they existed. This process would not have been possible with other impact evaluation methodologies that focus much more on the actual outcome as opposed the mechanisms by which those outcomes may have occurred.
2. The practice of assigning a contribution score to the campaign in reference to a particular outcome relies heavily on the subjective view of the evaluator whereas the other parts of the methodology take a more objective and/or participatory approach to the evaluation process. While the methodology itself helps to guide the evaluator to a final conclusion in which a score may be assigned, this process seems almost superfluous and does not involve the input of key stakeholders, whereas the previous steps do. With this said, quantifying contribution can be powerful, even if subjective. The key is for the evaluator to base his/her conclusion on only the evidence at hand.

The evaluator looks forward to continuing to work with the process tracing methodology and refining ways in which the ultimate findings can be even more rigorous while taking advantage of the participatory approach built into the methodology.

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NOTES

1 'In certain circumstances, the best role for an outside player like us is not to build stuff, or dispense large amounts of cash, but to get disparate local players into a room and encourage them to find their own solutions ... We don't lobby for a particular agenda or institutional template, we just keep them talking – an afternoon every two months' (Green, 2013).

2 <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/methods-approaches/project-effectiveness-reviews>

3 Outcomes that are: (1) key to the central purpose of the campaign; (2) measurable given the time and resources at hand; (3) the right level (i.e., outcomes too close to the intervention may be superfluous, outcomes too far down the Theory of Change will not yet have materialised in a substantive way).

4 'Evaluators conduct structured interviews with 'bellwethers' or influential people in the public and private sectors whose positions require that they track a broad range of policy issues. At least part of the bellwether sample is 'unconnected' to the policy issue of interest, and bellwethers are unaware beforehand that the interview will discuss the policy issue of interest' (Coffman & Reed, 2009).

5 Amendments to the Land Code in 2012 ensure equal access to land for men and women by declaring land as joint property for spouses (Turdyev, 2012).

6 The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Women (CEDAW) was ratified on 22 July 2014. The CEDAW Committee submitted the fourth and fifth CEDAW periodic reports on 18 October 2013 (Kuvatova, 2014).

7 In 2013, Tajikistan enacted the Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence (Committee on Women and Family Affairs, 2014).

8 *United States Agency for International Development (USAID)*: Through the Feed the Future Program, USAID funds projects focused on: (1) assisting household and small commercial farms to increase income and food production for home consumption and improve nutrition and health outcomes; (2) developing capacity of local institutions and community-based organisations; and, (3) completing effective agrarian reforms in selected districts in Khatlon Province. There are large gender and policy reform components to these projects that overlap with some of the same districts as OGB's project implementation (USAID, 2012).

Department for International Development (DFID): Two projects funded by DFID were implemented during the duration of GROW: GREAT and Women's Wealth and Influence (WWI). OGB is one implementing partner, among others, for GREAT, while the WWI project is implemented by Save the Children. The GREAT programme encourages more inclusive economic growth in rural areas, as explained above. The WWI programme had three intended objectives: (1) women are directly influencing local decision-making in 17 districts of Tajikistan; (2) women in 17 districts enjoy increased financial security and economic resilience; and (3) creation of a robust empirical evidence base for the effectiveness of the WWI methodology in improving women's outcomes. Many of the WWI districts are the same as OGB's, suggesting that they work with many of the same networks and officials (DFID, 2015).

UN Women: UN Women supports Tajikistan's efforts to implement its gender equality commitments by focusing on initiatives in: (1) economic empowerment; (2) ending violence against women; and, (3) peace and security and engendering humanitarian action. In addition, UN Women leads the Extended UN Gender Theme Group, which provides a platform for national and international stakeholders to coordinate gender-specific activities in Tajikistan. Under the economic empowerment pillar, UN Women has developed trainings for self-help groups in business skills and provided women with free legal counselling on land property rights in Khatlon province (UN Women, 2016).

EBRD: Since 2014, EBRD has engaged with the Government of Tajikistan and women entrepreneurs' associations in a process of advocacy and dialogue to identify the needs of women entrepreneurs and discuss initiatives to support them. Following a Symposium on Central Asian Business Women held in Dushanbe in 2014, a Taskforce to Support Women Entrepreneurship in Tajikistan, led by the State Committee on Investment, was created. This Task Force brings together representatives from the private sector, government and the donor community and serves as a forum for discussion of policies and reforms to support women's entrepreneurship (EBRD, 2016).

European Commission (EC): For the past eight years, the EC has focused on water and watershed management, rural energy efficiency, agricultural productivity and market efficiency, crop diversification and value chains' strengthening, development of agricultural services and environments as well as activities such as capacity building and institutional development at various levels, information-based decision-making, and support to policy dialogue. Many of these interventions are implemented in the same region in which OGB works (European Commission, 2014).

Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC): The SDC strategy for 2012–2015 focused on four priority areas: (1) health; (2) safe drinking water; (3) rule of law; and (4) private sector development. SDC does this through several areas of intervention: (1) the strengthening of macroeconomic framework conditions and financial sector infrastructure as the basis for continued sustainable economic growth; (2) the promotion of trade and business friendly framework conditions and the improvement of the investment climate to support the development of SMEs and a sustainable export economy; as well as (3) the improvement of

access to affordable, reliable and sustainable infrastructure (water and energy) as basis for economic and social development (Swiss Development Cooperation, 2016).

Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE): As one of the largest OSCE field operations, the office is involved in a wide range of activities, ranging from arms control, counter-terrorism and border management projects to supporting cross-border markets and free economic zones, human rights, media development, and legal reform initiatives. Particularly relevant for this evaluation, the OSCE works on women's access to rights, services, and opportunities under their gender equality programming in the same region in which OGB implements its programming (OSCE, 2016).

9 Amendments to the Land Code in 2012 ensure equal access to land for men and women by declaring land as joint property for spouses (Turdyev, 2012).

10 The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Women (CEDAW) was ratified on 22 July 2014. The CEDAW Committee submitted the fourth and fifth CEDAW periodic reports on 18 October 2013 (Kuvatova, 2014).

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