

## **Executive Summary**

The full report can be found on the SIGAR website at www.sigar.mil.



#### Cover photo credit:

Afghan women gather in front of the Hazrat-i Ali shrine for Nowruz festivities, which marks the Afghan new year in Mazar-i Sharif on March 21, 2015. (AFP photo by Farshad Usyan)



# Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction

Support for Gender Equality: Lessons from the U.S. Experience in Afghanistan is the ninth lessons learned report to be issued by the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction. This report examines U.S. efforts since 2002 to support Afghan women and girls and advance gender equality. Today, policymakers face a critical question: How can the United States best continue to support Afghan women and girls, preserving and expanding on the gains they have made—in the midst of conflict, poverty, a global pandemic, and the prospect of an Afghan government in which the Taliban exerts considerable influence? This report seeks to answer this core question, one which is vitally important in the context of peace negotiations between the Afghan government and the Taliban.

To do so, the report investigates the historical and cultural context of U.S. efforts to advance gender equality in Afghanistan, U.S. strategies for doing so, and how agencies implemented those strategies. The report examines the evidence for gains made by women and girls, and ongoing barriers to progress. Further, the report assesses 24 U.S. programs focused on women and girls, to better understand what worked and did not work, and what assumptions and theories of change drove U.S. activities. And finally, the report looks at future threats to and opportunities for advancing Afghan women and girls.

SIGAR's analysis found that the U.S. government has disbursed more than \$787.4 million for activities primarily intended to support Afghan women and girls. However, because hundreds of other U.S. programs and projects included an unquantified gender component, this amount significantly understates the actual level of U.S. support for women, girls, and gender equality.

The report identifies findings and lessons to inform U.S. policies and actions on these issues. These lessons are relevant for Afghanistan, where the United States will likely remain engaged in the coming years, and for efforts to empower and advance women and girls in other conflict-affected countries. The report provides recommendations to the Congress and executive branch agencies for improving such efforts.

Between 2002 and 2020, U.S. efforts to support women, girls, and gender equality in Afghanistan yielded mixed results. Considerable investment across a range of sectors contributed to indisputable gains—especially in education and maternal health. There is broad demand within the Afghan population for these services, and U.S. agencies have responded with well-designed and effective programs. Yet our examination of 24 U.S. gender-related programs also revealed serious shortcomings. Some programs were designed based on assumptions that proved to be ill-suited to the Afghan context and the challenges that women and girls faced. We found that establishing a correlation between program activities and related outcomes was not always possible, and in many cases, insufficient monitoring and evaluation of program activities made it impossible to assess the programs' actual impacts.

Nonetheless, the importance of U.S. backing for Afghan women's rights should not be underestimated. Afghan women themselves point to the vocal support by the United States and other international actors as a key factor in advancing their rights and participation in the public sphere. At this critical moment for Afghan women and girls—as Afghans determine what their country's future political structure will look like—it is as important as ever that the United States continues to support women's rights and gender equality.

SIGAR felt it necessary that this lessons learned report include the voices of Afghans themselves. This was difficult to accomplish during the COVID-19 pandemic. However, as part of our research, SIGAR commissioned field interviews with 65 Afghans—both women and men—from 14 provinces. These individuals represent diverse perspectives: they are members of civil society organizations, parliamentarians, provincial and district council members, members of community development councils, beneficiaries of U.S.-funded programs, and internally displaced persons. Their responses on a range of topics—the protection of women's rights in peace negotiations, the Taliban and security issues, the COVID-19 pandemic, and everyday challenges that women and girls face—form one of the most important contributions of this report.

SIGAR began its Lessons Learned Program in late 2014. These lessons learned reports comply with SIGAR's legislative mandate to provide recommendations to promote economy, efficiency, and effectiveness of U.S.-funded reconstruction programs and operations; to prevent and detect waste, fraud, and abuse; and to inform the Congress and the Secretaries of State and Defense about reconstruction-related problems and the need for corrective action.

The Congress created SIGAR as an independent agency focused solely on the Afghanistan mission and its reconstruction issues. Unlike most inspectors general offices, which have jurisdiction only over the programs and operations of their respective departments or agencies, SIGAR has jurisdiction over all programs and operations supported with U.S. reconstruction dollars, regardless of the agency involved. Because SIGAR has the authority to look across the entire U.S. reconstruction effort, it is uniquely positioned to identify and address whole-of-government lessons.

Our lessons learned reports are unique among products by inspectors general offices. The reports synthesize not only the body of work and expertise of SIGAR, but also that of other oversight agencies, government entities, current and former officials with on-the-ground experience, academic institutions, and independent scholars. The reports document what the U.S. government sought to accomplish, assess what it achieved, and evaluate the degree to which these efforts helped the United States reach its reconstruction goals in Afghanistan. They also provide recommendations to address the challenges stakeholders face in ensuring effective and sustainable reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan, as well as in future contingency operations.

SIGAR's Lessons Learned Program comprises subject matter experts with considerable experience working and living in Afghanistan, aided by a team of seasoned research analysts. I want to express my deepest appreciation to the team members who produced this report: Kate Bateman, project lead; Samantha Hay, Mariam Jalalzada, Matthew Rubin, and Sarah Rababy, senior analysts; and Hayley Rose, student trainee. I also thank Nikolai Condee-Padunov,

program manager; Tracy Content, editor; Jason Davis, visual information specialist; Vong Lim, senior visual information specialist; and Joseph Windrem, Lessons Learned program director. In producing its reports, the program also uses the significant skills and experience found in SIGAR's Audits and Inspections, Investigations, and Research and Analysis directorates, and the Office of Special Projects. I thank all of the individuals who contributed their time and effort to this report.

I am particularly grateful to the 65 Afghan individuals who shared their views and experiences with the field research team, as well as to the 36 experts and officials interviewed directly by SIGAR. In many ways, these in-depth interviews form the core of SIGAR's lessons learned reports. I thank SIGAR's Afghan civil society partners who conducted the field research for this report, and determined how to do so safely in the challenging environment of the pandemic.

In addition, I am grateful to the many U.S. government officials at the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the U.S. Agency for International Development who provided valuable insights and feedback. This report is truly a collaborative effort meant to not only identify problems, but also to learn from them and propose reasonable solutions to improve future reconstruction efforts.

I believe lessons learned reports such as this will be a key legacy of SIGAR. Through these reports, we hope to reach a diverse audience in the legislative and executive branches, at the strategic and programmatic levels, both in Washington and in the field. Using our unique interagency mandate, we intend to do everything we can to make sure the lessons from the most ambitious reconstruction effort in U.S. history are identified and applied—not just in Afghanistan, but in future conflicts and reconstruction efforts elsewhere in the world.

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Advancing the status and rights of women and girls has been an important goal of the U.S. reconstruction effort in Afghanistan since 2002. Three U.S. administrations and the Congress have shown significant commitment to this goal, both as a means of achieving broader U.S. strategic objectives in the country, and as a goal worthy in its own right. SIGAR found that from 2002 to 2020, the Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and the Department of Defense (DOD) disbursed at least \$787.4 million for programs that specifically and primarily supported Afghan women and girls in the areas of health, education, political participation, access to justice, and economic participation. This understates the total U.S. investment in women and girls, however, since hundreds of additional U.S. programs and projects included an unquantifiable gender component.

Afghan women and girls have made substantial gains over the past nearly two decades. They have greater access to life-saving health care, and work as legislators, judges, teachers, health workers, civil servants, journalists, and business and civil society leaders. As many as 3.5 million girls are enrolled in school, out of roughly 9 million students. Afghanistan's legal framework—at least on paper—offers women many protections, including equal rights for women and men.

Yet across these measures, data are often poor, the gains are fragile, and significant barriers to progress persist. Moreover, civilian casualties in Afghanistan are nearly double what they were in 2009. According to the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, in 2019, 12 percent of civilian casualties were women, and 30 percent were children. The poverty rate was at 55 percent as of 2016–2017, higher than in 2003—and in danger of spiking during the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, despite real improvements, Afghanistan remains one of the most challenging places in the world to be a woman—with high maternal mortality ratios, endemic gender-based violence, and limited access to education and health care.

Today, U.S. policymakers face a critical question: After nearly two decades of substantial support for gender equality in Afghanistan, how can the United States best support Afghan women and girls in the future, preserving and expanding on the gains they have made—in the midst of conflict, poverty, a global pandemic, and the prospect of an Afghan government in which the Taliban exerts considerable influence?

This report, the ninth Lessons Learned Program report to be issued by SIGAR, seeks to answer this core question. To do so, the report asks the following questions: What is the historical and cultural context in which the United States and other donors have aimed to support Afghan women? What was the U.S. strategy for doing so, and how did agencies implement that strategy? What does available evidence say about the gains for Afghan women and girls, the durability of those gains, and ongoing barriers to progress?

What U.S. activities since 2002 have worked or not worked to improve women's lives, and what assumptions and theories of change drove U.S. activities? What are the future threats to and opportunities for advancing women and girls in Afghanistan? And finally, what lessons can we draw to ensure future efforts are not in vain? The report acknowledges that U.S. programs and initiatives occurred within a constellation of other donors' reconstruction efforts targeting women and girls, which are outside the scope of this report.

Woven throughout the report are themes and quotes from a body of 65 interviews conducted with Afghans in 2020, commissioned by SIGAR. The interviews highlight a range of perspectives on the U.S. presence in Afghanistan, U.S. efforts to support women and girls, the challenges women face, negotiations with the Taliban, and other issues. Many interviewees voiced praise for U.S. efforts to expand gender equality, with increased access to education often seen as the greatest post-2001 gain for women and girls. However, interviewees cited insecurity, restrictive social norms, and harassment as key constraints to women's participation in society.

The report is laid out in 12 chapters:

- Chapter 1 discusses historical and cultural context, including Afghanistan's history of reform efforts regarding gender equality, the legacy of Taliban rule from 1996 to 2001, and the disparities between urban and rural women. It also discusses the challenge of changing social norms, and defines key terms.
- Chapter 2 explores the effects of the last 19 years of war on women and children.
- Chapter 3 assesses U.S. strategies related to support for Afghan women and girls and gender equality, and how those strategies evolved over time.
- Chapter 4 provides an overview of State, USAID, and DOD programming to support women and girls across key sectors, and assesses the U.S. government's gender mainstreaming approach.

The report then examines five key areas of women's and girls' advancement: health, education, political participation, access to justice, and economic participation. Each chapter first assesses the gains made since 2001 and ongoing barriers to progress; it then closely examines several U.S. programs that are representative of U.S. gender-related efforts in that sector, assessing program effectiveness and identifying common themes.

- Chapter 5 discusses access to health care, with a focus on maternal health.
- Chapter 6 discusses education at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels, including community-based education.
- Chapter 7 discusses women's political participation, at the national level in parliament, in sub-national governance, as voters, and in civil society organizations. This chapter also highlights the importance of women's participation and gender issues in the media.
- Chapter 8 discusses access to justice, explores the legal framework for women's rights and combating gender-based violence, and examines women's employment in the justice sector.
- Chapter 9 discusses women's economic participation, including employment in

- different sectors and women-owned businesses.
- Chapter 10 discusses efforts to increase women's participation in the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces and the significant challenges facing women serving in these forces.
- Chapter 11 discusses current political, security, and economic challenges that threaten to undermine or undo women's gains of the past 19 years—including peace negotiations, the drawdown of U.S. troops, and the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. It also explores women's participation in peace negotiations, opportunities for preserving and building on post-2001 gains, as well as Taliban practices toward women today, and what these indicate about how the Taliban might govern if they are integrated into the Afghan government.
- Chapter 12 concludes with the report's findings, lessons, and recommendations for U.S. agencies and policymakers.

#### **FINDINGS**

We identify 12 major findings from our analysis of the gains Afghan women and girls have made since 2001, barriers to progress, and U.S. efforts to improve women's lives and protect their rights:

- 1. Afghan women and girls have achieved significant gains since 2001:
  - Health: The maternal mortality ratio—the number of women who die due to birthor pregnancy-related complications—has declined, with estimates of the decline ranging from 19 to 50 percent. This reflects a number of healthcare improvements. Between 2002 and 2015, the percentage of pregnant women receiving prenatal care by skilled health personnel rose from 16 to 61 percent; between 2002 and 2018, the number of trained midwives grew from an estimated 467 to 4,000, and the share of births attended by skilled health personnel went from 14 to nearly 60 percent. Between 2002 and 2017, the proportion of health facilities staffed with at least one female health worker rose from 25 to 92 percent. (A caveat is that the methodologies used to generate maternal mortality data have varied over time, and the reliability of some data has been questioned. Thus, while a decline in maternal deaths has likely occurred, a precise measurement of the reduction remains elusive.)
  - Education: As many as 3.5 million girls (roughly 40 percent of about 9 million students overall) are enrolled in school, though the number of girls actually attending school is almost certainly lower. Still, even a low estimate reflects a marked improvement over the few, if any, girls who attended public school under the Taliban. By 2018, there were approximately 70,000 women in teaching jobs, representing about one-third of the country's teachers. There has been an expansion of community-based education, helping to close the enrollment gap between girls and boys. Literacy rates among girls have risen from 20 percent in 2005 to 39 percent in 2017. Overall support among the Afghan population for women's and girls' access to education has remained high since at least 2006.
  - Political participation: Unprecedented numbers of women now hold public office. Thanks to a constitutional amendment strongly supported by the

United States and other donors, 27 percent of all parliament seats are reserved for women. By law, 25 percent of seats in provincial and district councils are now reserved for women. Nearly half of the 9,708 elected community development council members across the country are women. Women serve as ministers, deputy ministers, and ambassadors, and comprise about 28 percent of employees in civil society organizations. These figures represent the efforts of thousands of women, from the village to the national level. Women's presence in the media also increased significantly since 2001.

- Access to justice: Afghanistan has a legal framework for advancing access to justice for women and girls, including constitutional protections for equal rights for men and women, and the Elimination of Violence Against Women Law, promulgated by presidential decree in 2009. The number of women serving in the police rose from 180 in 2005 to 3,650 in 2019. Specialized Family Response Units enable more women to file complaints with the police. From 2007 to 2018, the proportion of judges who are women grew from 5 to 13 percent (from 73 to 261 women).
- Economic participation: There are more women-run businesses and more women employed in urban areas than there were 20 years ago. Women's share of secure jobs in urban areas increased from 27 to 42 percent between 2007 and 2017—one of the few labor force indicators where women had greater gains than men. From 2007 to 2019, the share of women in civil service jobs, excluding the army and police, rose from 18 to 25 percent. Women held 15 percent of government decision-making positions in 2018, up from 10 percent in 2013.
- The positive story of gains across these sectors is tempered by the reality that significant barriers—including restrictive sociocultural norms and insecurity continue to impede progress for Afghan women and girls.
  - · Girls' access to education is constrained by the lack of female teachers and infrastructure, and pressures on girls to withdraw from school at puberty.
  - A lack of female healthcare providers, restrictive sociocultural practices, lack of education, and prohibitive costs pose barriers to women seeking health care.
  - The quality of health care and education remains a problem, and education gains have been largely at the primary school level.
  - Gains across sectors have been geographically uneven, with rural women and girls experiencing significantly less improvement overall.
  - Women who have ventured into non-traditional and historically male-dominated areas—such as the media, security forces, and politics—are at higher risk of retaliation by the Taliban and anti-government elements.
  - Gender disparity is still a persistent characteristic of the Afghan labor force.
- Although advancing women's status and rights was not a reason for the U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan, improving the lives of Afghan women and girls was one important goal of the U.S. reconstruction effort.
- 4. The high-level U.S. political focus on gender issues in Afghanistan translated into

- congressional and executive branch agency support for significant funding for efforts targeting women and girls. At the same time, that political focus may also have reduced the scrutiny accorded to the design of some gender programs.
- The United States has disbursed at least \$787.4 million for programs specifically and 5. primarily to support Afghan women and girls from 2002 to 2020, but the total amount of U.S. investments to improve the lives of women and girls is not quantifiable because hundreds of other programs and projects included an unquantifiable gender component.
- USAID was unable to field the resources and expertise needed to effectively integrate gender-related objectives across programming in Afghanistan.
- Community-based education has proven effective as a reliable, culturally accepted model for delivering primary education in areas where the formal education system does not operate, and especially in closing the enrollment and achievement gap between girls and boys.
- 8. The U.S. government's funding to civil society organizations contributed to an increase in the number of women advocates and organizations focusing on women's rights. However, many of these organizations are unsustainable without continued assistance.
- 9. The United States has provided significant support to recruitment and retention targets set by the Afghan government for women's participation in the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces, but these targets have been highly unrealistic and unachievable. Although there has been a modest increase in the number of women police officers, women in all parts of the security forces face threats to their personal safety and pervasive harassment and discrimination.
- 10. Afghan women have assumed leadership roles at the national, provincial, district, and community levels. At the same time, they face a troika of threats: continued or intensified violence, the risk of Afghan peace negotiations leading to erosions of women's rights, and a dire economic and humanitarian situation exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic.
- 11. The kind of life Afghan women will face under any government in which the Taliban exert an influence will be a product of the Taliban's ability—or inability—to negotiate their differences with the Afghan government and local communities, and the varying beliefs and practices within their own ranks.
- 12. The effort to promote women's rights may be hampered by a growing narrative in Afghanistan that the country can either have women's rights at the cost of peace, or peace at the cost of women's rights.

### **LESSONS**

This report identifies eight lessons to inform future U.S. efforts to support women, girls, and gender equality in Afghanistan:

- U.S. and international diplomatic pressure can be instrumental in advancing women's legal rights and participation in public life—in politics, government, media, and civil society.
- It is critical that U.S. officials working on or in Afghanistan develop a more nuanced understanding of gender roles and relations in the Afghan cultural context—and work to ensure that U.S. policies and programs are responsive to this context. U.S. agencies also need to assess how to support women and girls without provoking backlash that might endanger them or stall progress.
- Educating Afghan men and boys about gender equality issues and working with them as partners and advocates are critical to advancing women's status and rights in Afghanistan.
- Key factors in improving the access of Afghan women and girls to health care and education were existing expertise and capacity within aid organizations, popular demand for these services, consistent funding, and rigorous impact evaluations of programs.
- It is crucial that more women assume leadership positions in a wider range of Afghan government ministries, including at the cabinet level.
- U.S. efforts to improve the lives of women and girls will continue to be constrained by significant barriers, especially insecurity and harmful sociocultural norms.
- A further reduction in foreign aid and subsequent economic contraction could have disproportionate impact on women, especially urban women who benefited from economic expansion and donors' support in the last two decades.
- The United States can continue to advance gender equality in Afghanistan by advocating, along with other international partners, that women participate in the Afghan peace negotiations and that the negotiations preserve critical post-2001 gains for women and girls.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are intended to help the Congress and executive branch agencies determine how best to preserve and build on the gains that Afghan women and girls have made since 2001.

## **Recommendations for the Congress**

The Congress may wish to consider:

- Ensuring that current funding levels for improving Afghan women's and girls' access to health care and education are preserved because these programs have demonstrated the most measurable success, there remains significant need, and the Afghan population widely supports these efforts
- 2. Conditioning U.S. assistance to any future Afghan government on that government's demonstrated commitment to protect the rights of women and girls
- 3. Ensuring that the Secretary of State submits the strategy as called for in section 7044(a) of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021, including the component to promote the welfare and rights of Afghan women and girls. As the Congress considers fiscal year 2022 foreign assistance levels for Afghanistan, it may wish to take into account what resources may be needed to implement the women's rights component of that strategy.
- Reassessing the requirement for the Department of Defense to spend not less than \$10 million to \$20 million annually on the recruitment and retention of women in the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF), and rather, prioritizing the appropriation of funds to improve working conditions and protections for women in the ANDSF
- Increasingly raising women's rights and gender equality issues in engagements related to Afghanistan—during visits to the country and hearings on Afghanistan, and with international partners

## **Recommendations for Executive Branch Agencies**

- 6. The Secretary of State should continue to work with our Afghan and other international partners to support women's rights protections in any agreement emerging from Afghan peace negotiations.
- The Secretary of State, the USAID Administrator, and the Secretary of Defense should ensure that gender-related programs and initiatives in Afghanistan include

- activities that educate and engage Afghan men and boys to challenge stereotypes and reduce hostility to women's rights and their participation in public life.
- The Secretary of State, the USAID Administrator, and the Secretary of Defense should ensure that monitoring and evaluation systems are in place for programs and initiatives to support Afghan women and girls so that outcomes are assessed and agencies better understand the impact of programming.
- The Secretary of State should continue to support protective shelters for women and girls fleeing abuse, and increase mentorship and support to the Afghan National Police's Family Response Units.
- The USAID Administrator should develop and retain staff with expertise in gender mainstreaming, to better integrate gender into the agency's programming.
- 11. The USAID Administrator should prioritize expanding midwifery education programs, including community midwifery schools, in rural areas where there is a shortage of female healthcare providers and access to maternal care is restricted.
- 12. The USAID Administrator should support the Ministry of Education in training more female teachers, providing for more gender-appropriate facilities, and adequately funding and monitoring community-based education in order to meet the demand for girls' education, especially in rural areas.
- 13. In the absence of sufficient Ministry of Education support for the community-based education system, the USAID Administrator should continue to prioritize the agency's community-based education programming across the country.
- 14. The USAID Administrator should ensure that female members of community development councils in Afghanistan—particularly those in rural areas—are consulted on the design and implementation of USAID programs, in order for programs to better address the concerns and priorities of women in rural communities.
- 15. The USAID Administrator should provide financial support to Afghan grassroots civil society organizations that advocate for women's rights, particularly those that operate in rural areas.
- The USAID Administrator should ensure that job skills trainings for Afghan women are designed to be practical and responsive to market needs, and that the agency assesses the degree to which trainings expand participants' knowledge and skills.
- 17. The Secretary of Defense should continue to focus DOD efforts on improving the working conditions and protections for women serving in the ANDSF, rather than focusing solely on increasing recruitment numbers.

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# The National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2008 (P.L. 110-181) established the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR).

SIGAR's oversight mission, as defined by the legislation, is to provide for the independent and objective

- conduct and supervision of audits and investigations relating to the programs and operations funded with amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.
- leadership and coordination of, and recommendations on, policies designed to promote economy, efficiency, and effectiveness in the administration of the programs and operations, and to prevent and detect waste, fraud, and abuse in such programs and operations.
- means of keeping the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense fully and currently informed about problems and deficiencies relating to the administration of such programs and operation and the necessity for and progress on corrective action.

Afghanistan reconstruction includes any major contract, grant, agreement, or other funding mechanism entered into by any department or agency of the U.S. government that involves the use of amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Source: P.L. 110-181, "National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2008," 1/28/2008.

