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Gender-sensitiveness of Belgian Aid Discourse and Practice at the Turn of the Century

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¹ This paper essentially covers the period 1995-2002. Where appropriate reference has been made to earlier periods. The most important changes that have occurred recently have been added in footnotes without however discussing these in detail within the text itself.

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ABSTRACT

This paper assesses the gender sensitiveness of Belgian aid at the turn of the century by looking at gender policy discourse and practice. It is shown that declarations regarding the integration of gender issues into development interventions largely live up to standards set at the Beijing conference. However, confronting the policy discourse with effective changes in procedures and resource allocation nuances the positive verdict. While promising changes are discernible there remains much room for improvement in policy implementation. The article argues that unequal results are due to the fact that on the one hand the gender equality ideal has been espoused enthusiastically as it fitted the evolving discourse of the Belgian donor well, whereas on the other hand the policy evaporation that often surrounds crosscutting issues such as gender was not effectively addressed. The inherent difficulty of managing gender issues has in the Belgian case further been aggravated by serious organisational problems that have weakened Belgian development co-operation over the last decade.

RESUME

Cet article évalue la réceptivité au genre de l'aide belge au développement, au tournant du siècle en analysant autant le discours politique que la pratique.

Il est prouvé que les déclarations concernant l'intégration des aspects genre lors des interventions du développement sont largement conformes aux normes formulées à la conférence de Pékin.

Cependant en confrontant le discours politique avec les changements effectivement réalisés dans les procédures et l'allocation de ressources, ce verdict positif doit être nuancé.

Alors que des changements prometteurs sont discernables, il reste beaucoup de place pour une amélioration de la mise en pratique de la politique. L'article avance que les résultats inégaux sont dus au fait que d'une part, l'idéal d'égalité du genre a été chaleureusement accueilli comme il s'inscrivait aussi dans l'évolution du discours du donateur belge, alors que d'autre part la dispersion en politique, qui entoure souvent des buts qui se recoupent tel le genre, n'a pas été réellement abordée.

Dans le cas belge, la difficulté inhérente à la gestion du problème genre a été encore aggravée par de sérieux problèmes organisationnels qui ont affaibli la coopération belge au développement pendant cette dernière décennie.

1. INTRODUCTION

In conformity with the international trend Belgium has made considerable efforts since the beginning of the 1990s to make gender more visible in its policy. Exemplary of the evolution made during the past decade is the fact that Belgium's first International Law on Development Co-operation (1 July 1999) explicitly highlighted the objective of 'equality between men and women' as one of the three transversal pillars of Belgium development aid.³ Similar to what may be observed in other development institutions, the gender policy discourse and the arguments spelled out to put gender more prominently on the development agenda are highly context-specific.⁴ International shifts in 'gender and development' thinking successfully propagated through the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and DAC policy documents (1995b, 1998a, 1998b) have strongly impregnated Belgian policy. While in the 1980s policy documents were framed in terms of the 'Women in Development (WID)' discourse, from the mid 1990s onwards the relational approach advocated in the 'Gender and Development (GAD)' framework has become dominant.⁵ Adding to this international conducive environment was a serious shift in Belgium development aid policies during the 1990s.⁶ They became less couched in terms of the traditional technocratic and socio-economic issues and were increasingly linked to wider political and institutional dimensions. Poverty was more approached as a multidimensional concept and themes such as human rights, good governance and humanitarian assistance were espoused. This shift to a more human-centred vision clearly opened the door to a more wholehearted attention to gender issues. It remains to be analysed how far these lofty principles have been translated into development practice. Studies of other development institutions have indeed highlighted that a commitment to gender mainstreaming does not automatically lead to gender-sensitive practice.⁷

Assessing to what extent Belgium development aid has become gender-sensitive is not straightforward methodologically. While there is a large consensus regarding the definition⁸ of notions such as 'gender mainstreaming', 'gender equality' or 'gender blindness', so far no international standards have been developed against which to evaluate progress. Another problem relates to the identification of operational proxies for policy and practice that can be reasonably used as a basis for evaluation. Ideally one should assess outcomes and impact of development interventions on gender equality on

³ The other two transversal topics are 'environment' and 'the social economy'.

⁴ For a discussion see Razavi (1997).

⁵ See Moser (1989) and Razavi and Miller (1995) for a comprehensive overview of the different approaches.

⁶ See Holvoet and Renard (2002) for an extensive overview of Belgian aid policies in the 1990s.

⁷ See among others the 1994 assessment study of DAC members' WID policies and programmes (CIDA, 1994) and Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002) on the UNDP and the World Bank.

⁸ As our study involves a bilateral aid agency we use OECD/DAC definitions of concepts. For an overview see DAC Source Book on Concepts and Approaches linked to Gender Equality (OECD/DAC, 1998a).

the ground. So far no comprehensive evaluation study of Belgian aid with that focus has been performed while attention to gender issues in existing general evaluation reports has mainly been perfunctory.⁹ Similar assessments of other development institutions confronted with identical problems have typically focused on procedures set in place for policy implementation.¹⁰ The underlying assumption is then that if procedures are effectively put in place this will finally lead to more gender-sensitive final outcomes on the ground. In this article we go one step further assessing policy commitments not only on the basis of policy and planning methodologies but also in terms of human and financial investments made. More specifically, we highlight the human resources that have been put into place under the specific mandate of engendering development aid, we analyse how much of the budget may be considered as gender-blind and inversely how much is spent on interventions that include gender as an important or even predominant objective in their identification documents.

In doing this, the article draws on an independent review of documentation and from a general database kept at the Belgian Directorate General for Development Co-operation (DGDC).¹¹ The main documents used were published and unpublished policy reports, self-evaluation reports to the Belgian Parliament on the progress towards the implementation of the objectives of the Beijing Conference, country memoranda submitted to the OECD/DAC, independent reviews by Belgian civil society actors such as umbrella organisations of Belgian NGOs and the Belgian advisory commission on Women and Development (CWD) and OECD/DAC peer reviews. Policy documents from other bilateral and multilateral donors and reports and articles about similar assessment exercises were used as a basis for comparison.

We are aware of the fact that a desk study on the basis of project identification documents is not the first-best way to evaluate whether a donor's aid programme is gender-sensitive. It is indeed not necessarily the case that the integration of a gender objective in the planning phase of an intervention will effectively lead to its realisation. Different factors of the particular environment in which interventions are taking place might impede the successful implementation and output. However, we believe that the present assessment exercise is a useful and even necessary starter in the Belgian context. Before investing resources in time consuming impact analysis of development interventions one should first establish that

⁹ This is not a typical Belgian phenomenon. A similar observation about evaluation reports has been made for most of the other bilateral aid agencies in the 1994 assessment study of DAC members' WID policies and programmes (CIDA, 1994).

¹⁰ See for instance Goetz (1992), Jahan (1995), Hafner-Burton and Pollak (2002), Moser (1993), Razavi and Miller (1995), Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996).

¹¹ The Belgian aid administration has been renamed several times during the last decade. In this article we will always use its current name, i.e. Directorate General for Development Co-operation (DGDC).

policy shifts have been made operational in such a way that significant impact in the field may indeed be expected. This may also enable to identify factors that can help explain the degree of impact found in future studies. Only in case operational channels have been shown to work minimally should the next step of impact evaluation be envisaged. This study thus aims to assess whether policy intentions have been translated satisfactorily into practice. It finds that implementation is lagging behind, asks why this might be the case and explores ways in which this might be improved.

In section two we open with a brief reconstruction of the evolution of the gender discourse in Belgian development co-operation. We focus on the way gender issues have been conceptualised, and on their visibility in Belgian aid policy. Changes are contrasted with shifts in international 'women and development' thinking and with general trends in Belgian aid policies. Section three explores which policy instruments have been installed to put the ambitious policy declarations into practice. How this is further made operational through the engendering of the conventional management and evaluation instruments or through the adoption of new ones is analysed in section four. What this effectively has meant in terms of investments in human and financial resources is dealt with in sections five and six respectively. The latter more quantitative analysis reinforces several of the issues explored more qualitatively in sections two to four. Throughout the different sections of the paper potential explanatory factors are explored for the observed convergence and/or divergence between policy declaration and practice. Some factors emanate from the specificities of Belgian development aid while others are more generally valid. Conclusions and recommendations are presented in section seven.

2. GENDER POLICY DISCOURSE: LIVING UP TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

In Belgium, as elsewhere, official rhetoric on aid in general has evolved during the 1990s. The end of the Cold War and the political and military instability it caused, not only in Eastern Europe but also indirectly in Africa, brought new issues into focus. In particular Belgium aid policy was affected by the crises in the former colony (DR Congo) and the territories formerly administered by Belgium (Burundi and Rwanda), which constituted until then the core of Belgium's aid programme. Adding to this was a series of highly critical newspaper articles published in 1995 that documented several cases of 'white elephants' financed with Belgian aid funds. A major charge was that commercial interests had the upper hand in decision-making and in particular the practice of tied aid was heavily criticised. For the first time the political world took major interest in aid policies. A special Parliamentary Commission was set up that in 1997 came up with a series of recommendations to improve the working of the aid ministry. This laid the foundation for the Belgian Law on International Co-operation voted in May 1999. It consolidated a number of changes that had taken place over the decade while also providing a legal framework for a more long-lasting approach. Particularly relevant for the present study is the move away during the 1990s from a narrow approach centred mainly on the traditional socio-economic dimensions of development towards the adoption of sustainable human development as the global underlying objective of the aid programme. As a counter-reaction to what happened in the previous decades, development policy became almost exclusively framed in terms of human rights, good governance and later on humanitarian aid.¹² In fact, looking back one could argue that this was an unbalanced approach for during the same period Belgium's conceptualisation of socio-economic development issues mainly relied on a micro-economic project-level approach, thereby neglecting the broader macro-economic and institutional framework.¹³ Belgium's reluctance until the late 1990s to adopt the 'new' aid instruments of sector and budget support may be understood from within the same perspective.

All these changes affected the way gender was put on the development agenda as well as the approach adopted. The role of women in development came for the first time very visibly to the forefront on the occasion of an international conference on rural women organised in Brussels in 1988 by the aid administration under the patronage of the then Queen.¹⁴

¹² The attention to humanitarian issues became in particular visible during the tenure of Secretary of State Moreels who was a former president of the Belgian section of the international NGO Médecins Sans Frontières.

¹³ The DAC Aid Review of 1997 highlighted the lack of a macro-economic perspective in Belgian aid policy as one of its major weaknesses.

¹⁴ The proceedings of this conference were published in 'Progress for Women in Developing Countries. The Belgian Contribution' (DGDC/Royal Academy of Overseas Sciences, 1990).

Attention for the issue was relatively new and the main objective was to articulate the need to integrate women as active participants into all development interventions and to abandon the perception of women as passive beneficiaries of welfare projects. A more prominent place for women in development policy and practice was made acceptable under the cloak of more legitimate policy concerns such as 'poverty reduction', 'human capital building', creation of 'win-win situations' and increased 'effectiveness' and 'efficiency'. The arguments spelled out at the conference echoed the prevailing 'Women in Development (WID)' paradigm and matched reasonably well with the socio-economic approach towards poverty reduction in Belgium aid policy at that time. The first hesitant signs of a departure from the WID approach became evident in 1994 during the preparation for the Beijing conference.¹⁵ This landmark UN conference and the follow-up it received from important international bodies as the OECD/DAC and the EU accelerated the shift towards a 'Gender and Development' policy discourse. Adding to this international conducive environment were the efforts of the personal advisers to the secretary of state, the gender advocates working within the aid administration and the members of the Commission on Women and Development (CWD), a national advisory board to the Secretary of State for gender issues officially installed since 1994.

Contrary to what happened in other agencies such as the World Bank,¹⁶ the official gender equality language was easily adopted as it aligned itself perfectly with the 'human rights' and 'good governance' discourse prevailing at that time. While gender advocates in many other countries had to convince their agencies and ministries of the need to move towards a gender mainstreaming approach by retaining an instrumentalist argumentation in terms of 'efficiency' and 'gender-efficiency',¹⁷ Belgium's rights-based approach towards development policy prevented that arguments and values of equity and social justice had to be diluted. As a further testimony to this, the most recent version of the Gender Policy Paper (2002) wholeheartedly adopts DAC stated goals of 'gender equality' and 'empowerment'.¹⁸ In this, Belgium follows a progressive stance in explicitly emphasizing 'empowerment' and 'gender equality' as goals and in indicating the need to transform the development agenda itself rather than settling for the more readily acceptable practice of mainstreaming gender issues into existing policies and programmes.¹⁹ While Belgium's receptive attitude may be applauded, at the same time a number of serious drawbacks are discernible. As gender issues were seemingly easily adopt-

¹⁵ See among others the country memorandum covering the period 1993-1996 (DGDC, 1997).

¹⁶ See among others Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002), Karadam (1993) and Razavi and Miller (1995) for an analysis of gender mainstreaming in the World Bank.

¹⁷ Razavi (1997) extensively reviews allegations of instrumentalism and provides appealing counter-arguments. The same article includes a comprehensive analysis of the gender efficiency discourse.

¹⁸ These goals are stated and elaborated on in the DAC Guidelines for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation (OECD/DAC, 1998b).

¹⁹ While gender mainstreaming may help overcome problems of 'ghettoisation' of women's issues and contribute to a process of 'empowerment' and 'gender equality', it should not be considered synonymous for 'empowerment'. Several gender advocates have pointed at the danger of mainstreaming being used as a cover avoiding investing resources in a gender unit and for the possibility of mainstreaming degrading into 'malestreaming' (See for instance Lycklama à Nijeholt, 1991).

ed in Belgian aid policy few efforts were devoted to the elaboration of a strategic framing that could convince hardliners at the policy and operational levels when needed. Little mention has for instance been made of the accumulated empirical evidence that quantified the considerable benefits from addressing gender issues.²⁰ Worse still, the whole macro-economic conditions of aid, which hardly received any attention within Belgian policy but to which Belgium adhered through the use of cross-conditionality with the World Bank and IMF programmes, tended to remain insensitive for gender concerns.²¹ Putting gender exclusively within an equal rights framework creates the illusion that the problem is solved when legislative changes are produced and hampers communication with those responsible for economic issues. Many policy-makers and aid administration staff indeed accept that a gendered approach might enrich the human rights and good governance approach, but it is much harder to convince them of the fact that the economy as such is essentially a gendered structure and that the largest part of development interventions, no matter what their ultimate goal may be, will not be effective, let alone efficient, when they are not completely engendered throughout their entire intervention cycle. By shirking away from the sector and macro-economic gender dimensions, Belgium was, until very recently, and more than other bilateral agencies, lagging behind in mainstreaming of gender within new aid instruments.^{22 23} It was only within the middle of the legacy of Secretary of State Boutmans (2001) that there were some counter-indications of a more visible interest for engendering macro-economic issues.²⁴

On the positive side it becomes increasingly evident that Belgium is gearing up purposefully to international standards of policy-making and conceptualisation. However, to be effective policies need to be translated into manageable operational rules. Safeguarding against policy evaporation proceeds through the elaboration and adoption of appropriate policy instruments and through the adjustment of existing and/or adoption of new management and evaluation procedures and tools. One of the factors that contribute critically to the set up and effective working of that set of instruments is the qualitative and quantitative investment in human resources that may be considered at the same time input and output of a gender-inclusive policy and practice. The following sections subsequently assess the evolution and the present state of affairs at each of these levels.

²⁰ See for instance the 2001 World Bank's policy research report 'Engendering development: Through equality in rights, resources and voice' for a compiled presentation and review of such evidence.

²¹ A similar observation is made for other bilateral agencies. See OECD/DAC (1999) and J. Beall (1998) regarding DFID 1997 White Paper 'Eliminating Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century'.

²² See Elson and Mc Gee (1995) for a review of the integration of gender issues in policy-related programme assistance. As expected Belgium was classified with those agencies that had no specific approach to WID/gender issues in relation to programme assistance.

²³ Acknowledging that most of the bilateral aid agencies have not adequately integrated gender issues in non-project assistance, the OECD/DAC High Level Meeting of May 1995 has endorsed in its gender statement 'reconsidering the impact of non-project forms of co-operation such as sectoral programme assistance, structural adjustment, public expenditure reviews on women' as one of the goals for DAC member aid agencies (OECD/DAC, 1995b). The OECD/DAC Working Party on Gender Equality is assisting donor agencies in their capacity to integrate gender analysis into macroeconomic policy and programme aid assistance by developing new guidelines for sector-wide-approaches and country strategy papers (see among others the 2002 OECD/DAC reference guide on gender equality in Sector Wide Approaches). Other major areas of attention are gender budgeting and gender-sensitiveness of PRSP.

²⁴ Belgium supports the UNIFEM programme 'Strengthening economic governance: applied gender analysis to government budgets' and it organised (together with UNIFEM, OECD/DAC and the Nordic Council of Ministers) the gender budgeting conference in October 2001.

3. GENDER POLICY INSTRUMENTS: A PROMISING TWO-LEG STRATEGY

In line with recommendations of the 1995 OECD/DAC peer review Belgium adopted for the first time in 1996 sector policy papers and country strategy papers. The Law of 1999 further strengthened the importance of these policy instruments by making them obligatory instruments of accountability and institutionalisation. They translate the broad aid policy objectives into more specific objectives and concrete activities and thus provide an objective basis for subsequent monitoring and evaluation. Strategy papers are elaborated for all partner countries and for the five priority sectors and three crosscutting themes identified in the Law. They constitute the framework of sector and country co-operation for periods of four years and need the approval of the Belgian parliament.²⁵ The Law prescribes both the elaboration of a separate Gender Strategy Paper and gender-proofing of all sector policy and country strategy papers. In what follows we briefly present and comment upon the most present version of the gender policy paper and the screening of policy papers.²⁶

The Gender Strategy Paper: an excellent blueprint

The gender policy paper articulates the rationale and the principles of a gender-inclusive policy and highlights strategies to make this policy operational. In doing this, the paper draws extensively on its earlier edition²⁷ and on the 1998 OECD/DAC Guidelines for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development Co-operation. To reach the goal of equality between men and women elements of both the integrationist and the agenda setting approach are deployed. Similar to other bilateral aid agencies, the gender strategy combines a carefully conceived policy of horizontal and vertical gender mainstreaming that does not fundamentally challenge existing interventions with specific investments in women's empowerment that may contribute to reshape the mainstream. As regards the latter option, the DGDC will identify, in consultation with its partner countries, one major intervention in each of the 25 partner countries. To aid gender mainstreaming horizontally throughout different sectors and interventions and vertically in all phases of interventions, three guiding principles were issued that relate to different sections of the aid programme. In its direct bilateral co-operation Belgium clearly eschews blunt gender conditionality by stating that it will mainly support the

²⁵ Sector policy and country papers were elaborated in the first half of 2002 and passed Belgian parliament towards the end of 2002.

²⁶ At this moment (September 2006) policy papers (both sectoral as well as those on cross-cutting issues) are being re-discussed and revised. Relevant elements in the present discussion are the tendency to move towards one EU-policy note per sector and cross-cutting issues as well as the need for policy papers to align themselves better with the new aid modalities.

²⁷ The first gender policy paper 'Egalité entre les femmes et les hommes: une politique pour un développement durable (Equality between women and men: a policy for sustainable development)' was drafted early 1995 and mainly visualised the process from WID to GAD. It was reworked to take into account the recommendations of the Beijing conference and accepted by Belgian parliament in October 1996 (DGDC, 1997).

efforts initiated by partner countries. A similar attitude is envisaged as regards the indirect bilateral and multilateral components of the aid programme where efforts of international organisations and NGOs for gender mainstreaming will be backed up. Each of the above is further broken down into a number of specific activities accompanied by suggested conventional instruments and tools. To further buttress all this, suggestions are made for strengthening the institutional capacity of DGDC, which is the third guiding principle. Concrete actions mentioned here all correspond to the conventional tools used for mainstreaming gender at the organisational level and most of the issues here may be conceived as the primary responsibility of the gender unit. Included are gender training and awareness activities, elaboration and distribution of tools, instruments, best practices, checklists, provision of technical gender expertise and advice when needed. Rather exceptional but laudable is that DGDC examines the feasibility to use gender budget analysis as an internal accountability instrument.

The paper concludes by a comprehensive action plan rounding up all activities and instruments regrouped under each of the three main guiding principles. On the positive side, the paper succeeds in making complex notions such as gender operational in terms of concrete strategies and activities, which helps demystifying gender mainstreaming. While being strong in formulation and conceptualisation, it however fails to prioritise and to set clear, time-bound implementation targets, to assign responsibility for progress and to identify straightforward mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the implementation. Given DGDC checkered history and weak administrative capacity, such a tight schedule may well be needed to get the ambitious strategy implemented. Problems may also arise from the way in which the paper came into being. It was unilaterally elaborated by the gender unit and did not ensue from a broader participatory process. Just as recipient countries may fail to apply policies because of a lack of ownership, staff in the organisation may resist applying a policy that has mainly been conceptualised by one unit.

Screening all sector policy and country strategy papers: towards genuine gender mainstreaming

As the sector policy papers and the country strategy papers set out the overall framework for the development co-operation over a period of four years, screening of those papers on their gender-inclusiveness, a procedure which is ex-

Explicitly stipulated in the Law, is a potentially powerful policy instrument of gender mainstreaming. Proofing of the sector policy papers has mainly been done by members of the CWD and by the staff members of the gender unit. Recently the input of the gender unit in the screening process has substantially increased, but in an earlier period, when staffing of the unit was minimal, screening was almost entirely undertaken on a voluntary basis by CWD members. A review of the screening reports provides a good impression of the degree to which the original authors²⁸ of the papers had taken gender issues into account and it also helps to get a feel of the screening procedure itself. Having reviewed those reports,²⁹ mainly of sector strategy papers, we conclude that the original versions of the sector papers hardly took gender issues into account. Gender was most of the times not a determining factor in the overall identification and analysis of problems, needs, objectives or strategies. No mention was made of potential differential effects of interventions on men and women nor was gender considered a factor of influence for the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions. Only in exceptional cases was data disaggregated by gender and were existing gender-disaggregated data sources used. The same negative verdict applies to different dimensions of the procedure. Firstly, the time foreseen for screening was inadequate given the fact that this was for the largest part done on a voluntary basis by otherwise very busy experts. Secondly, the process of screening appears to be rather shaky. The moment at which the paper is screened for instance largely depends upon the goodwill of the author. While for most of the papers only the final written version was screened, there were also some exceptional instances where screening already took place during the drafting process, leaving room for dialogue and consultation with the author. While the latter was more time-consuming, it proved to be fruitful in that it provided an opportunity to go into much more depth and discuss the comments and suggestions. It even became a kind of 'on-the-job-training' and certainly enhanced the probability that the author her/himself would take gender issues into account in future work. Absence of gender-sensitiveness never proved to be intentional, but it rather highlighted the lack of gender knowledge and experience. Mainstreaming gender knowledge throughout the different policy-making units is all the more important since it is not clear to what extent original authors are held accountable for including the advice from the gender assessments. Adding to the lack of standardisation in procedure is the absence of a standardised checklist for screening which made the quality of assessments uneven. Major improvement in coverage and

²⁸ Sector policy papers and country strategy papers are drafted by the sector unit staff and the geographical desks respectively. For the most recent versions of the papers there was major input from the high-level sector experts who have been engaged in view of sector policy-making and from the high-level DGDC representatives on the ground (the so-called *attachés*).

²⁹ Screening reports may be consulted at <http://www.dgdc.be/nl/dgis/strategienotas.html>.

quality could already be realised by using one of the existing gender analysis frameworks³⁰ as a guideline.

Notwithstanding such criticism, there are already hopeful signs of improvement, mainly resulting from an upgrading of the gender unit. A process of more systematic analysis and integration of gender issues in the country strategy papers is underway and one may assume this will also be extended to the sector policy papers in the near future.

³⁰ Commonly used gender-analysis frameworks are the Harvard Framework, the Moser Framework, the Longwe Empowerment Framework and Kabeer's Social Relations Approach (see March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999).

4. ENGENDERING PLANNING, MONITORING AND EVALUATION: LAGGING BEHIND

Acknowledging that gender-sensitiveness will only become a reality when it is adequately integrated from the design phase of interventions and subsequently tracked through monitoring and evaluation, there has lately been an upsurge of efforts to elaborate new and compile already existing frameworks and tools for gender-sensitive planning, monitoring and evaluation. In technical terms, the latter is not a particularly challenging undertaking. Most of the multilateral and several bilateral agencies have elaborated and distributed their policy and project-level gender checklists and suggestions for gender-disaggregated indicators, some of which are sector-specific³¹. While Belgium takes advantage of the efforts that other agencies have made at the conceptual level, thereby contributing to the necessary harmonisation of donor procedures, it has also started a project to elaborate gender-sensitive indicators that will enable to track progress in the achievement of the (gender) Millennium Development Goals. Following the disappointing results of the 1999 OECD/DAC review of the progress made by its members towards the implementation of the Beijing and DAC Statement, multi-donor efforts have been undertaken to further develop gender-sensitive methods and impact indicators. However, a careful reading of the 1999 review suggests that the main hindrance towards gender-sensitive management and evaluation may rather lie at the organisational and institutional level. Gender issues are particularly difficult to fit into bureaucracies. In order to be manageable, complex issues need to be split up and simplified, which runs counter to the transversal logic inherent to gender mainstreaming (Bangura, 1997). Given those contradictions extraordinary changes in mentality and structures are required for which strong administrative capacity and major support of senior management are imperative. While this assertion holds in general,³² it is particularly valid for Belgium's aid administration whose institutional and organisational weaknesses have been highlighted on several occasions.³³ For a start, there has been a continuous, often contradictory, restructuring of the Belgian aid administration during the 1990s,³⁴ which has resulted in a lack of institutional memory and decreasing motivation of the staff. The last major reform has led to the splitting up of the former aid administration into a policy-preparing semi-autonomous unit integrated into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a newly created independent operational branch, labelled Belgian Technical Cooperation (BTC) that is responsible for the implementation of the

³¹ Well-known examples of bilateral aid agencies' initiatives are those of CIDA and DFID. In 1996 CIDA has published a handbook and a guide on gender-sensitive indicators while DFID has elaborated the Gender Equality Mainstreaming Initiative whereby an internet site (see www.genie.ids.ac.uk/gem, currently at www.genie.ids.ac.uk) offers sector-specific guidelines and analysis, examples of best practice and logical frameworks to assist operationalisation.

³² See among others Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002), Kardam (1995), OECD/DAC (1999).

³³ See among other OECD/DAC Peer Reviews (1995a, 1997), yearly assessments of Belgian aid policy by NCOS (the umbrella organisation of Flemish NGOs), and the assessment of Belgian aid in the 1997/8 edition of *The Reality of Aid*.

³⁴ See Holvoet and Renard (2002) for a comprehensive overview of different restructuring initiatives.

bilateral aid programme. While the reform partly remedied the cruel shortage of high-level personnel that had plagued the administration for years,³⁵ it clashes with current trends of shifting more implementation responsibility to recipients. Giving up the principle of A to Z responsibility whereby one administrative division is responsible and may be held accountable for as large a part of the intervention cycle as possible is particularly detrimental to the vertical mainstreaming of crosscutting issues such as gender. This adds to the challenge of horizontally mainstreaming into a heavily compartmentalised aid programme for which responsibility is not even concentrated within one ministry. Insufficiently delineated administrative responsibilities and weak managerial accountability leads to infighting and puts serious additional demands on coordination. Acknowledging the latter, regular meetings have lately been held among gender advisors of DGDC and the BTC. Besides continuous administrative restructuring and partly resulting from it, Belgium aid has not excelled in monitoring and evaluation. Following upon one of the major recommendations of the 1995 Parliamentary Commission, a separate Evaluation Unit was set up, but it privileges accountability to the detriment of the learning dimension. Monitoring and evaluation functions within the administration have until very recently remained highly undervalued.

Lately there have been hopeful signs of a better performing aid administration, as witnessed by among other better spending records,³⁶ the hiring of additional and highly qualified personnel, increased transparency, and more weight given to monitoring and evaluation. In spite of encouraging changes, a new serious institutional problem is already lurking. While details have not been worked out yet fully, the principle of further devolution of responsibilities for aid policy towards the lower political authorities has been accepted by the federal government in 2000 and will be put into practice during the 2003-2007 tenure. Notwithstanding overwhelmingly negative criticism from the OECD/DAC,³⁷ national and international scholars, experienced practitioners, and some civil society actors, it seems that Belgian aid is heading towards a further split-up and rethinking of administrative structures and responsibilities.

³⁵ While in the mid 1990s only about half of the statutory posts foreseen for the aid administration were effectively filled, this has increased to about 87 per cent in 2002 (86 per cent for the staff in the headquarters and 95 per cent for the representatives overseas). Despite the improvement, shortage of highly qualified personnel remains a major constraint to the performance of the aid administration.

³⁶ Spending ratios have increased from about 75 per cent and 76 per cent in 1994 and 1995 to about 93 per cent in 1999 and to more than 99 per cent in 2000.

³⁷ See the 2001 peer review of Belgian aid policy.

5. HUMAN RESOURCES: INVESTMENT IN GENDER EXPERTISE

One of the essential elements that arise from a genuine commitment to give gender more visibility in the organisation is investment in human resources whose responsibility is to spearhead the process of gender mainstreaming. Gender advocates are at the same time output of a more general gender policy commitment and input for making such broad-based policy commitments operational. Starting from that particular mandate, tasks commonly assigned to them include policy advocacy, elaboration and distribution of policy strategies and planning documents, of monitoring and evaluation tools and methods, organisation of gender training, collection and dissemination of best practices, ensuring upward and downward accountability. While there is still some discussion about the optimal place and organisation of gender expertise, on the ground largely similar models are practiced. Most agencies opt for the concentration of gender expertise in a separate gender unit,³⁸ located as highly as possible in the organisational hierarchy. Where possible this structure is combined with gender focal points dispersed throughout the different departments. While the latter system seemingly enhances more organisation-wide diffusion of responsibility, critics have highlighted that gender focal points rarely have the authority and seniority to realize effective integration of gender issues in the departments wherein they are located. When effective diffusion is taking place across staff, specialist gender resources may focus on the catalytic, advisory, supportive and the horizontal (across sectors, different components of the aid programme and different intervention types) and vertical (across different phases of the intervention cycle) oversight functions. However, prototypes of such fully mainstreamed organisations are hard to find.

In line with its strengthened gender policy commitment, the Belgian aid administration has upgraded its gender unit, in terms of quantity, quality and location. While during the 1990s the gender unit was balancing between one half and two full-time staff members, resulting in frequent personnel changes, unstable action plans and a loss of institutional memory, since the beginning of 2002 it is staffed with three full-time members, of which one temporary highly qualified gender expert and one statutory gender advisor.³⁹ The new administrative organisation chart that is currently been put into operation strategically locates the gender unit within the transversal directory of 'Policy Support'. Having acquired the necessary

³⁸ A well-known exception is DFID whose gender adviser is located within its Social Development Division (Beall, 1998).

³⁹ However, over the period 2004-2006 there have again been changes in the staffing of the unit. At times where the unit consisted of one person, the combination of policy advisory functions and secretary support for the Advisory Commission 'Women and Development' has seriously jeopardized policy advisory work. At present (September 2006) the unit is again staffed with three persons, a gender expert who is responsible for the policy advisory work and two staff members who assure the secretariat of the Commission Women and Development.

resources, expertise and weight the gender unit has started to play a more proactive role and this has already paid off in terms of policy formulation and strategic thinking. It is too early to judge how the gender unit will exploit new opportunities and deal with institutional hindrances in its efforts at policy implementation. Weak points remain the lack of diffusion of gender responsibility throughout the organisation⁴⁰ and in particular the absence of gender expertise in local representations in partner countries, which is contrary to common practice in many other aid agencies. In an attempt to remedy partly the latter drawback the Commission on Women and Development has recently elaborated a 'Gender Integration Memorandum' targeted at the local representatives and the authors of strategy and country papers in general.

An issue related to that of human resources is the one of the representative bureaucracy. Starting from the observation that women are not well represented in senior management and top decision-making ranks within government and business agencies in most of the world, ensuring an adequate percentage of women among high-level staff has become a preoccupation of several government agencies. In Belgium as well, gender-disaggregated statistics are collected. Findings for 2002 highlight that within the aid administration there was near balance for the statutory personnel in general. However, if we only consider staff with a university degree, women only constitute about 30 per cent. Nonetheless the situation at the top decision-making level is favourable.⁴¹

⁴⁰ There are hopeful signs that this might improve in the future. Since February 2006, a Gender Network has been installed within DGCD under the lead of the gender expert. It consists of staff from different departments, including the internal Monitoring and Evaluation Unit as well as the BTC. Its role is to improve the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming throughout the different phases of all aid interventions. Currently, the focus is still on project aid but the emphasis will increasingly move towards other aid modalities. The more active involvement of the Belgian gender expert within the Bureau of the OECD/DAC Gender Network as well as the fact that Belgium (in collaboration with Germany and the Netherlands) will take the lead in organising a Task Force on New Aid Modalities might certainly accelerate this shift.

⁴¹ Half of the General Advisors are women whereas also since the late 1990s the heads of the aid department have been women.

6. ANALYSING THE DIRECT BILATERAL AID BUDGET

Gender-sensitive budget analysis requires the availability of relevant data at the donor agency. There is currently no gender-disaggregated database on male and female beneficiaries of Belgian aid interventions, and this prevented us from performing a gender-disaggregated benefit incidence analysis. As an alternative we opted to run an analysis on the basis of the information that flows from the agency's application of the OECD/DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker.⁴² Under the latter system that has been adopted at DGDC since 1999, staff members have been requested to attribute a different score to planned interventions, depending on whether those interventions include gender as a dominant objective (score 3), an important objective (score 2) or when gender is thought to be completely absent (score 1). Notwithstanding the considerable efforts the agency has made to mark interventions, to the point of retrospectively marking all interventions from 1995 onwards, there are some limitations. Firstly, the interpretation of scores attributed by different evaluators is inherently problematic.⁴³ Differences in scores may indeed point at real differences in gender-sensitiveness while they may also be attributed to subjective differences in scoring between staff members. While individual discretion in assigning scores has been limited by a set of guidelines in a checklist format, subjective differences among evaluators can of course never be ruled out completely.⁴⁴ Adding to this is the variable quality of marking between different categories of the aid programme. For those parts of the aid programme where identification of interventions is handed down to outside intermediary actors, for the largest part NGOs and multilateral organisations, marking by DGDC staff afterwards is less straightforward. Last but not least, the Marker itself has been criticised for drawing a too simplistic quantitative picture and for being deficient in capturing what happens later on during implementation on the ground. Notwithstanding these limitations the analysis on the basis of the Marker is interesting as it provides us with a first quantitative basis against which to judge policy compliance. Moreover, as the Marker is becoming a standard indicator that is increasingly used by all aid agencies, some even modifying scores during monitoring and implementation (OECD/DAC, 1999), it allows to compare performance among agencies.⁴⁵

Aside from a general analysis over time, we have also explored possible differences between sectors and intervention types. This may provide interesting information for pol-

⁴² The OECD/DAC is currently (September 2006) reworking the DAC Guidelines regarding the Gender Equality Policy Marker.

⁴³ See Isham, J., D. Narayan and L. Pritchett (1995) for a more elaborate discussion and an interesting experiment.

⁴⁴ Additional to the existing 'written' guidelines, the gender expert has recently (2006) provided training of staff members of the Bilateral Aid Department who are involved in the assessments. This might further decline the influence of subjective interpretations.

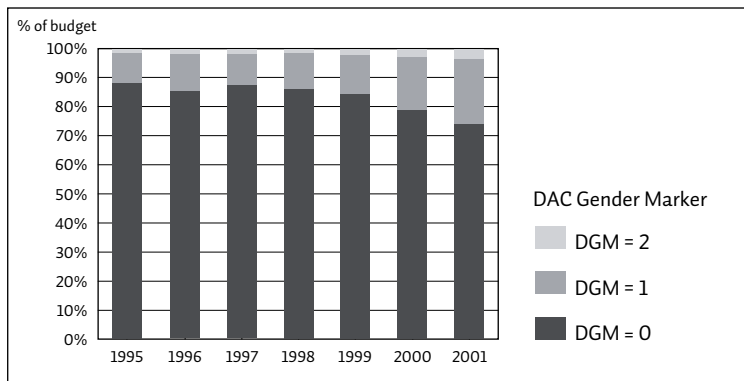
⁴⁵ As we were unable to obtain similar data from other bilateral aid agencies, we were only able to compare with findings from similar assessments of the World Bank practice by the Operations Evaluation Department (OED). There are however some differences in the rating system and in the unit of analysis (projects versus budgets) used in our study and the OED assessments.

icy-making. Table A in annex presents a detailed overview of the analysis results both in absolute and relative terms. Hereafter we briefly present and comment on findings from the general and the disaggregated analysis.

General analysis over time

Figure 1 based on findings from the overall aid budget managed by DGDC reveals that from 1999 onwards a relatively larger part of the budget has been spent on interventions that have gender equality as a major or predominant objective. While in the mid 1990s still about 90 per cent of the overall budget was gender-blind, this percentage has gone down to about 75 per cent in 2001. This positive evolution may be indicative of the firm gender policy commitment evident in the Law of 1999. However, results remain modest when compared for instance with figures from the 2000 and 2001 OED assessments of World Bank practice that identified gender issues to be completely absent from (an also high) 62 and 55 per cent of projects respectively (World Bank/OED, 2001b; 2002).

Figure 2 Gender-sensitiveness of Belgian aid budget (1995-2001)



The evolution from a WID to a GAD approach in the gender policy discourse is also evident in budget allocation. Whereas in the second half of the 1990s on average about 35 per cent of budgetary allocations for interventions with gender as a predominant objective were still narrowly defined 'women in development' projects, this proportion has gone down to 16 and 18 per cent in 2000 and 2001 respectively.

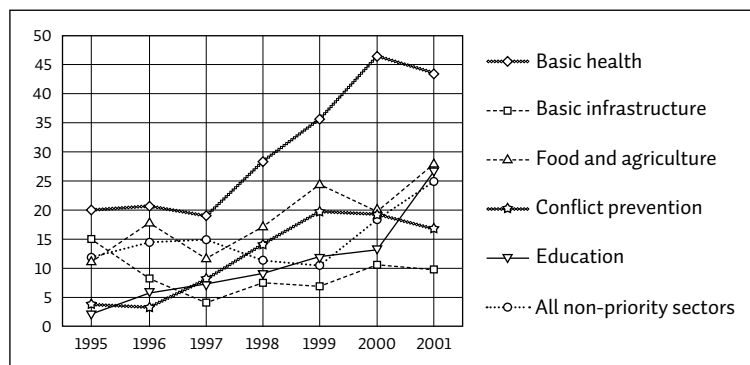
Table 1 Absolute and relative importance of ‘women in development (wid)’ projects (1995-2001)

WID-projects	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
In million euro	0,63	2,34	1,36	1,47	1,82	1,92	3,12
As percentage of budgetary allocations to interventions with gender as a predominant objective	20,3	47,6	33,9	36,6	32,1	16,1	17,9

Differences between sectors

Figure 2 illustrates for each of the five priority sectors of Belgian aid the evolution in the proportion of the budget allocated to interventions that have gender as an important or predominant objective. Focusing on the gender-sensitivity of the priority sectors may be justified in as much as they will become increasingly important in the coming years, also in budgetary terms. Engendering in particular those sectors is thus a straightforward strategy to make the overall aid budget more gender-sensitive. The findings also give us some impression about the effectiveness of the gender screening of the sector policy papers, a procedure that has been applied for each of these sectors since the turn of the century.

Figure 2 Gender-sensitiveness of Belgian aid budget by sector (1995-2001)



Firstly, when comparing the situation in 2001 with that in 1995, it is clear that all but one sector, i.e. basic infrastructure, follow the general trend of improved gender-sensitivity. Comparing the performance of the priority sectors as a group with that of the non-priority sectors shows a more pronounced improvement for the former than for the latter. While the gender-sensitivity of the non-priority sectors has increased by 111 percent, that of the priority sectors as a group has gone up by about 130 percent. This may be indicative of

the fact that screening of the papers, albeit not very rigorously implemented yet, pays off. The most remarkable improvement may be noted in the education sector where the proportion of the budget allocated to interventions with a score of one or two on the OECD/DAC Gender Marker has gone up from about two per cent in 1995 to about 27 per cent in 2001. One of the underlying reasons may be the shift that is increasingly made within that sector from investments in secondary and tertiary education to primary level schooling. As investments in the latter sub-sector tend to be much more gender-sensitive, shift in budgetary allocation among the different sub-sectors has immediate effects on the gender-sensitiveness of the sector as a whole.⁴⁶ While there is a general tendency of improvement for all but one priority sector, in 2001 there were still two sectors that scored below the average of the non-priority sectors. While in the latter group about one fourth of the interventions on average had gender as a predominant or important objective in 2001, this was only about ten per cent and seventeen per cent for investments in the basic infrastructure and conflict prevention area respectively.

⁴⁶ This conclusion has also been arrived at in gender-disaggregated benefit incidence analysis of education spending in among others Ivory Coast (Demery, 2002).

Differences among intervention types

The comparison of different aid instruments on their gender-sensitiveness has been limited to the direct bilateral aid budget. Data in table 2 (and table A in appendix) show marked differences in performance between project and programme assistance.

Table 2 Gender-sensitiveness of Belgian aid by intervention type (1995-2001)

Intervention types	Percentage of the budget that is allocated to interventions that have gender as a predominant or important objective (GDM=1 and GDM=2)						
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Technical co-operation	6,45	10,95	13,38	17,66	24,35	28,03	29,59
Micro interventions	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sectoral aid and investment	1,02	0,06	0,1	0,04	1,87	8,93	0,43
Budget support	0	0	0	0	0	30,9	17,04
Debt reduction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

While much attention has always been devoted to gender issues in the identification of micro- projects, the opposite may be said for non-project budget lines such as sector aid and debt reduction. The negative record for the new intervention types up to the present does not really come as a

surprise and rather exemplifies what was already pointed out above. While it is certainly not an easy undertaking with serious risks of falling into the gender conditionality trap, one has to admit that new aid modalities inherently have a comparative advantage over isolated projects in furthering effective gender mainstreaming of a partner country's policy. Adding this to the fact that they are rapidly becoming the dominant way of channelling aid resources to partner countries, exploring avenues for making them gender-sensitive, is one of the most pressing challenges. Against this background, the marked changes at the level of budget support interventions since the turn of the century and improved gender-proofing of country strategy papers may be considered particularly promising.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Gender-sensitiveness of Belgian aid has been studied by exploring policy discourse and practice. While analysis of the former may be done on the basis of policy documents, assessing the extent to which objectives of gender equality have been effectively integrated into development practice is much more difficult. We have gone one step further than most of the similar studies by assessing policy commitments not only on the basis of procedures set in place but also by looking at effective human and financial investments made.

Pulling together observations leads to a balanced assessment. On the positive side, there has been a marked progress in the conceptualization and visibility of gender issues in Belgian aid policy, in particular since the Beijing Conference. The genuine commitment towards gender equality is most obvious from the Belgian Law on International Co-operation that includes gender equality as one of the three transversal pillars of Belgian development aid. The installment of a strategic policy framework including the elaboration of a gender policy note, the gender-proofing of sector policy and country strategy papers and the upgrading of the gender unit particularly in terms of its location, are indicative of the fact that major prerequisites for effective integration of gender issues have been put into place. However, the record of effective implementation is far less impressive. Reports of the gender proofing highlight that the latest editions of the policy and country papers still largely lack substance when it comes to the discussion of gender issues. The procedure itself is not yet very standardized and silent on accountability issues. Translation of gender policy into administrative guidelines and operational tools is lagging behind, especially for non-project forms of aid delivery. Qualitative findings are further strengthened by results from a budget analysis based on scoring at the planning stage of interventions and disaggregated over time, sectors and instruments of aid delivery. While the percentage of the budget where gender issues are totally absent has fallen substantially from the mid 1990s onwards, at the turn of the century still about 75 per cent of the budget remains silent on gender. There are marked differences across sectors and between different intervention types. Three out of the five priority sectors, i.e. health, education and food and agriculture are currently performing better than the average of the non-priority sectors, while non-project instruments (as opposed to project aid) largely remain sterile for gender issues.

Exploring factors that might explain the gap between intentions and implementation, it is obvious that a time lag between policy shifts and changes in practice always needs to be taken into account. The assessment for Belgium is also largely in line with what happened at other agencies, which brings up a number of explanatory factors that are more generally valid. On the positive side, there is the momentum of the Beijing conference and subsequent policy-making at international bodies such as the OECD/DAC and the EC that made gender issues more visible in government policy in general and in aid policy in particular. It has accelerated the shift from the WID to the more relational GAD approach and provided the necessary international conducive environment for gender mainstreaming and the elaboration of policy and planning instruments. On the negative side, there is the inherently difficult manageability of transversal issues as gender, which negatively impinges on institutional mainstreaming while the difficult articulation between gender on the one hand and macro-economic issues on the other hand has left the new non-project aid instruments largely sterile to gender concerns. While a number of evolutions are general, this article argues that the gap between policy and practice has further been exacerbated in the Belgian context by a number of specificities of Belgian aid in the 1990s.

On the one hand, the gender equality discourse has very easily been adopted as it aligned itself perfectly with the rights-based approach prevalent in Belgian aid policy discourse in the mid 1990s. DAC stated goals of empowerment and gender equality were wholeheartedly adopted on the basis of arguments of social justice and equity, which is contrary to what happened in many other bilateral and multilateral aid agencies where gender advisers had to revert to an instrumentalist argumentation in terms of 'efficiency' and 'gender-efficiency'.

On the other hand, general weaknesses in Belgian aid in terms of institutional organization and management capacity strongly hypothecated effective implementation. Until very recently, there existed no active policy of monitoring and evaluation, which also prevented progress in gender equality goals from being adequately controlled for and evaluated. Lack of accountability was further nurtured by a weak administrative capacity. One of the underlying reasons explaining the institutional and administrative weakness has certainly been the continuous top-down restructuring of the aid administration since the beginning of the 1990s, which has seriously demotivated staff and paralyzed its functioning. The split of the aid

administration into a policy-making and implementing agency puts serious demands on coordination in general and regarding crosscutting issues in particular.

However, there have been a number of hopeful indications for the future with a number of changes already in place. Efforts at strengthening management capacities are starting to pay off in terms of increased high-quality staffing and improved spending ratios. A monitoring and evaluation function has been installed whose mandate also covers the follow-up of crosscutting issues while the gender unit has gained importance in terms of location. Being endowed now with more resources and having a more global policy oversight, the gender unit has started to play a more pro-active role. Realizing for instance the enormous potential that non-project forms of aid may hold for effective gender mainstreaming in partner countries, the unit has gained interest in approaches and methods to engender new aid instruments and has started to collaborate more closely with those more directly in charge of the new aid instruments. Particularly interesting is the fact that recently (February 2006) a Gender Network has been installed under the lead of the DGCD gender expert and consisting of interested staff members from various aid departments, including the Internal Monitoring and Evaluation Unit as well as the gender expert of the Belgian Technical Cooperation. While it is too early to make any balanced judgements regarding the functioning of this network, it is likely that it stimulates the spreading of gender expertise over the organisation which might aid the effective gender mainstreaming throughout different phases and various forms of aid interventions.

However, all recent efforts towards improving performance may be seriously undermined by the further devolution of the responsibility of aid from the federal government to the regional authorities, which continuously remains an issue overshadowing Belgian aid.

Appendix: additional table

Gender-sensitiveness of the belgian aid budget (1995-2001)

Different Sections of the Aid Budget	Budget allocations (in million euro and percentage)						
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Technical Co-operation (total)	60,2	54,97	58,99	60,52	57,37	72,25	72,43
DAC Gender Marker (DGM)=0	56,32	48,95	51,1	49,83	43,4	52	51
%	93,55	89,05	86,62	82,34	75,65	71,97	70,41
DGM=1	3,84	5,66	7,13	8,73	12,11	18,16	19,03
%	6,38	10,3	12,09	14,42	21,11	25,13	26,27
DGM=2	0,04	0,36	0,76	1,96	1,86	2,09	2,4
%	0,07	0,65	1,29	3,24	3,24	2,89	3,31
Sectoral aid and investment	17,74	36,1	27,35	27,24	32,34	25,87	27,96
DGM=0	17,48	36	26,73	26,24	31,24	22,49	23,79
%	98,53	99,72	97,73	96,33	96,6	86,93	85,09
DGM=1	0,08	0,08	0,6	1	0,5	1,08	4,09
%	0,45	0,22	2,19	3,67	1,55	4,17	14,63
DGM=2	0,18	0,02	0,02	0	0,6	2,3	0,08
%	1,01	0,06	0,07	0	1,86	8,89	0,29
Budget support	10,49	10,79	6,44	5,44	3,56	5,21	7,98
DGM=0	10,49	10,79	6,44	5,44	3,56	3,6	6,62
%	100	100	100	100	100	69,1	82,96
DGM=1	0	0	0	0	0	1,61	1,36
%	0	0	0	0	0	30,9	17,04
Debt reduction	13,02	15,93	11,83	14,17	13,63	19	14,18
DGM=0	13,02	15,93	11,83	14,17	13,63	19	14,18
Micro interventions	0,47	0,47	1,53	1,4	2,15	1,43	3,13
DGM=1	0,47	0,47	1,53	1,4	2,12	1,4	3,11
%	99,58	100	100	100	98,6	97,9	99,36
DGM=2	0,002	0	0	0	0,03	0,03	0,02
%	0,42	0	0	0	1,4	2,1	0,64
Total DGDC direct bilateral	101,93	118,28	107,04	108,74	120,79	132,34	139,61
DGM=0	97,31	111,7	97	95,68	103,58	105,68	109,53
%	95,47	94,44	90,62	87,99	85,75	79,85	78,45
DGM=1	4,4	6,21	9,26	11,1	14,73	22,24	27,58
%	4,61	6,58	10,22	12,62	17,18	27,85	35,15
DGM=2	0,22	0,37	0,78	1,96	2,48	4,42	2,5
%	4,77	5,63	7,63	15,54	14,44	15,87	7,11
Total aid budget managed by DGDC	418,34	421,78	480,66	509,81	524,72	600,94	567,54
DGM=0	370,4	361,69	422,24	439,91	444,3	475,19	421,9
DGM=1	42,75	53,09	50,98	63,39	71,86	111,07	127,09
DGM=2	5,17	6,99	7,44	6,52	8,6	14,69	18,56
Total aid budget managed by foreign affairs (DGDC+ Foreign Affairs)	442,84	447,17	505,03	534,22	551,04	641,56	620,97
DGM=0	394,92	387,09	446,61	464	470,4	515,44	475,32
%	89,18	86,56	88,43	86,86	85,37	80,34	76,54
DGM=1	42,75	53,09	50,98	63,7	72,08	111,44	127,09
%	9,65	11,87	10,09	11,92	13,08	17,37	20,47
DGM=2	5,17	6,99	7,44	6,52	8,56	14,68	18,56
%	1,17	1,56	1,47	1,22	1,55	2,29	2,99

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